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# The Princeton Theological Review

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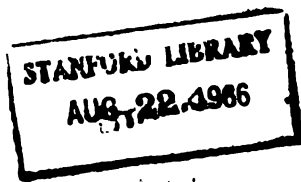
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## ON THE ANTIQUITY AND THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

The fundamental assertion of the Biblical doctrine of the origin of man is that he owes his being to a creative act of God. Subsidiary questions growing out of this fundamental assertion, however, have been thrown from time to time into great prominence, as the changing forms of current anthropological speculation have seemed to press on this or that element in, or corollary from, the Biblical teaching. The most important of these subsidiary questions has concerned the method of the Divine procedure in creating man. Discussion of this question became acute on the publication of Charles Darwin's treatise on the *Origin of Species* in 1859, and can never sink again into rest until it is thoroughly understood in all quarters that "evolution" cannot act as a substitute for creation, but at best can supply only a theory of the method of the Divine providence. Closely connected with this discussion of the mode of origination of man, has been the discussion of two further questions, both older than the Darwinian theory, to one of which it gave however a new impulse, while it has well-nigh destroyed all interest in the other. These are the questions of the Antiquity of Man and the Unity of the Human Race, to both of which a large historical interest attaches, though neither of them can be said to be burning questions of to-day.

The question of the antiquity of man has of itself no theological significance. It is to theology, as such, a matter of entire indifference how long man has existed on earth.



It is only because of the contrast which has been drawn between the short period which seems to be allotted to human history in the Biblical narrative, and the tremendously long period which certain schools of scientific speculation have assigned to the duration of human life on earth, that theology has become interested in the topic at all. There was thus created the appearance of a conflict between the Biblical statements and the findings of scientific investigators, and it became the duty of theologians to investigate the matter. The asserted conflict proves, however, to be entirely factitious. The Bible does not assign a brief span to human history: this is done only by a particular mode of interpreting the Biblical data, which is found on examination to rest on no solid basis. Science does not demand an inordinate period for the life of human beings on earth: this is done only by a particular school of speculative theorizers, the validity of whose demands on time exact investigators are more and more chary of allowing. As the real state of the case has become better understood the problem has therefore tended to disappear from theological discussion, till now it is pretty well understood that theology as such has no interest in it.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the impression is readily taken from a *prima facie* view of the Biblical record of the course of human history, that the human race is of comparatively recent origin. It has been the usual supposition of simple Bible readers, therefore, that the Biblical data allow for the duration of the life of the human race on earth only a paltry six thousand years or so: and this supposition has become fixed in formal chronological schemes which have become traditional and have even been given a place in the margins of our Bibles to supply the chronological framework of the Scriptural narrative. The most influential of these chronological schemes is that which was worked out by Archbishop Usher in his *Annales Veteri et Novi Testamenti* (1650-54), and it is this scheme which has found a place in the margin of the Authorized English Version of

the Bible since 1701. According to it the creation of the world is assigned to the year 4004 B. C. (Usher's own dating was 4188 B. C.); while according to the calculation of Petau (in his *Rationarium Temporum*), the most influential rival scheme, it is assigned to the year 3983 B. C. On a more careful scrutiny of the data on which these calculations rest, however, they are found not to supply a satisfactory basis for the constitution of a definite chronological scheme. These data consist largely, and at the crucial points solely, of genealogical tables; and nothing can be clearer than that it is precarious in the highest degree to draw chronological inferences from genealogical tables.

For the period from Abraham down we have, indeed, in addition to somewhat minute genealogical records, the combined evidence of such so-called "long-dates" as those of 1 Kings vi.1; Gal. iii.17, and several precise statements concerning the duration of definite shorter periods, together with whatever aid it may be possible to derive from a certain amount of contemporary extra-Biblical data. For the length of this period there is no difficulty, therefore, in reaching an entirely satisfactory general estimate. But for the whole space of time before Abraham, we are dependent entirely on inferences drawn from the genealogies recorded in the fifth and eleventh chapters of Genesis. And if the Scriptural genealogies supply no solid basis for chronological inferences, it is clear that we are left without Scriptural data for forming an estimate of the duration of these ages. For aught we know they may have been of immense length.

The general fact that the genealogies of Scripture were not constructed for a chronological purpose and lend themselves ill to employment as a basis for chronological calculations has been repeatedly shown very fully; but perhaps by no one more thoroughly than by Dr. William Henry Green in an illuminating article published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1890. These genealogies must be esteemed trustworthy for the purposes for which they are



recorded; but they cannot safely be pressed into use for other purposes for which they were not intended, and for which they are not adapted. In particular, it is clear that the genealogical purposes for which the genealogies were given, did not require a complete record of all the generations through which the descent of the persons to whom they are assigned runs; but only an adequate indication of the particular line through which the descent in question comes. Accordingly it is found on examination that the genealogies of Scripture are freely compressed for all sorts of purposes; and that it can seldom be confidently affirmed that they contain a complete record of the whole series of generations, while it is often obvious that a very large number are omitted. There is no reason inherent in the nature of the Scriptural genealogies why a genealogy of ten recorded links, as each of those in Genesis v and xi is, may not represent an actual descent of a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand links. The point established by the table is not that these are all the links which intervened between the beginning and the closing names, but that this is the line of descent through which one traces back to or down to the other.

A sufficient illustration of the freedom with which the links in the genealogies are dealt with in the Biblical usage, is afforded by the two genealogies of our Lord which are given in the first chapter of the Gospel of Matthew. For, it is to be noted that there are two genealogies of Jesus given in this chapter, differing greatly from one another in fulness of record, no doubt, but in no respect either in trustworthiness or in principle of record. The one is found in the first verse, and traces Jesus back to Abraham in just two steps: "Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham". The other is found in verses 2-17, and expands this same genealogy into forty-two links, divided for purposes of symmetrical record and easy memorizing into a threefold scheme of fourteen generations each. And not even is this longer record a complete one. A compari-

son with the parallel records in the Old Testament, will quickly reveal the fact that the three kings, Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah are passed over and Joram is said to have begotten Uzziah, his great-great-grandson. The other genealogies of Scripture present similar phenomena; and as they are carefully scrutinized, it becomes ever clearer that as they do not pretend to give complete lists of generations, they cannot be intended to supply a basis for chronological calculation, and it is illegitimate and misleading to attempt to use them for that purpose. The reduction for extraneous reasons of the genealogy of Christ in the first chapter of Matthew into three tables of fourteen generations each, may warn us that the reduction of the patriarchal genealogies in Genesis v and xi into two tables of ten generations each may equally be due to extraneous considerations; and that there may be represented by each of these ten generations—adequately for the purposes for which the genealogy is recorded—a very much longer actual series of links.

It must not be permitted to drop out of sight, to be sure, that the appearance of supplying data for a chronological calculation is in these particular genealogies not due entirely to the mere fact that these lists are genealogies. It is due to a peculiarity of these special genealogies by which they are differentiated from all other genealogies in Scripture. We refer to the regular attachment to each name in the lists, of the age of the father at the birth of his son. The effect of this is to provide what seems to be a continuous series of precisely measured generations, the numbers having only to be added together to supply an exact measure of the time consumed in their sequence. We do not read merely that "Adam begat Seth; and Seth begat Enosh; and Enosh begat Kenan". We read rather that "Adam lived an hundred and thirty years and begat Seth; and Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enosh; and Enosh lived ninety years and begat Kenan". It certainly looks, at first sight, as if we needed only to add these one hundred and thirty, one hundred and five, and ninety years together in order to ob-



tain the whole time which elapsed from the creation of Adam to the birth of Kenan; and accordingly as if we needed only to add together the similar numbers throughout the lists in order to obtain an accurate measure of the whole period from the Creation to the Deluge. Plausible as this procedure seems, however, it appears on a closer scrutiny unjustified; and it is the especial service which Dr. William Henry Green in the article already mentioned has rendered to the cause of truth in this matter that he has shown this clearly.

For, if we will look at these lists again, we shall find that we have not yet got them in their entirety before us. Not only is there attached to each name in them a statement of the age at which the father begot his son, but also a statement of how long the father lived after he had begotten his son, and how many years his life-span counted up altogether. If we do not read merely, "Adam begat Seth; and Seth begat Enosh; and Enosh begat Kenan"; neither do we read merely, "Adam lived one hundred and thirty years and begat Seth; and Seth lived one hundred and five years and begat Enosh; and Enosh lived ninety years and begat Kenan". What we read is: "Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth; and the days of Adam after he begat Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat sons and daughters: and all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died. And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enosh: and Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died. And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan: and Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years: and he died". There is, in a word, much more information furnished with respect to each link in the chain

than merely the age to which each father had attained when his son was begotten; and all this information is of the same order and obviously belongs together. It is clear that a single motive has determined the insertion of all of it; and we must seek a reason for its insertion which will account for all of it. This reason cannot have been a chronological one: for all the items of information furnished do not serve a chronological purpose. Only the first item in each case can be made to yield a chronological result; and therefore not even it was intended to yield a chronological result, since all these items of information are too closely bound together in their common character to be separated in their intention. They too readily explain themselves moreover as serving an obvious common end which was clearly in the mind of the writer to justify the ascription of a different end to any one of them. When we are told of any man that he was an hundred and thirty years old when he begat his heir, and lived after that eight hundred years begetting sons and daughters, dying only at the age of nine hundred and thirty years, all these items co-operate to make a vivid impression upon us of the vigour and grandeur of humanity in those old days of the world's prime. In a sense different indeed from that which the words bear in Genesis vi, but full of meaning to us, we exclaim, "Surely there were giants in those days"! This is the impression which the items of information inevitably make on us; and it is the impression they were intended to make on us, as is proved by the simple fact that they are adapted in all their items to make this impression, while only a small portion of them can be utilized for the purpose of chronological calculation. Having thus found a reason which will account for the insertion of all the items of information which are given us, we have no right to assume another reason to account for the insertion of some of them. And that means that we must decline to look upon the first item of information given in each instance as intended to give us chronological information.



The conclusion which we thus reach is greatly strengthened when we observe another fact with regard to these items of information. This is that the appearance that we have in them of a chronological scheme does not reside in the nature of the items themselves, but purely in their sequence. If we read the items of information attached to each name, apart from their fellows attached to the succeeding names, we shall have simply a set of facts about each name, which in their combination make a strong impression of the vigor and greatness of humanity in those days, and which suggest no chronological inference. It is only when the names, with the accompanying comments, are put together, one after the other, that a chronological inference is suggested. The chronological suggestion is thus purely the effect of the arrangement of the names in immediate sequence; and is not intrinsically resident in the items of information themselves.

And now we must call attention to a characteristic of Scripture genealogies in general which seems to find a specially striking illustration in these comments. This is the habit of interposing into the structure of the genealogies, here and there, a short note, attached to this name or that, telling some important or interesting fact about the person represented by it. A simple genealogy would run thus: "Adam begat Seth; and Seth begat Enosh; and Enosh begat Kenan" and the like. But it would be quite in the Biblical manner if there were attached to some, or even to each, of these names, parenthetical remarks, calling attention to something of interest regarding the several persons. For example, it would be quite after the Biblical fashion should we have rather had this: "Adam, who was the first man, begat Seth; and Seth, he it was who was appointed as another seed in the stead of Abel whom Cain slew, begat Enosh; and Enosh, at his birth men began to call on the name of Jehovah, begat Kenan." The insertion of such items of information does not in the least change the character of the genealogy as in itself a simple genealogy, sub-

ject to all the laws which governed the formation and record of the Scriptural genealogies, including the right of free compression, with the omission of any number of links. It is strictly parenthetical in nature.

Several examples of such parenthetical insertions occur in the genealogy of Jesus recorded in the first chapter of Matthew to which we have already referred for illustration. Thus in verse 2, the fact that Judah had "brethren" is interposed in the genealogy, a fact which is noted also with respect to two others of the names which occur in the list (verses 3 and 11): it is noted here doubtless because of the significance of the twelve sons of Jacob as tribe-fathers of Israel. Again we find in four instances a notification of the mother interposed (Tamar, verse 3; Rahab, verse 5; Ruth, verse 5; her of Uriah, verse 6). The introduction of the names of these notable women, which prepares the way for the introduction of that of Mary in verse 16, constitutes a very remarkable feature of this particular genealogy. Another feature of it is suggested by the attachment to the name of David (verse 6) the statement that he was "the King"; and to the name of Jechoniah the statement that his life-span fell at the time of the carrying away to Babylon: the account of these insertions being found, doubtless in the artificial arrangement of the genealogy in three symmetrical tables. The habit of inserting parenthetical notes giving items of interest connected with the names which enter into the genealogies is doubtless sufficiently illustrated by these instances. The only point in which the genealogies of Genesis v and xi differ in this respect from this one in Matt. i is that such items of information are inserted with reference to every name in those genealogies, while they are inserted only occasionally in the genealogy of our Lord. This is, however, a difference of detail, not of principle. Clearly if these notes had been constant in the genealogy in Matt. i instead of merely occasional, its nature as a genealogy would not have been affected: it would still have remained a simple genealogy subject to all the customary



laws of simple genealogies. That they are constant in the genealogies of Genesis v and xi does not, then, alter their character as simple genealogies. These additions are in their nature parenthetical, and are to be read in each instance strictly as such and with sole reference to the names to which they are attached, and cannot determine whether or not links have been omitted in these genealogies as they are freely omitted in other genealogies.

It is quite true that, when brought together in sequence, name after name, these notes assume the appearance of a concatenated chronological scheme. But this is pure illusion, due wholly to the nature of the parenthetical insertions which are made. When placed one after the other they seem to play into one another, whereas they are set down here for an entirely different purpose and cannot without violence be read with reference to one another. If the items of information were of a different character we should never think of reading them otherwise than each with sole reference to its own name. Thus, if they were given to show us how nobly developed primitive men were in their physical frames and read something as follows: "Adam was eight cubits in height and begat Seth; and Seth was seven cubits in height and begat Enosh; and Enosh was six cubits in height, and begat Kenan", we should have no difficulty in understanding that these remarks are purely parenthetical and in no way argue that no links have been omitted. The case is not altered by the mere fact that other items than these are chosen for notice, with the same general intent, and we actually read: "Adam lived an hundred and thirty years and begat Seth; and Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enosh; and Enosh lived ninety years and begat Kenan". The circumstance that the actual items chosen for parenthetical notice are such that when the names are arranged one after the other they produce the illusion of a chronological scheme is a mere accident, arising from the nature of the items chosen, and must not blind us to the fact that we have before us here

nothing but ordinary genealogies, accompanied by parenthetical notes which are inserted for other than chronological purposes; and that therefore these genealogies must be treated like other genealogies, and interpreted on the same principles. But if this be so, then these genealogies too not only may be, but probably are, much compressed, and merely record the line of descent of Noah from Adam and of Abraham from Noah. Their symmetrical arrangement in groups of ten is indicative of their compression; and for aught we know instead of twenty generations and some two thousand years measuring the interval between the creation and the birth of Abraham, two hundred generations, and something like twenty thousand years, or even two thousand generations and something like two hundred thousand years may have intervened. In a word, the Scriptural data leave us wholly without guidance in estimating the time which elapsed between the creation of the world and the deluge and between the deluge and the call of Abraham. So far as the Scripture assertions are concerned, we may suppose any length of time to have intervened between these events which may otherwise appear reasonable.

The question of the antiquity of man is accordingly a purely scientific one, in which the theologian as such has no concern. As an interested spectator, however, he looks on as the various schools of scientific speculation debate the question among themselves; and he can scarcely fail to take away as the result of his observation two well-grounded convictions. The first is that science has as yet in its hands no solid data for a definite estimate of the time during which the human race has existed on earth. The second is, that the tremendous drafts on time which were accustomed to be made by the geologists about the middle of the last century and which continue to be made by one school of speculative biology to-day have been definitively set aside, and it is becoming very generally understood that



man cannot have existed on the earth more than some ten thousand to twenty thousand years.

It was a result of the manner of looking at things inculcated by the Huttonian geology, that speculation during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century estimated the age of the habitable globe in terms of hundreds of millions of years. It was under the influence of this teaching, for example, that Charles Darwin, in 1859, supposed that three hundred million years were an under-estimate for the period which has elapsed since the latter part of the Secondary Age.<sup>1</sup> In reviewing Mr. Darwin's argument in his *Students' Manual of Geology*, Professor Jukes remarked on the vagueness of the data on which his estimates were formed, and suggested that the sum of years asserted might with equal reasonableness be reduced or multiplied a hundredfold: he proposed therefore three million and thirty billion years as the minimum and maximum limits of the period in question. From the same fundamental standpoint, Professor Poulton in his address as President of the Zoological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Liverpool, September, 1896) treats as too short from his biological point of view the longest time asked by the geologists for the duration of the habitable earth—say some four hundred millions of years. Dwelling on the number of distinct types of animal existence already found in the Lower Cambrian deposits, and on the necessarily (as he thinks) slow progress of evolution, he stretches out the time required for the advance of life to its present manifestation practically illimitably. Taking up the cudgels for his biological friends, Sir Archibald Geikie<sup>2</sup> chivalrously offers them all the time they desire, speaking on his own behalf, however, of one hundred million years as possibly sufficient for the period of the existence of life on the globe. These general estimates imply, of course, a

<sup>1</sup> *Origin of Species*, ed. 1., p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Address as President of the Geological Section of the British Association, Dover, 1899.

very generous allowance for the duration of human life on earth; but many anthropologists demand for this period even more than they allow. Thus, for example, Professor Gabriel de Mortillet<sup>3</sup> reiterates his conviction that the appearance of man on earth cannot be dated less than two hundred and thirty thousand years ago, and Professor A. Penck<sup>3a</sup> would agree with this estimate, while Dr. A. R. Wallace has been accustomed to ask more than double that period.<sup>4</sup>

These tremendously long estimates of the duration of life on earth and particularly of the duration of human life, are, however, speculative, and, indeed, largely the creation of a special type of evolutionary speculation—a type which is rapidly losing ground among recent scientific workers. This type is that which owes its origin to the brooding mind of Charles Darwin; and up to recent times it has been the regnant type of evolutionary philosophy. Its characteristic contention is that the entire development of animate forms has been the product of selection, by the pressure of the environment, of infinitesimal variations in an almost infinite series of successive generations; or to put it rather brusquely, but not unfairly, that chance plus time are the true causes which account for the whole body of differentiated forms which animate nature presents to our observation. Naturally therefore heavy draughts have been made on time to account for whatever it seemed hard to attribute to brute chance, as if you could admit the issuing of any effect out of any conditions, if you only conceived the process of production as slow enough. James Hutton had duly warned his followers against the temptation to appeal to time as if it were itself an efficient cause of effects. "With regard to the effects of time", he said,<sup>5</sup> "though the continuance of time may do much in those operations which are extremely slow, where no change to our observation had

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Mensuelle* of the Paris School of Anthropology, for January 15, 1897.

<sup>3a</sup> Silliman Lectures at Yale, for 1908.

<sup>4</sup> *Nature*, October 2, 1873, pp. 462-463; *Darwiniana*, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> *Theory of the Earth*, II. 205.



appeared to take place, yet where it is not in the nature of things to produce the change in question, the unlimited course of time would be no more effectual than the moment by which we measure events in our observation". The warning was not heeded: men seemed to imagine that, if only time enough were given for it, effects, for which no adequate cause could be assigned, might be supposed to come gradually of themselves. Aimless movement was supposed, if time enough were allowed for it, to produce an ordered world. It might as well be supposed that if a box full of printers' types were stirred up long enough with a stick, they could be counted on to arrange themselves in time in the order in which they stand, say, in Kant's *Critic of Pure Reason*. They will never do so, though they be stirred to eternity. Dr. J. W. Dawson<sup>6</sup> points out the exact difficulty, when he remarks that "the necessity for indefinitely protracted time does not arise from the facts, but from the attempt to explain the facts without any adequate cause, and to appeal to an infinite series of chance interactions apart from a designed plan, and without regard to the consideration that we know of no way in which, with any conceivable amount of time, the first living and organized being could be produced from dead matter". Nothing could be more certain than that what chance cannot begin the production of in a moment, chance cannot complete the production of in an eternity. The analysis of the complete effect into an infinite series of parts, and the distribution of these parts over an infinite series of years, leaves the effect as unaccounted for as ever. What is needed to account for it is not time in any extension, but an adequate cause. A mass of iron is made no more self-supporting by being forged into an illimitable chain formed of innumerable infinitesimal links. We may cast our dice to all eternity with no more likelihood than at the first throw of ever turning up double-sevens.

It is not, however, the force of such reasoning but the

<sup>6</sup> *Relics of Primæval Life*, 1897, p. 323.

pressure of hard facts which is revolutionizing the conceptions of biologists to-day as to the length of the period during which man has existed on earth. It is not possible to enumerate here all the facts which are co-operating to produce a revised and greatly reduced estimate of this period. First among them may doubtless be placed the calculations of the life-period of the globe itself which have been made by the physicists with ever increasing confidence. Led by such investigators as Lord Kelvin, they have become ever more and more insistent that the time demanded by the old uniformitarian and new biological speculator is not at their disposal. The publication in the seventh decade of the past century of Lord Kelvin's calculations, going to show that the sun had not been shining sixty millions of years, already gave pause to the reckless draughts which had been accustomed to be made on time; and the situation was rendered more and more acute by subsequent revisions of Lord Kelvin's work, progressively diminishing this estimate. Sir Archibald Geikie complains that "Lord Kelvin has cut off slice after slice from the allowance of time he was at first prepared to grant for the evolution of geological history", until he has reduced it from forty to twenty millions of years, "and probably much nearer twenty than forty". This estimate of the period of the sun's light would allow only something like six millions of years for geological time, only some one-sixteenth of which would be available for the caenozoic period, of which only about one-eighth or forty thousand years or so could be allotted to the pleistocene age, in the course of which the remains of man first appear.<sup>6a</sup> Even this meagre allowance is cut in half by the calculation of Professor Tait;<sup>7</sup> while the general conclusions of these investigators have received the support of independent calculations by

<sup>6a</sup> Cf. the estimates of G. F. Wright, *Records of the Past*, vii, 1908, p. 24. He suggests for Post-Tertiary time, say 50,000 years; and adds that, even if this be doubled, there could be assigned to the post-glacial period only some 10,000 years.

<sup>7</sup> *Recent Advances in Physical Science*, pp. 167-168.



Dr. George H. Darwin and Professor Newcomb; and more recently still Mr. T. J. J. See of the Naval Observatory at Washington has published a very pretty speculation in which he determines the total longevity of the sun to be only thirty-six millions of years, thirty-two of which belong to its past history.<sup>8</sup>

It is not merely the physicists, however, with whom the biological speculators have to do: the geologists themselves have turned against them. Recent investigations may be taken as putting pre-Quaternary man out of the question (the evidence was reviewed by Sir John Evans, in his address at the Toronto meeting of the British Association, August 18, 1897). And revised estimates of the rate of denudation, erosion, deposition of alluvial matter in deltas, or of stalagmitic matter in the floors of caves have greatly reduced the exaggerated conception of its slowness, from which support was sought for the immensely long periods of time demanded. The post-glacial period, which will roughly estimate the age of man, it is now pretty generally agreed "cannot be more than ten thousand years or probably not more than seven thousand in length".<sup>9</sup> In this estimate, both Professor Winchell<sup>10</sup> and Professor Salisbury<sup>11</sup> agree, and to its establishment a great body of evidence derived from a variety of calculations concur. If man is of post-glacial origin, then, his advent upon earth need not be dated more than five or six thousand years ago; or if we suppose him to have appeared at some point in the later glacial period, as Professor G. F. Wright does, then certainly Professor Wright's estimate of sixteen thousand to twenty thousand years is an ample one.

<sup>8</sup> On the so-called "Planetesimal Hypothesis" of Professors Chamberlin and Moulton which does not presuppose a molten sun and earth, these calculations which proceed on the basis of the "cooling-globe hypothesis" are of course without validity. And in recent years a somewhat despairing appeal has been made to the behavior of radium to suggest that all calculations based on rate of waste are valueless.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. especially articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1903.

<sup>10</sup> *American Geologist*, September, 1902.

<sup>11</sup> *Final Report of the New Jersey State Geologist*, 1902.

The effect of these revised estimates of geological time has been greatly increased by growing uncertainty among biologists themselves, as to the soundness of the assumptions upon which was founded their demand for long periods of time. These assumptions were briefly those which underlie the doctrine of evolution in its specifically Darwinian form; in the form, that is to say, in which the evolution is supposed to be accomplished by the fixing through the pressure of the environment of minute favorable variations, arising accidentally in the midst of minute variations in every direction indifferently. But in the progress of biological research, the sufficiency of this "natural selection" to account for the development of organic forms has come first to be questioned, and then in large circles to be denied.<sup>12</sup> In proportion, however, as evolution is conceived as advancing in determined directions, come the determination from whatever source you choose;<sup>13</sup> and in proportion as it is conceived as advancing onwards by large increments instead of by insensible changes;<sup>14</sup> in that proportion the demand on time is lessened and even the evolutionary speculator feels that he can get along with less of it. He is no longer impelled to assume behind the high type of man whose remains in the post-glacial deposits are the first intimation of the presence of man on earth, an almost illimitable series of lower and ever lower types of man through which gradually the brute struggled up to the high humanity, records of whose existence alone have been preserved to us.<sup>14a</sup> And he no longer requires to

<sup>12</sup> Cf. V. L. Kellogg, *Darwinism To-day*, 1907; R. Otto, *Naturalism and Religion*, 1907; Wasmann, *Die moderne Biologie und die Entwicklungslehre*, ed. 3, 1906+; James Orr, *God's Image in Man*, 1905; Dennert, *Am Sterbelager des Darwinismus*, 1903.

<sup>13</sup> That "orthogenesis" is a fact is much more widely recognized than is the validity of Eimer's special mode of accounting for it.

<sup>14</sup> The recognition of the reality of these saltations, or "mutations" as De Vries inadequately terms them, is again largely independent of any particular theory with reference to them.

<sup>14a</sup> Cf. Hubrecht in *De Gids* for June 1896; Otto, *Naturalism and Religion*, 1897, p. 110; Orr, *God's Image in Man*, 1905, p. 134. E. D.



postulate immense stretches of time for the progress of this man through paleolithic, neolithic and metal-using periods, for the differentiation of the strongly marked characteristics of the several races of man, for the slow humanizing of human nature and the slower development of those powers within it from which at length what we call civilization emerged. Once allow the principle of modification by leaps, and the question of the length of time required for a given evolution passes out of the sphere of practical interest. The height of the leaps becomes a matter of detail, and there is readily transferred to the estimation of it the importance which was formerly attached to the estimation of the time involved. Thus it has come about, that, in the progress of scientific investigation, the motive for demanding illimitable stretches of time for the duration of life, and specifically for the duration of human life on earth, has gradually been passing away, and there seems now a very general tendency among scientific investigators to acquiesce in a moderate estimate—in an estimate which demands for the life of man on earth not more than, say, ten or twenty thousand years.

If the controversy upon the antiquity of man is thus rapidly losing all but a historical interest, that which once so violently raged upon the unity of the race may be said already to have reached this stage. The question of the unity of the human race differs from the question of its antiquity in that it is of indubitable theological importance.

Cope, *The Primary Factors of Organic Evolution*, 1896, thinks there is evidence enough to constitute two species of the genus *homo*—*Homo sapiens* and *Homo neanderthalensis*, to the latter of which he assigns a greater number of simian characteristics than exist in any of the known races of the *Homo sapiens*. But he requires to add (p. 171): "There is still, to use the language of Fraipont and Lohest, 'an abyss' between the man of Spy and the highest ape"—although, on his own account he adds, surely unwarrantably, "though, from a zoölogical point of view, it is not a wide one." In point of fact the earliest relics of man are relics of *men*, with all that is included in that, and there lies between them and all other known beings a hitherto unbridged "abyss".

It is not merely that the Bible certainly teaches it, while, as we have sought to show, it has no teaching upon the antiquity of the race. It is also the postulate of the entire body of the Bible's teaching—of its doctrine of Sin and Redemption alike: so that the whole structure of the Bible's teaching, including all that we know as its doctrine of salvation, rests on it and implicates it. There have been times, nevertheless, when it has been vigorously assailed, from various motives, from within as well as from without the Church, and the resources of Christian reasoning have been taxed to support it. These times have now, however, definitely passed away. The prevalence of the evolutionary hypotheses has removed all motive for denying a common origin to the human race, and rendered it natural to look upon the differences which exist among the various types of man as differentiations of a common stock. The motive for denying their conclusiveness having been thus removed, the convincing evidences of the unity of the race have had opportunity to assert their force. The result is that the unity of the race, in the sense of its common origin, is no longer a matter of debate; and although actually some erratic writers may still speak of it as open to discussion, they are not taken seriously, and practically it is universally treated as a fixed fact that mankind in all its varieties is one, as in fundamental characteristics, so also in origin.

In our natural satisfaction over this agreement between Scripture and modern science with respect to the unity of humanity, we must not permit ourselves to forget that there has always nevertheless existed among men a strong tendency to deny this unity in the interests of racial pride. Outside of the influence of the Biblical revelation, indeed, the sense of human unity has never been strong and has ordinarily been non-existent.<sup>15</sup> The Stoics seem to have been the first among the classical peoples to preach the unity of mankind and the duty of universal justice and philan-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. Bavinck, *The Philosophy of Revelation*, pp. 137 sq.



thropy founded upon it. With the revival of classical ideas which came in with what we call the Renaissance, there came in also a tendency to revive heathen polygenism, which was characteristically reproduced in the writings of Blount and others of the Deists. A more definite co-Adamitism, that is to say the attribution of the descent of the several chief racial types to separate original ancestors, has also been taught by occasional individuals such, for example, as Paracelsus. And the still more definite pre-Adamitism, which conceives man indeed as a single species, derived from one stock, but represents Adam not as the root of this stock, but as one of its products, the ancestor of the Jews and white races alone, has always found teachers, such as, for example, Zanini. The advocacy of this pre-Adamitic theory by Isaac de la Peyrère in the middle of the seventeenth century roused a great debate which soon however died out, although leaving echoes behind it in Bayle, Arnold, Swedenborg. A sort of pre-Adamitism has continued to be taught by a series of philosophical speculators from Schelling down, which looks upon Adam as the first real man, rising in developed humanity above the low, beast-like condition of his ancestors. In our own day George Catlin<sup>16</sup> and especially Alexander Winchell<sup>17</sup> have revived in its essentials the teaching of de la Peyrère. "Adam", says Professor Winchell, "is descended from a black race, not the black race from Adam". The advancing knowledge of the varied races of man produced in the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier nineteenth century a revival of co-Adamitism (Sullivan, Crueger, Ballenstedt, Cordonière, Gobineau) which was even perverted into a defense of slavery (Dobbs, Morton, Nott and Gliddon). It was in connection with Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind* that Aggasiz first published his theory of the diverse origin of the several types of man, the only

<sup>16</sup> *O-kee-pa*, London, 1866: he referred the North American Indians to an antediluvian species, which he called *Anthropus Americanus*.

<sup>17</sup> *Pre-Adamites*, Boston, 1880.

one of these theories of abiding interest because the only one arising from a genuinely scientific impulse and possessing a really scientific basis. Agassiz's theory was the product of a serious study of the geographical distribution of animate life, and one of the results of Agassiz's classification of the whole of animate creation into eight well-marked types of fauna involving, so he thought, eight separate centers of origin. Pursuant to this classification he sought to distribute mankind also into eight types, to each of which he ascribed a separate origin, corresponding with the type of fauna with which each is associated. But even Agassiz could not deny that men are, despite their eightfold separate creation, all of one kind: he could not erect specific differences between the several types of man.<sup>18</sup> The evidence which compelled him to recognize the oneness of man in kind remains in its full validity, after advancing knowledge of the animal kingdom and its geographical distribution<sup>19</sup> has rendered Agassiz's assumption of eight centers of origination (not merely distribution) a violent hypothesis; and the entrance into the field of the evolutionary hypothesis has consigned all theories formed without reference to it to oblivion. Even some early evolutionists it is true played for a time with theories of multiplex times and places where similar lines of development culminated alike in man (Haeckel, Schaffhausen, Caspari, Vogt, Buchner), and perhaps there is now some sign of the revival of this view; but it is now agreed with practical unanimity that the unity of the human race, in the sense of its common origin, is a necessary corollary of the evolutionary hypothesis, and no voice raised in contradiction of it stands much chance to be heard.

It is, however, only for its universal allowance at the hands of speculative science that the fact of the unity of

<sup>18</sup> Similarly Heinrich Schurtz while leaving the descent of men from a single pair an open question, affirms that it is a fact that "humanity forms one great unity."

<sup>19</sup> It was Wallace's *Geographical Distribution of Animals* which struck the first crushing blow.



the human race has to thank the evolutionary hypothesis. The evidence by which it is solidly established is of course independent of all such hypotheses. This evidence is drawn almost equally from every department of human manifestation, physiological, psychological, philological, and even historical. The physiological unity of the race is illustrated by the nice gradations by which the several so-called races into which it is divided pass into one another; and by their undiminished natural fertility when intercrossed; by which Professor Owen was led to remark that "man forms but one species, and differences are but indications of varieties" which "merge into one another by easy gradations".<sup>20</sup> It is emphasized by the contrast which exists between the structural characteristics, osteological, cranial, dental, common to the entire race of human beings of every variety and those of the nearest animal types; which led Professor Huxley to assert that "every bone of a gorilla bears marks by which it might be distinguished from the corresponding bones of a man; and that, in the present creation at any rate, no intermediate link bridges over the gap between *Homo* and *Troglodytes*".<sup>21</sup> The psychological unity of the race is still more manifest. All men of all varieties are psychologically men and prove themselves possessors of the same mental nature and furniture. Under the same influences they function mentally and spiritually in the same fashion, and prove capable of the same mental reactions. They, they all, and they alone, in the whole realm of animal existences manifest themselves as rational and moral natures; so that Mr. Fiske was fully justified when he declared that though for zoological man the erection of a distinct family from the chimpanzee and orang might suffice, "on the other hand for psychological man you must erect a distinct kingdom: nay you must even dichotomize the universe, putting man on one side and all things else on the other".<sup>22</sup> Among the manifestations of

<sup>20</sup> Burgess, *Antiquity and Unity of the Race*, p. 185.

<sup>21</sup> *Man's Place in Nature*, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> *Through Nature to God*, p. 82.

the psychological peculiarities of mankind, as distinguished from all other animate existences, is the great gift of speech which he shares with no other being: if all human languages cannot be reduced to a single root, they all exhibit a uniquely human faculty working under similar laws, and bear the most striking testimony to the unity of the race which alone has language at its command. The possession of common traditions by numerous widely separated peoples is only a single one of many indications of a historical intercommunion between the several peoples through which their essential unity is evinced, and by which the Biblical account of the origination of the various families of man in a single center from which they have spread out in all directions is powerfully supported.<sup>23</sup>

The assertion of the unity of the human race is imbedded in the very structure of the Biblical narrative. The Biblical account of the origin of man (Gen. i. 26-28) is an account of his origination in a single pair, who constituted humanity in its germ, and from whose fruitfulness and multiplication all the earth has been replenished. Therefore the first man was called Adam, Man, and the first woman, Eve, "because she was the mother of all living" (Gen. iii, 20); and all men are currently spoken of as the "sons of Adam" or "Man" (Deut. xxxii.8; Ps. xi.4; 1 Sam. xxvi.19; 1 Kings viii.39; Ps. cxlv.12, etc.). The absolute restriction of the human race within the descendants of this single pair is emphasized by the history of the Flood in which all flesh is destroyed, and the race given a new beginning in its second father, Noah, by whose descendants again "the whole earth was overspread" (Gen. ix.19), as is illustrated in detail by the table of nations recorded in Genesis x. A profound religious-ethical significance is given to the differentiations of the peoples, in the story of the tower of Babel in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, in which the divergences and separations which divide man-

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the discussion in the seventh lecture of Bavinck's *Philosophy of Revelation*, 1908.



kind are represented as the product of sin: what God had joined together men themselves pulled asunder. Throughout the Scriptures therefore all mankind is treated as, from the Divine point of view, a unit, and shares not only in a common nature but in a common sinfulness, not only in a common need but in a common redemption.

Accordingly although Israel was taught to glory in its exaltation by the choice of the Lord to be His peculiar people, Israel was not permitted to believe there was anything in itself which differentiated it from other peoples; and by the laws concerning aliens and slaves was required to recognize the common humanity of all sorts and conditions of men; what they had to distinguish them from others was not of nature but of the free gift of God, in the mysterious working out of His purpose of good not only to Israel but to the whole world. This universalism in the divine purposes of mercy, already inherent in the Old Covenant and often proclaimed in it, and made the very keynote of the New—for which the Old was the preparation—is the most emphatic possible assertion of the unity of the race. Accordingly not only do we find our Lord Himself setting His seal upon the origination of the race in a single pair, and drawing from that fact the law of life for men at large (Matt. xix. 4); and Paul explicitly declaring that "God has made of one every nation of men" and having for His own good ends appointed to each its separate habitation, is now dealing with them all alike in offering them a common salvation (Acts xvii. 26 sq.); but the whole New Testament is instinct with the brotherhood of mankind as one in origin and in nature, one in need and one in the provision of redemption. The fact of racial sin is basal to the whole Pauline system (Rom. v. 12 sq.; 1 Cor. xv. 21 sq.), and beneath the fact of racial sin lies the fact of racial unity. It is only because all men were in Adam as their first head that all men share in Adam's sin and with his sin in his punishment. And it is only because the sin of man is thus one in origin and therefore of the same nature and quality,



that the redemption which is suitable and may be made available for one is equally suitable and may be made available for all. It is because the race is one and its need one, Jew and Gentile are alike under sin, that there is no difference between Jew and Gentile in the matter of salvation either, but as the same God is Lord of all, so He is rich in Christ Jesus unto all that call upon Him, and will justify the uncircumcision through faith alone, even as He justifies the circumcision only by faith (Rom. ix. 22-23, 28 sq.; x.12). Jesus Christ therefore, as the last Adam, is the Saviour not of the Jews only but of the world (John iv. 42; 1 Tim. iv.10; 1 Jno. iv.14), having been given to this His great work only by the love of the Father for the world (Jno. iii.16). The unity of the human race is therefore made in Scripture not merely the basis of a demand that we shall recognize the dignity of humanity in all its representatives, of however lowly estate or family, since all bear alike the image of God in which man was created and the image of God is deeper than sin and cannot be eradicated by sin (Gen. v.3; ix.6; 1 Cor. xi.7; Heb. ii. 5 sq.); but the basis also of the entire scheme of restoration devised by the divine love for the salvation of a lost race.

So far is it from being of no concern to theology, therefore, that it would be truer to say that the whole doctrinal structure of the Bible account of redemption is founded on its assumption that the race of man is one organic whole, and may be dealt with as such. It is because all are one in Adam that in the matter of sin there is no difference, but all have fallen short of the glory of God (Rom. iii.22), and as well that in the new man there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all and in all (Col. iii.11). The unity of the old man in Adam is the postulate of the unity of the new man in Christ.

*Princeton.*

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## THE PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY AND CHILIASM.

The division of the eschatological future into two distinct stages, the one of a temporary, provisional, the other of an eternal, absolute character, is probably of pre-Christian Jewish origin. It is first met with in the Book of Enoch, Chaps. 91 and 93, the "vision of weeks", so called because it divides the entire course of the world into ten weeks. The eighth of these stands for the Messianic period, the ninth and the tenth bring the final judgment, and it is not until the close of the tenth week that the new creation appears. In the third book of the Jewish Sibyl (vss. 652-660) the Messianic kingdom is represented as subject to attack and destruction by the assembled nations, and after these are destroyed in turn, the kingdom of God begins. The dating of these two apocalyptic documents is somewhat uncertain, but a great preponderance of authorities places them in the pre-Christian period.<sup>1</sup> The same distinction between a preliminary Messianic and a final kingdom has been found in the Psalms of Solomon. Here in Psalms xvii and xviii the Messianic reign seems to be described as something transitory, for the Psalmist speaks not only of "his days", "those days" (xvii. 32, xviii. 6) but also of "his lifetime" (xvii. 37). On the other hand in Psalm iii. 12, we read of a resurrection to eternal life. It is not absolutely certain, however, that all the Psalms in this collection are of one author, in which case, to be sure, the idea of two successive kingdoms would offer the only explanation of the two varying descriptions of the future. If the authorship should not be the same, the necessity or warrant for introducing this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*,<sup>4</sup> III, 279 (uncertain about the vision of weeks), 555-592, Sibyl of the third book ab. 140 B. C. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judenthums*,<sup>3</sup> p. 13, who dates the entire Enoch-literature between 164 and 80 B. C. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 28, Chaps. xci-civ, between 134-94 B. C., or possibly 104-94 B. C.



distinction here, would, it is urged, fall away, since the outlook of one author might be entirely confined to the Messianic era *sub specie temporis*, whilst another might contemplate the same era as of eternal duration.<sup>2</sup> Even so, however, it seems unlikely that the former writer should have consciously regarded the Messianic era as something temporal and temporary without putting the question to himself, what was to come beyond it. As in all other cases the idea of an endless, eternal kingdom of God is the correlate of the ascription of a limited duration to the Messianic kingdom, so it was probably in the mind of the writer of Psalms xvii and xviii in this collection.<sup>3</sup> Coming down into the Christian period we meet the twofold kingdom in the Slavic Enoch and the great apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch, and here a definite number of years is fixed for the duration of the provisional Messianic reign. The Christ reigns according to 4 Ezra vii. 28 ff. four hundred years, then he, together with all other earthly creatures, dies, after which the dead awake and the eternal judgment begins. Similarly in xii. 34, where the reign of the Messiah lasts till the end of the world and the day of judgment. In the Slavic Enoch and Baruch the limited duration of the Messianic era is connected with the system of world-periods. In the latter apocalypse, after the description of the Messianic kingdom in Chap. xxix, the opening verse of the following chapter states that when the period of the arrival of the Messiah has been completed he will return in glory into heaven,<sup>4</sup> which return will be the signal for the resurrection of those who are fallen asleep in hoping for him. While Chap. xl. 3 represents the reign of the Messiah as "permanent for ever", this is immediately qualified by the subjoined clause "until the world devoted to destruction

<sup>2</sup> So Bousset, *Die Religion des Judenthums*,<sup>2</sup> p. 331, Note 1.

<sup>3</sup> It does not, of course, follow that the author of Psalm iii held the same distinction. He might have conceived the Messianic reign as eternal or his conception of "eternal life" might have been un-Messianic. Only if we identify him with the author of Psalms xvii and xviii, can we affirm that the eschatology of the latter was also his.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: "will turn himself back." Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, II, p. 423.

comes to a close, and the times named above fulfill themselves". Finally according to Chap. lxxiv. 2 the Messianic age is "the end of that which is transitory, and the beginning of that which is non-transitory".

In regard to the motive underlying the development of this conception of a provisional Messianic kingdom it has been suggested by recent writers that it is of the nature of a compromise between two heterogeneous eschatological schemes, the ancient national-political, terrestrial scheme, which revolves around the destiny of Israel, and the later transcendental, cosmical scheme, which has in view the consummation of the world as such and the introduction of altogether new conditions on a super-mundane plane. At first the ideas and expectations connected with these two schemes formed an orderless mass, a conglomerate without adjustment or correlation. The most varying elements lay unreconciled and unreconcilable in close proximity to each other. Such is the case in the older parts of the Book of Enoch and in the Book of Jubilees. Or the semblance of coherence was saved by bringing into the foreground only one of these two aspects of the eschatological hope, leaving the other in obscurity, while not denying its right of existence. Thus in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch, and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the prevailing atmosphere is of the transcendental, super-terrestrial kind, although not to the entire exclusion of the earthly, national, political prospects. On the other hand in such writings as the Psalter of Solomon<sup>5</sup> and the Assumption of Moses the eschatological drama plays itself out mainly on the stage of this world and under temporal conditions, the interest being centered on Israel. Rarely, as in the Slavic Book of Enoch, does the spirit of other-worldliness become so dominant as to expel all the heterogeneous elements belonging to the other and lower plane. In most cases the contradictions were not actually removed but only covered up by the distribution of emphasis. And for this reason, it was inevit-

<sup>5</sup> This on the old interpretation of the Psalms, according to which they do not contain the doctrine of a provisional Messianic Kingdom. See above.



able, it is thought, that a more systematic attempt should in course of time be made to bring not only apparent but real order into the confusion. This was done through the distribution of the various elements over two successive periods. The older, national, political, earthly hopes, it was now believed, would first go into fulfilment and thus have full justice done to them. But this would last for a time only. Then, after this tribute to the ancient hopes of Israel had been paid, the new order of things could assume its eternal, cosmical sway, no longer hindered in the unfolding of its transcendental character by the intrusion of interests or forces of a less exalted type.

Sometimes, as notably in the case of Bousset, this view with regard to the origin of the Chiliastic hope is coupled with the hypothesis according to which the whole higher, transcendental eschatology of Judaism, the specific apocalyptic ideas about the future, are not a native growth on the soil of the Old Testament, but an importation from Babylonian, or ultimately Persian sources. But this peculiar assumption, so grave and far-reaching in its consequences,<sup>6</sup> is by no means essential to the theory. Whether the latter shall be accepted or rejected is a question to be decided on its own merits. The cleavage and heterogeneity which mark the Jewish eschatology, would, if actually present to the contemporary consciousness, invite attempts at readjustment and reduction to system quite as much in case the disharmony was due to indigenous development as if it was due to the intrusion of foreign influence. But apart from this, and considering the problem altogether by itself, we are not convinced that the solution offered, attractive though it may seem, is borne out by the facts. The origin of a scheme does not always coincide with the uses to which

<sup>6</sup>It carries with it the inference that the basis and background of the entire Christian doctrine of salvation are of pagan origin. The question about the origin of the apocalyptic eschatology resolves itself into a question of the antecedents of the specifically soteriological element in Christianity. For the soteriology rests throughout on the eschatology.

it may subsequently be put. When as far back as the period of canonical prophetism we find the twofold representation, on the one hand that the eschatological order of things will be called into being by the appearance of a Messianic king, on the other hand that this order will be brought into existence by the appearance and kingly interposition of God Himself, so that the new conceptions of a kingdom of the Messiah and a kingdom of God appear at this early stage side by side without any attempt at adjustment, then it would seem that in this primitive, prophetic diversity we have a fully adequate explanation of the origin of the idea of the two successive kingdoms. Where once the problem inherent in this twofold perspective had made itself felt, it certainly required no profound reflection to perceive that the easiest way of solving the difficulty lay in making the two forms of the future state follow each other, in which case the first in order would be naturally the kingdom of the Messiah, to be followed by the kingdom of God as the absolute consummation of all things. Chiliasts, who should want to resent the charge of the dependence of their favorite idea on the dualism and disorder created in the eschatology of the Old Testament by the streaming in of a pagan system of ideas, can make out a good case for themselves on the ground indicated. Whether the New Testament stamps with its approval the solution, which on such a view, the early Jewish theology brought to bear on the old problem, or has a different solution of its own, may remain an open question. But a charge of being rooted in paganism rather than in study of the Old Testament need not lie against Chiliasm.

From the presumable origin of the distinction we must, however, keep separated the use to which in course of time it came to be put. In itself the distinction between a preliminary Messianic and a subsequent divine kingdom is indifferent to eschatological tone or atmosphere.<sup>6a</sup> In the earlier

<sup>6a</sup> This may be seen most clearly from the Slavic Enoch, in which, as Bousset observes, the atmosphere is pervasively transcendental, and which yet (for the first time) limits the Messianic kingdom to a thousand years.



sources the Messianic kingdom is not depicted in particularly glowing sensualistic colors, as though a conscious effort had been made to save in it realistic hopes and dreams for which it was felt the transcendental outlook left no room, nor, on the other hand, is the final state described in such super-sensual terms as to carry the impression, that an order of things so constituted is utterly incommensurable with the substance of the old, earthly, national expectations. It is not in Enoch, and not in the well known verses from the third book of the Sibyl, nor in the Psalter of Solomon that the picture of the provisional Messianic kingdom assumes the complexion which is usually called "chiliastic" in the specific sense of the word, but first in the great apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch this is the case. According to 4 Ezra vii. 28, God's son, the Christ, when he is revealed will "dis-pense joy to those that remain for four hundred years". The same prospect of "joy" for those "left in the land" recurs in xii. 24. The most typical passage is Baruch xxix. 1-8: When the Messiah begins to reveal himself, Behemoth and Leviathan likewise appear and are given as food to the remnant; the earth produces ten thousandfold; a vine will have one thousand branches, every branch one thousand clusters, every cluster one thousand grapes, and every grape will yield one kor of wine; winds will proceed from God and will carry to the people the fragrance of the aromatic fruit and every night clouds will distill healing dew; the heavenly supplies of manna will be let down and they will eat of them in those years because they have reached the end of the ages.<sup>7</sup> Characteristic also is lxxiv. 1: "In these days the reapers will not have to exert themselves, and those that build will not have to toil, for of themselves all works will have progress together with those who labor thereon with much rest." And it is precisely in these latest apocalypses that the final state appears at the farthest remove from the conditions of earthly existence even in an idealized form.

<sup>7</sup> This is the passage from which Papias is believed to have borrowed his well-known description of the Chiliastic state, quoted in Irenaeus V, 33, 3.



It is not a perfection of the present life, but a transposal of life into the supernatural that is expected. There can be little doubt that a sense of the incompatibility of such a state with the Messianic joys as ordinarily conceived, contributed to sharpen the distinction between the two successive kingdoms and to make it one not merely of chronology but chiefly of character.

The Pauline eschatology in point of date lies between the older documents in which the Chiliastic view appears and this later efflorescence of it in 4 Ezra and Baruch. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts should have been made to bring Paul in line with the general apocalyptic development on this point, by making him teach the future coming of some such temporary kingdom of the Christ as the Jewish sources assume.<sup>8</sup> The traces of this,—for at the best it is only traces of such teaching that have supposedly been found—are all connected with the Apostle's doctrine of the resurrection. The analogy of the well-known passage in Rev. xx. has undoubtedly led interpreters to look for the idea by preference in that quarter. It is affirmed that Paul expects a double resurrection, one of a certain class of dead at the Parousia, and that of the remaining dead at the consummation of the world before the judgment, and that he places the glorious reign of Christ between these two resurrections.<sup>9</sup> Now it will be observed, that the idea of Chiliasm, when introduced in this concrete form, which is, as a

<sup>8</sup>So Grimm, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 380-411; Schmiedel in Holtzmann's *Handkommentar*,<sup>2</sup> II, p. 196, Kabisch, *Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht und ihre Beziehung zur jüdischen Apokalypsi.*, pp. 111, 112; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judenthums*,<sup>2</sup> p. 331. Among more recent writers the presence of Chiliasm in Paul is denied by Titius, *Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit, Der Paulinismus*, p. 47; Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity*, p. 386, and Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, pp. 322-324.

<sup>9</sup>Where the doctrine of a universal resurrection is denied to Paul, the judgment alone would have to mark the close of the provisional kingdom, and the resurrection, in its form of a resurrection of believers only, would fall at the beginning of the kingdom.

matter of fact, the only form for which any semblance of support can be found in the Pauline Epistles, does not particularly fit into the development of the doctrine in Jewish Apocalyptic. It would represent a more advanced form of the idea than is met with in 4 Ezra and Baruch, inasmuch as the differentiation between the two kingdoms has been carried through to the point of a distinction between two resurrections. In the two above-named apocalypses the resurrection is not yet divided, but remains fixed to its accustomed place immediately before the final judgment.<sup>10</sup> The Pauline teaching then would in this respect not be in continuity with the apocalyptic development of doctrine, but overtake and pass on beyond it. Still it might be urged, that this particular departure can be explained from the specifically Christian premise, that the Messiah has already come, and that in him, that is at a central point, the resurrection has already become an accomplished fact, so that naturally, when between this fundamental resurrection and the final resurrection the Chiliastic kingdom as a separate future stage is inserted, this intermediate stage must also, like the first and the last epoch, have a resurrection connected with itself. In some such way at least the strangeness of such a departure from the more prevalent apocalyptic tradition could be softened down and the theory of a real connection on the main point be upheld.

It must be admitted, however, that the likelihood of finding Chiliasm in Paul is not favored by the trend of the Apostle's teaching as a whole. Not merely does his general concatenation of eschatological events, in which the Parousia and the resurrection of believers are directly combined with the judgment, exclude any intermediate stage of protracted duration.<sup>11</sup> It is of even more importance

<sup>10</sup>The passage quoted above from 4 Ezra vii. 28: "My Son the Messiah will reveal himself with all those that are with him" does not refer to a provisional resurrection but to the appearance of certain eminent saints with the Christ from heaven.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. 1 Thess. i. 10; ii. 17; iii. 13; v. 9, 23; 2 Thess. i. 10; ii. 12, 13. In point of fact the Chiliastic doctrine runs so contrary to the Apostle's teaching as a whole that its assumed appearance in 1 Cor. xv. 24 and



to note that Paul conceives of the present Christian state on so high a plane, that nothing less or lower than the absolute state of the eternal consummate kingdom appears worthy to be its sequel. To represent it as followed by some intermediate condition falling short of the perfect heavenly life would be in the nature of an anti-climax.

More and more it begins to be recognized that according to the Apostle's teaching the Christian life is semi-eschatological. It partakes in principle of the powers and privileges of the world to come. The most fundamental way of affirming this is by ascribing to the Christian a "spiritual" state of existence, for the πνεῦμα is the characteristic element of the heavenly life of the αἶον μέλλον. The principle in question has nothing to do with the nearness or remoteness of what we call the second coming of our Lord. It is not chronological contiguity, but causal nexus and identity of religious privilege that most closely link together the present and the life of eternity. Along many lines the influence of this idea as determinative of the Apostle's thought can be clearly shown. We must not forget that in the Apostle's view the resurrection, an integral part of the eschatological process, had already taken place in principle, viz., in the resurrection of Christ. Christ was the "first-fruits" of the resurrection that belongs to the end. And, though not as regards the body, yet as regards the spirit, this resurrection of Christ as a beginning of eternal life, already works in believers. The Christian has in principle been raised with Christ. And as the resurrection is anticipated in the springing up of new life in the believer, so the other great eschatological act, the judgment is in a sense anticipated in justification, since the latter partakes of all the comprehensiveness and absoluteness that pertain to the final sentence of God in the last

Phil. iii. has been construed by some writers as prima facie evidence of the interpolated character of the former passage (So Michelsen, *Theol. Tydschr.* 1877, pp. 215-221 and Bruins, *ibid.* 1892, pp. 381-415) and of spuriousness of the Epistle to the Philippians (So Hoekstra, *Theol. Tydschr.* 1875, pp. 442-450).



day. Even the death of Christ means to Paul, among other things, the judgment in that more realistic Old Testament sense of the destruction of the powers arrayed against God, and in so far is another act of the eschatological drama already performed.<sup>12</sup> The idea of *σωτηρία* is with Paul originally an eschatological idea: it denotes salvation in the day of judgment, salvation from the wrath to come, and from this it is transferred to the present state, inasmuch as the believer receives this immunity, this deliverance in principle now.<sup>13</sup> It is thus of the very essence of salvation that it correlates the Christian's standing with the great issues of the last day and the world to come. Hence also the *καινή κτίσις* spoken of in 2 Cor. v. 17, undoubtedly means to the Apostle the personal beginning of that world-renewal in which all eschatology culminates: "If any one is in Christ, he is a new creation".

The point we wish to emphasize in all this is, that Paul throughout represents the present Christian life as so directly leading up to, so thoroughly pre-fashioning the life of the eternal world, that the assumption of a *tertium quid* separating the one from the other must be regarded as destructive of the inner organism of his eschatology. For it will be observed that what the Christian life anticipates is according to the above survey, in each case something of an absolute nature, something pertaining to the consummate state. No matter with what concrete elements or colors the conception of a Chiliastic state may be filled out, to a mind thus nourished upon the first-fruits of eternal life itself, it can, for the very reason that it must fall short of eternal life, have neither significance nor attraction.

Still such general considerations do not absolve us from the duty of testing the exegetical evidence adduced in support of the view in question. There are not lacking those who fully agree with us as to the general structure of the

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Col. ii. 15; Rom. viii. 3; 1 Cor. ii. 6, where notice the Partic. Pres. *καταργουμένων*: the rulers of this world are already coming to nought.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. v. 9; Rom. v. 9.

Pauline eschatology but who, on exegetical grounds, feel constrained to assume that by the introduction of a Chiliastic element the Apostle has involved himself in a palpable contradiction. The passages in which Chiliasm has been found are chiefly four, 1 Cor. xv. 23-28; 1 Thess. iv. 13-18; 2 Thess. i. 5-12; and Phil. iii. 10-14. We will examine these in succession. In connection with the passage in 1 Corinthians the argument for the Chiliastic interpretation may be briefly stated as follows: It is urged, first of all, that in the statement of vs. 22 "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive", the πάντες must be taken without restriction, of all men: "As in Adam all men die, so also in Christ all men shall be made alive". This necessitates, it is further said, since οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ of vs. 23 does not exhaust the πάντες, the assumption that vs. 24 speaks of a subsequent stage in the resurrection. The words εἰτα τὸ τέλος are therefore taken to mean: "Then comes the end (the final stage) of the resurrection". It is with reference to these successive stages that the Apostle writes in vs. 23: "Each in his own order". There are two orders, τάγματα: *first* those that are Christ's at His Parousia, *secondly* the end of the resurrection (that is the raising of the remainder of men) when He delivers up the kingdom to God, even the Father. And, as in the first statement the words "at his Parousia" are added to designate the time when this first act will occur, so in the second the words "when he delivers up the kingdom" are added to fix the point of time for the last act.

The first resurrection takes place at the Parousia, the second when Christ abdicates His kingdom. This, of course, involves that the two points of time referred to do not coincide but are separated by an interval of shorter or longer duration. Just as between the ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός and the ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ there lies a period marked by ἔπειτα, so between ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ and τὸ τέλος Paul places a period and marks this by εἰτα (εἰτα τὸ τέλος.). That there are three successive acts to be distinguished in the resurrection, follows also, it is believed, from the use of the



term *τάγμα* "each in his own *τάγμα*". This distributive way of speaking implies that there is more than one *τάγμα*, and, since Christ in His resurrection stands alone and cannot form a *τάγμα* by Himself, it is plain that there must be two *τάγματα* besides Him. The one is the *τάγμα* of those that are Christ's at His coming, the other the *τάγμα* at the end. That the time elapsing between the resurrection of believers and the final resurrection must be a protracted period is said to be implied by the second *ὅταν* in vs. 24. The first *ὅταν* merely names in the Present Subjunctive the *point* of time *when* the final resurrection takes place, *ὅταν παραδιδῶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ* "when he *delivers* up the kingdom to God"; the second *ὅταν* names in the Aorist Subjunctive the *period after* which the final resurrection will occur, *ὅταν κατηργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχήν* "when he *shall have abolished* all rule." In other words Paul not merely implies that there will be a period between the resurrection of believers and that of the others, but also conceives of this period as the kingdom of Christ specifically, in distinction from the kingdom of God, which is to follow after, and he moreover affirms that this specific future, inter-resurrection kingdom of Christ will have for its concrete content the progressive subjugation of the enemies described as *ἀρχαί*, *ἐξουσίαι* and *δυνάμεις*.

Having now the proposed exegesis before us we perceive at a glance, that it seems to commend itself by that most popular of credentials, surface simplicity. But, as is frequently the case, the difficulties lie beneath the surface. To begin with the argument derived from *πάντες* in vs. 22. There is an insurmountable obstacle to understanding this of "all men" in the fact that the *ζωοποιεῖσθαι* of the *πάντες* is represented as taking place *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*. How can this apply to the second resurrection at the end? There are two answers offered us, but they are both equally unacceptable on the basis of the general teaching of Paul. The one is that offered by Meyer and Godet. They propose to give to *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ* such a weakened sense as to make



it equally applicable to the resurrection of the lost and of believers. Thus Meyer interprets the phrase in question to mean that "in Christ lies the ground and cause why at the final historical completion of His redemptive work death . . . shall be removed again and all shall be made alive." And Godet asks: "May it not be said of those who shall rise to condemnation, that they also shall rise in Christ? . . . The Saviour having once appeared, it is on their relation to Him that the lot of all depends for weal or woe; it is this relation consequently which determines their return to life, either to glory or to condemnation." We submit that this is an utterly un-Pauline interpretation of the phrase *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*. Wherever this occurs in Paul's Epistles it is always meant in the full sense of a soteriological, if not always pneumatic, in-being in Christ. Especially a *ζωοποιεῖν* which takes place in Christ, must needs be mediated by the Spirit, just as the *ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ* implies a real union between him and the *πάντες* who die. This road therefore is impassable. The other way of relieving the difficulty, that after those who are Christ's have been raised, still others shall be raised *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*, is to assume that Paul here rises to the height of belief in an *ἀποκατάστασις πάντων* i. e., to the height of absolute universalism. At the second resurrection those will be raised, who at the time of the first resurrection, at the moment of the Parousia, were not yet "of Christ", but in the meantime have been converted and thus become proper subjects of a saving resurrection.<sup>14</sup> But such an assumption, no less than the proposal of Meyer and Godet, is too palpably inconsistent with the most explicit teaching of the Apostle elsewhere to deserve serious consideration. The eternal destruction of the wicked is taught not only in the earlier epistles but in this very same epistle to the Corinthians and in the later letters, so that the difference cannot be placed to the account of a development in Paul's mind in

<sup>14</sup> This is the view of Grimm, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 380-411, and of Schmiedel, *Handkommentar*, II, p. 196.

the direction of universalism. Nor do the words *ἵνα ᾗ ὁ θεὸς πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* in vs. 28 require an absolutely universalistic interpretation. For these words refer to the bringing to nought of the enemies spoken of in vss. 24, 25 of whom the last is death. These enemies are designated *ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις, θάνατος*. They prevent until the end that God should be *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*, that is, they interfere with the complete victorious sway of God over the universe; *ἐν πᾶσιν* is neuter "in all things" = "in the universe". Full justice is done to these words when we interpret them of the breaking of the power of these enemies in the world. To be sure, it might be replied that, so long as any wicked men remain, the power of these superhuman enemies is not wholly broken, because the very existence of moral evil in part of mankind would prove its continuance, and that therefore, although *ἐν πᾶσιν* be neuter, and do not affirm directly the conversion of all men, yet indirectly the unqualified subjection of the universe to God, and the total *καταργεῖσθαι* of these powers warrant the same conclusion. In answer to this we would say that, if the phrase *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* is to be pressed to this extent, then Paul must have combined with it the idea either of the conversion or of the extinction of the superhuman enemies of God also. If moral evil cannot continue to exist in man, no more can it continue to exist outside of man. In the passage before us, however, the Apostle does not speak of either the conversion or the extinction of these spirit-forces, but simply of their *καταργεῖσθαι*. This word means not, as a rule, to reduce to non-existence but to render inoperative, to strip of power, *ἀεργὸν ποιεῖσθαι*.<sup>15</sup> And in the case of *ὁ θάνατος* we have a concrete example of how it is meant. *Ὁ θάνατος καταργεῖται* when death is no longer permitted to slay men. This will happen no more after the resurrection. Assuming that *ὁ θάνατος* is not a mere personification but a real daemon-power, one of a genus divided into *ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις*, and assuming that as such Death is assigned to

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 8; 1 Cor. i. 28; ii. 6; Hebr. ii. 14.



eternal condemnation, there would be nothing inconsistent in all this with the state of the universe in which God is *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*. And, assuming still further that the wicked of mankind are likewise given up by God to eternal perdition; there is nothing inconsistent in their continuing evil either with the *καταργεῖσθαι* of death or with the *εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* of God. In the Apocalypse it is said that Death and Hades are to be cast into the lake of fire. Yet nobody infers from this that the Apocalypse teaches absolute universalism.

If these two proposals be unacceptable, what is the true interpretation of "all shall be made alive" in vs. 22? Two possibilities offer themselves. The one is to assume that *πάντες* is qualified by *ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ* and by *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*. Charles believes that this construction is indicated by the position of the words. The rendering according to him should be: "As all who are in Adam die, so all who are in Christ shall be made alive". This is a possible view. For analogies Charles refers to 1 Cor. xv. 18, "Those who fell asleep in Christ were lost"; 1 Thess. iv. 16, "the dead in Christ shall rise first"; Col. i. 4, "your faith in Christ Jesus"; Rom. ix. 3, "accursed from Christ". On this view the whole succeeding context deals avowedly with the resurrection of believers only. It is, of course, quite possible to adopt this construction of the words in vs. 22 and its corollary, that the passage confines itself to the resurrection of believers, without endorsing Charles' further inference that Paul taught a resurrection of believers only. There is, however, still a second way in which the same understanding of the passage may be had, and yet the more usual construction of "in Adam" and "in Christ" retained. For even if construing with the verb, we are quite at liberty to assume that Paul made the mental qualification "all (who were in Adam)"—"all (who are in Christ)". We believe this to be the most plausible interpretation of the verse. What the Apostle means to say is not that there is no exception to the dying in Adam and no exception to the being made alive in



Christ, that it involves all individuals, but simply that there is no variation to the mode of these two processes described as "in Adam", "in Christ". In other words, not the universality of the law, but its absolute restriction to one mode of operation is what is affirmed. Vs. 22 serves to elucidate vs. 21 and in the latter verse the point of the statement is, that both death and resurrection are *through a man*. Consequently in vs. 23 not *πάντες* by itself but *πάντες* jointly with "in Adam" and "in Christ" has the emphasis: there is no dying outside of Adam, there is no quickening outside of Christ. With absolute universalism this has nothing to do.

The next point raised was that Paul's use of *τάγμα* implies two stages in the resurrection separated by an interval. This would seem to be the case if the primary meaning of *τάγμα* must be adhered to. Primarily it stands for "division", "troup", "group", being used largely as a military term. "Each in his own division" would then imply that there are two "groups" of the raised at least. Now, it is urged, that Christ could not have been conceived by the Apostle as forming a *τάγμα* by Himself, that consequently the "divisions" implied must exist apart from Christ, in other words that there must be two resurrections following that of Christ. On this view the *ἐκαστος* does not include Christ but covers only the *πάντες* of vs. 22, of whom it is said that they will be made alive "in Christ", which latter affirmation could not, of course, apply to Christ Himself. Against the validity of this argumentation we submit, that it is impossible to exclude Christ from the scope of the *ἐκαστος*. Christ is the *ἀπαρχή* and *ἀπαρχή* stands coördinated with *ἐπειτα*. No plausible reason can be assigned why Paul should have written the clause "the first-fruits Christ" at all, unless he meant to give Christ a place in the order of the resurrection. On the other hand, if we assume that Christ has a *τάγμα* the reason why His resurrection is introduced here becomes immediately apparent. Probably the circumstance had been urged against the Apostle's doctrine of the

resurrection, that the resurrection of believers ought to take place immediately after their death, at least with no longer delay than intervened between Christ's death and His resurrection. To this the Apostle replies: "Each in his own order": Christ has a prerogative, He is the ἀπαρχή, the source of the whole process, therefore His resurrection had to follow without delay, but it is only natural that that of the others should be postponed till His coming, precisely because He is the ἀπαρχή. The Apostle, it seems to us, does not use τάγμα with any conscious emphasis upon its primary, military meaning, for ἀπαρχή belongs to a totally different line of figurative representation, that of the first-fruits and the harvest. Obviously the only point of comparison in the use of τάγμα is that of order, sequence of appearance. This leaves it probable that Paul employs the word in its secondary sense of "order": "each in his own order", "each in his own place of succession".<sup>16</sup> This also obviates the difficulty that Christ cannot form a τάγμα by Himself. To adhere to the primary sense of "division" and yet include Christ, would be possible only by throwing strong emphasis on the military meaning of the word, so as to represent Christ as "a host in Himself", forming a τάγμα, an entire division by His own strength. This might fit the rôle Christ plays in the eschatological process, since in the sequel also He appears as the conqueror over God's enemies. But, as already observed, it is not favored by the characterization of Christ as ἀπαρχή rather than as ἀρχηγός or some such term. And it certainly does not fit the case of those who form the other τάγμα, for believers in their resurrection do not appear in any military capacity.

If then τάγμα be given the sense of "order", "rank", and Christ comes in the first τάγμα, every necessity falls away for inferring from the mode of statement, that there must be a further τάγμα besides that of Christ and that of be-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 1 Clem xxxvii. 3 Οὐ πάντες εἰσὶν ἑπαρχοὶ οὐδὲ χιλιάρχοι οὐδὲ ἑκατόνταρχοι οὐδὲ πεντηκόνταρχοι οὐδὲ τὸ καθεξῆς, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐπιτελεῖ. Here τάγμα = "rank", "position".



lievers, and consequently for finding here the doctrine of a double resurrection, before and after the Millennium.

Much is made of the argument that *εἴτα* at the beginning of vs. 24 proves an interval between the Parousia and "the end". It must be granted that *εἴτα* would be entirely in place, if the Apostle had meant to express such a thought. The contention of Titius, that in that case *ἐπειτα* ought to have been repeated is not borne out by analogy. But it is not true that *εἴτα* is out of place on the other view, *vis.*, if Paul means to affirm mere succession without any protracted interval. *\*Εἴτα* can be used just as well as *τότε* to denote momentary sequence of action, as will be seen from a comparison of vss. 5, 6, 7 in this same chapter, Jno. xiii. 4, 5; xix. 26, 27. Of course a brief interval, in logical conception at least, must be assumed; *τὸ τέλος* comes, strictly speaking, after the rising of *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

The absolute phrase *τὸ τέλος* does not favor the view that "the end of the resurrection" is meant by it. In its absoluteness the simple *τὸ τέλος* is too weighty for this: it must have a more comprehensive meaning. To interpret it of the end of the present aeon is scarcely admissible, for that coincides with the Parousia and by means of *εἴτα* "the end" is represented as a step subsequent to the Parousia. We have the choice between taking it in its strict teleological signification as "the goal" to which the whole process of redemption has been moving, or, if the time-element be retained, understanding it of "the close" of the great eschatological events, which lead over from this aeon into the coming one. The latter is favored by the time-sense of *ὅταν* and the clauses which this conjunction introduces. That which forms as it were the concrete content of the *τέλος* is the giving up of the kingship by Christ to God, the Father. And this "giving up" is nothing else but the culminating result of the eschatological process of subduing the enemies, whence also the second *ὅταν* describes it as taking place after these enemies have been all reduced to subjection. Taking *τέλος* in this sense as marking the con-



summation-point of Christ's eschatological reign, we cannot find in it the proof for a millennium, which it would contain, if it meant "the end of the resurrection". But the question remains, where Paul makes this eschatological reign of Christ, which comes to a close after the resurrection of believers, begin. It is on the answer to this question that the understanding of *εἶτα*, which in itself may mean sequence with or without a chronological interval, in the present case depends. If Paul made this reign of Christ begin at the Parousia then there must be a period between the Parousia and *τὸ τέλος* because the beginning and the end of a thing must be separated in time. If on the other hand the reign dates from a point back of the Parousia, then the *τέλος* of it can follow close upon the Parousia. Here the second *ὅταν*-clause might help us to a decision. It affirms that the giving up of the kingdom will happen after Christ has brought to nought the various powers enumerated. The question resolves itself into this: Is there anything in the conception of these hostile powers and of their subjection which compels us to think of Christ's warfare against and conquest of them as not antedating the Parousia? Plainly the conquest is of such a nature that it covers a period of some duration; this is implied in the *ἄχρῃς οὖν* and in "the last enemy". But the question is, where we shall make the period begin, at the Parousia or at some earlier point. *Ὅταν* is retrospective, but the point to which the retrospect extends is uncertain. All we can say is, that there is nothing in the words of the passage itself, or in Paul's general teaching to hinder us in dating this period of eschatological conquest from the Saviour's death and resurrection. Paul regards these last-named events in an eschatological light. In Col. ii. 15 he speaks of the conquest of the *ἀρχαί* and *ἐξουσίαι* as having been in principle accomplished in the cross of Christ. In Rom. viii. 38, 39 he assumes that even now Christ so reigns over and controls death and life and principalities and powers, that nothing is able any longer to separate believers from the love of God in Him.

But, while the words of the second *ὅταν*-clause will fit into either view, this clause, when taken in connection with the statement of vs. 26, positively favors an earlier beginning of the kingdom of Christ than at the Parousia. "The last enemy that is brought to nought is Death". The conquering of the other enemies, and consequently the reign of Christ, which consists in this, precedes the conquest of Death. Now Paul makes the conquest of Death coincide with the Parousia and the resurrection of believers. According to vss. 50-58, when the dead are raised incorruptible, and the living are changed, (*i. e.* according to vs. 23 at the Parousia) Death is swallowed up in victory. And still further, apart from this specific argument derived from the swallowing up of Death in victory at the Parousia, a more general argument can be built on vss. 50-58, because the resurrection of the righteous and the very last "end" must fall together. In vss. 50-58 the Apostle speaks throughout in terms of absolute consummation. When the righteous dead are raised, this is the moment of their inheriting "the kingdom of God", vs. 50. Notice that the Apostle does not say "the kingdom of Christ", as he ought to have said according to the Chiliastic exegesis of vss. 24-28, for this exegesis makes Paul distinguish between a kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of God in this way, that the former extends from the Parousia till "the end", the latter begins with "the end". Vs. 50 proves that the kingdom of God begins with the Parousia and the resurrection of the righteous, therefore the kingdom of Christ must, so far as it is chronologically distinguished from the kingdom of God, lie before the Parousia; it begins, as already stated, with Christ's own resurrection. This also follows from the equivalence of the *κυριότης* of Christ and the *βασιλεία* of Christ. The *κυριότης* begins with the resurrection of the Saviour, therefore His *βασιλεία* cannot begin at a later point. Phil. ii. 9-11 connects with the exaltation of Christ to the *κυριότης*, the same things that 1 Cor. xv. 24-28 connects with His reign as king. The trump blown for the resurrection of



the righteous is according to vs. 52 "the last trump", which excludes the prospect of any further crisis. Elsewhere also the Apostle joins together, as we have seen, the resurrection of believers, the change of the living, and the judgment of the world.<sup>17</sup> Finally, Paul expects that the renewal of the entire creation will accompany the resurrection of the saints, Rom. viii. 18-22. When the creation is delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God, this of itself must mark the consummation of all things and excludes the further activity of enemies, who would still have to be subjected.

Two other passages sometimes quoted as carrying Chiliastic implications are 1 Thess. iv. 13-18, and 2 Thess. i. 5-12. In regard to the former passage, it is argued that the Thessalonians appear to have been doubtful whether those who had died among them would be raised from the dead at the Parousia. But they cannot have been ignorant of or non-believers in the resurrection of the saints as such, since this latter doctrine holds a central place in Paul's gospel, and he must have preached it to them emphatically. They could not have been Christians without knowing and accepting it. The situation, it is believed, becomes conceivable only, if we understand the doubt or unbelief of the Thessalonians to have had reference not to the resurrection of believers in general, but to the question whether the departed believers would have a resurrection of their own at the Parousia to enable them to share in the provisional kingdom of Christ together with those whom the Lord would find alive at His coming, or whether they would have to wait for their resurrection and glory until the end of this kingdom. It was to them not a question of resurrection or non-resurrection, but a question of earlier or later, and on this question of earlier or later hinged the question of sharing in or missing the blessedness of the millennial kingdom. And that such was the real situation, it is urged, follows not merely from the impossibility of otherwise conceiving it,

<sup>17</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 19; 2 Thess. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 7, 8; 2 Tim. iv. 1.



but also from the manner in which Paul meets it. He does not affirm in general that there is a resurrection of the dead as he does in 1 Cor. xv., but says "those that are fallen asleep, God will through Jesus bring with him". And "we that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise *precede* them that are fallen asleep". The use of the verb *φθάνειν* "precede" is taken as proof that the question was a question of precedence. Paul denies the precedence in the peculiar form in which the Thessalonians had imagined it. There will be no earlier or later as regards believers, no discrimination between living and dead as to share in the provisional Messianic kingdom. All will be brought by God to be with Jesus at His coming. But, while denying this, and in the very act of denying this, Paul implies that the general scheme of the resurrection admitted of the possibility of doubt on this point, because there is room for precedence, there are successive stages in it, there will be a dual resurrection, one at the Parousia, another at the close of Christ's millennial reign. The Apostle virtually assures the Thessalonians that their dead will be at the first meeting of the saints with Christ, which distinctly presupposes that there will be a second meeting at a later point.

Here as in the case of 1 Cor. xv. the argument seems to be a very plausible and convincing one. But, when we look more closely at the actual words of the passage, the matter becomes somewhat more complicated and considerably less certain. First of all it should be observed that not much can be built on the *a priori* assumption of the impossibility of the Thessalonians' doubting the resurrection as such after the preaching of Paul. To the Church in Corinth Paul had also preached the resurrection, still some of the members of that church were disbelievers of the doctrine. It is true the doubt of the Thessalonians, if it existed, must have been of a different character, more naïve, less theoretical than that of the Corinthians, otherwise Paul would have met it systematically as he does in 1 Cor. xv. But, if theoretical reasons made the Corinthians skeptical, notwithstanding the explicit

preaching of Paul, then some more primitive or instinctive form of the same Hellenic unbelief may have kept the Thessalonians from assimilating this part of Paul's gospel, of course in a more innocent way, for Paul does not blame, he simply comforts and reassures them. It is not *a priori* impossible that there were those among the Thessalonians who believed the glory of the end to be destined for those only who would be living at the coming of Christ and expected nothing for the dead, neither at the Parousia nor thereafter, neither in the body nor as to the spirit,—in a word, who judged of the dead after a pagan, Hellenic fashion, while taking a Christian view of those whom Christ at His coming would find living in the body.

But the decisive question is: What does the passage itself imply? The very words in which the Apostle introduces the subject seem to us to make it plain that the Thessalonians did not take into account, as a ground for relative disappointment, or relative comfort, a resurrection of their dead at a point later than the Parousia, separated from the latter by an intervening reign of Christ. Vs. 13 indicates that the readers were given to sorrowing over their dead as the pagans do who have no hope. The question has been raised, it is true, whether this necessarily means that they sorrowed for the same reason for which the pagans sorrow, *viz.*, that they had no hope whatever, not even of ultimate belated resurrection, or whether justice be not done to the words when we merely make them mean, that the Thessalonians sorrowed in the same excessive manner as the Gentiles do, although each for a different reason, the Gentiles because they have no hope, the Thessalonians because they feared that their dead would not return to life until after the Messianic reign of Christ, with all its possibilities for enjoyment, was hopelessly past. It has been argued that Paul distinguishes the case of the Thessalonians from that of the *λοιποί*; the *λοιποί* are *οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα*; they, therefore, must be *ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα*; consequently Paul does not class them with disbelievers concerning the resurrection; the manner or



excess of their sorrow only was the same as that of the pagans, not the reason was the same. This argumentation, however, overlooks the fact that the *ἐλπίδα ἔχειν*, which certainly is implied with reference to the readers, is not an *ἐλπίδα ἔχειν* in their subjective consciousness, but in the objective conviction of Paul. The Apostle does not mean to say: You need not *have* sorrowed, because you *knew* you had hope. What he means to say is: You *need* not sorrow, because I know there is hope for you. These words, therefore, do not help us in any way to determine the subjective state of mind of the Thessalonians, whether they doubted merely the raising of their dead at the Parousia or the raising of their dead at any time. Decisive, however, are the following considerations: (1) The *καί* before *οἱ λοιποί* indicates that the Thessalonians in their own mind *also* belonged to the class of those who had no hope; if the mere manner or degree of sorrowing formed the point of comparison, Paul would have written *καθὼς οἱ λοιποί*. (2) The way in which Paul explains himself in vs. 14 shows how he conceived of the subjective state of mind of the Thessalonians. It will be noticed that in this verse he really gives two assurances: (a) that the *κοιμηθέντες* will be raised; (b) that they will be brought by God into the presence of Jesus at the Parousia. This sounds as if both points had been in doubt. If only the latter had been in doubt, Paul would have said: The resurrection will take place not later but at the Parousia. What he says is: There will be a resurrection of the dead, and the dead will be present at the Parousia. Especially the protasis of vs. 14, "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose" make this very clear, because logically it requires the apodosis: "then also those that are fallen asleep will rise in Christ". That Jesus rose Paul would not have mentioned at all, if there had not been doubt concerning the fact of the resurrection. The apodosis which Paul actually wrote does not show our point so clearly, because it contracts into a single clause two distinct propositions: *ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας ἐγερεὶ διὰ τοῦ*

Ἰησοῦ and ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ. (3)

If the Thessalonians had been merely concerned about a belated participation of their dead in the blessings of the future, and Paul had wished to call attention to the relative hopefulness of even this state of mind as contrasted with the utter hopelessness of the pagan attitude on the subject, then the Apostle would as a matter of fact have given the Thessalonians two distinct grounds of comfort; in the *first* place that even so their doubt did not call for such excessive sorrow, since they themselves continued to believe in an ultimate resurrection; in the *second* place that the actual situation was far better than they imagined, since they could count on an immediate resurrection coinciding with the Parousia. But in reality there is no trace that Paul had two such distinct thoughts in mind; vs. 14 by means of γάρ attaches itself to vs. 13, but it makes no reflection upon the main thought which would according to the Chiliastic exegesis find expression in vs. 13, *viz.*, that the Thessalonians had at any rate the final resurrection to fall back upon.

On the ground of these three considerations it may be confidently affirmed that the sorrow of the Thessalonians had no Chiliastic background, but was caused by more fundamental misconceptions. Still this yields no more than a negative result. It cannot be proved from their state of mind that they were Chiliasts and that Paul had taught them such doctrine. Notwithstanding this the possibility exists that in the answer which Paul gives in order to instruct or relieve them, there might be Chiliastic implications. The general doubt of the Thessalonians, whether their dead would be present at the Parousia, Paul might have met in the more precise form of implying that they would not only participate in the resurrection but would obtain a first resurrection restricted to believers. In other words, the writing of this very passage might have been the first occasion on which Paul broached the subject of the provisional kingdom to the Thessalonian converts. This brings us to



the question how the *φθάσωμεν* in vs. 15 is to be understood. The verb expresses the thought of arriving earlier at the goal than somebody else. How is this to be understood in the connection? Did Paul have in mind when he used this figure that there were two distinct arrivals at the presence of the Lord and at the resurrection-state, the earlier and the later, and does he assure the Thessalonians that those who remained alive would not have the earlier one and the dead in Christ only the later of these two arrivals? In that case the background is that of Chiliasm with its double resurrection. Or did Paul simply employ the figure to assure the readers that in gaining the presence of the Lord the dead would not be *a moment* behind the living? In that case the representation has nothing to do with Chiliasm. It seems to us that everything is in favor of the latter exegesis. The Chiliastic scheme distinguishes between two resurrections, but not between two resurrections to glory, so that it really does not explain the mode of expression: those that are left will not anticipate the dead. Of an anticipation in glory the Chiliastic scheme knows only where the first resurrection is confined to the martyrs, and that could not be the case here, since Paul speaks of all the dead in Christ.<sup>18</sup>

In 2 Thess. i. 5-12 there occur two expressions which have been construed in a Chiliastic sense. In vss. 5ff. the Apostle says that the persecutions and afflictions which the

<sup>18</sup> It is a question in dispute which will probably never be settled to satisfaction how much of vss. 15-17 belongs to the *λόγος κυρίου* which Paul quotes and with what degree of literalness it is quoted by him. If we were sure that the words in v. 15 *οἱ περιλειπόμενοι οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας* (with the change, of course, from the 1st to the 3rd person) were literally Christ's words, either orally transmitted or by revelation delivered to Paul, then it would be plain, that to draw the inference of Chiliasm from *φθάσωμεν* would involve not merely the ascription of this doctrine to Paul but likewise to Jesus. But it is scarcely worth while for our present purpose to pursue this any further, because we have no data to determine the extent and the literalness of the quotation. The words of Jesus might merely have affirmed the resurrection of the believing dead at the Parousia, and Paul might have made use of this declaration in an argument with Chiliastic implications.

members of the Church endure are a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, to the end that they may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which they also suffer, since it is a righteous thing with God to recompense affliction to them that afflict the readers and to those that are afflicted rest with Paul at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven. In vs. 11 we have the more general idea, that God may count the Thessalonians worthy of their calling (*κλησις* here in the objective sense = "that to which one is called, as *ἐλπίς* elsewhere). There is, however, nothing in these statements that would go beyond the general thought that suffering and glory, sanctification and inheritance of the kingdom of God are linked together. The persecutions and afflictions of which the former passage speaks are not specifically those of martyrdom, and to think of a separate resurrection for all those that were persecuted and afflicted, would be without analogy. Besides this, the kingdom to which Paul refers is "the kingdom of God" (vs. 5), and this, according to 1 Cor. xv. 24, is the kingdom of the absolute end, not the intermediate kingdom preceding it.<sup>19</sup>

The last passage we must examine as to its bearings on the question of Chiliasm in Paul is Phil. iii. 10-14. The Apostle it is said, here expresses the desire to become conformed into the death of Christ, that is to suffer martyrdom. The motive for this desire is expressed in the words "if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead". Paul according to this interpretation expected a resurrection in which only those who had died for Christ's sake would share, whereas the others would have to be content with the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 12 "to the end that ye should walk worthily of God, who calleth you into his own kingdom and glory". It will be observed that if the passage from 1 Thess. iv. discussed above, and the expressions in 2 Thess. i. both taught Chiliasm, they would disagree as to the type of Chiliasm taught, since the First Epistle implies that all believers who have died share in the resurrection at the Parousia, whereas the Second Epistle would restrict this privilege to those who have endured persecution. This might be construed as a reflection on the genuineness of the Second Epistle.



general resurrection at a later time. This, it will be observed, would yield a conception far more analogous to what Chiliastic interpreters find in the well-known passage of the Apocalypse than the statements of 1 Cor. xv. 22ff, Chiliastically interpreted, for here in Philippians we should actually have the idea that the martyrs receive as a special reward a resurrection preceding that of the others, whereas, according to 1 Cor., all those that are of Christ would at His coming share in the resurrection.<sup>20</sup>

Unfortunately in the Epistle to the Philippians it is more impossible than anywhere else to reconcile the alleged Chiliastic elements with the fundamental structure of the writer's eschatology. According to Chap. iii. 20, 21 Paul makes the Parousia coincident with the change of body not merely for himself but for all: "For our commonwealth is in heaven, from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself". If Paul expected any special privilege for himself and other martyrs as regards the time and order of resurrection it cannot have been in connection with the Parousia. We should then have to assume that he looked forward to an earlier resurrection, perhaps immediately after death. On such a view it would perhaps be

<sup>20</sup> The difference between the Chiliasm found in Apoc. xx. 4 and that found in 1 Cor. xv. 22ff. relates to several other points: The Apocalypse makes the reign of Christ last one thousand years, Paul in 1 Cor. would speak of an indefinitely protracted period. According to the Apocalypse at the close of the one thousand years during which Satan is bound he is let loose again previously to his final conquest by Christ; in 1 Cor. the close of the millennial period signifies the conquering of the last enemy. In the Apocalypse the conflict between Christ and the enemies is concentrated in the crisis at the end, with Paul it would cover the whole period of Christ's kingdom. The millennial reign which according to the Apocalypse would be a reign of peace, Satan being bound, would be a reign of war on the interpretation put on Paul's words. It is usually assumed that the millennial reign of which the Apocalypse is believed to speak, is a reign to be exercised by Christ on earth, the process of which Paul speaks plays itself out in the transcendental sphere.

possible to explain the plural of vss. 20, 21 rhetorically so as not to include Paul himself, and confirmation might be found for that in the first chapter, where "to depart" is equivalent to "being with Christ". Thus at least a degree of consistency could be saved for the Epistle. But even such a modified form of the anticipated-resurrection theory would not be plausible enough to deserve serious consideration. On the one hand it is unnatural to exclude Paul from the *ἡμεῖς* of iii. 20, 21; on the other hand there is nothing in i. 20-24 to suggest that the Apostle conceived of the "being with Christ", to which his death would immediately introduce him, as an embodied life in heaven. It is true the phrase *σὺν κυρίῳ εἶναι* designates in 1 Thess. iv. 17 the presence with Christ in the body after the resurrection, but in that passage it receives its special meaning from the context, as is indicated by the word *οὕτως* "and thus we shall be forever with the Lord". In our passage the *σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι* does not have its meaning contextually determined in this way. The phrase in itself decides nothing as to the form which the presence with Christ will assume. Nothing hinders and everything favors giving it the same meaning as the *ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον* of 2 Cor. v. 8.

Another serious objection to the Chilistic interpretation lies in the expressions of vs. 12. Here Paul speaks of that which would enable him to *καταντᾶν εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν* as an "apprehending" a "having been made perfect", and denies his having attained to this: "Not that I have already apprehended or am already made perfect: but I press on, if so be that I may apprehend that for which also I was apprehended by Christ Jesus". It is plain from this that the condition on which the Apostle suspends his attaining unto the resurrection cannot be martyrdom, for it would have no sense for him to assure the readers, that he had not yet attained this, nor was as yet in this way made perfect. Some internal process of attainment and perfecting must be referred to. As soon as we understand the words describing the condition of attaining unto the resur-



rection of an internal process, they appear to be identical in meaning with other statements of the Apostle which affirm the causal nexus between suffering here on earth with Christ and glorification with Him hereafter, and in which it is recognized by all that the reference is not to any special privilege granted to a class of believers, but to the general grace of the resurrection-glory in store for all believers.<sup>21</sup>

Now the difficulty arises that on this interpretation Paul seems to make his participation in the resurrection of believers, which elsewhere appears as an assured possession of every Christian, contingent upon a certain process which he is undergoing here on earth. How could he speak, one naturally asks, of his resurrection with the dubiousness implied in the words: "If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead"? In order to relieve this difficulty Van Hengel in his Commentary on the Epistle proposes the following interpretation.<sup>22</sup> The word *ἐξανάστασις*, he thinks, does not mean here Paul's own resurrection, but is a designation for the time when the Parousia takes place, equivalent to "the hour of the resurrection". Paul would then with a degree of dubiousness express the hope or wish, that, as a result of his striving after conformity with Christ, he might be permitted by God to attain unto, that is to survive until the day of the resurrection. But this is an impossible exegesis for several reasons. Why should Paul call the day of the Parousia by this name "the resurrection from the dead", if he himself wishes or hopes to survive, so that to him personally it would not be a day of resurrection? Going outside of his usual terminology to give it a strange name, he would at least have chosen a name that had some application to his own personal case. And

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Rom. viii. 17 "If so be that we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him"; 2 Cor. iv. 10 "Bearing always about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh"; 2 Tim. ii. 12 "If we suffer, we shall also reign with him."

<sup>22</sup> *Commentarius perpetuus in Ep. Pauli ad Philippenses*, 1838, pp. 234ff.

in the first chapter of the Epistle Paul shows very plainly that survival until the Parousia did no longer at the time of writing appear to him so desirable a thing as to be the supreme goal of his aspiration. He there declares "to depart and be with Christ very far better" than "to abide in the flesh".<sup>23</sup>

We are thus compelled to face the fact that *ἐξανάστασις* means Paul's own resurrection at the Parousia, and that the Apostle represents this by means of *εἴ πως καταντήσω* as in a sense dependent on the outcome of his whole Christian striving and living as it revolved around the apprehension of Christ and the conformation to His death. This may be an unusual representation, but we have no right to declare it impossible. From one point of view, of course, the resurrection was absolutely certain to the Apostle, *viz.*, from the point of view of the divine purpose as reflected in the believer's assurance of salvation. But from another point of view the same resurrection could appear none the less as the ethically and religiously conditioned acmé of the believer's progress in grace and conformity to Christ. The best way to make this plain to ourselves is to keep in mind the two-fold attitude in which the Apostle places himself towards the other great eschatological fact, that of the judgment. On the one hand in the doctrine of justification he posits the absolute certainty that this judgment must be one of complete absolution and vindication on the basis of the merit of Christ. On the other hand he looks forward to the final judgment with a strong sense of accountability and fear, such as makes the thought of it a potent factor in his daily conduct. The sanctification of the believer is to him the *sine qua non* of the divine approval in that day. This throws light upon the analogous representation of the resurrection as the goal of a process of ever-growing apprehension and reproduction of Christ. As no one can expect to

<sup>23</sup> Van Hengel thinks that the verb *καταντῆναι* requires the interpretation of "pervenire ad tempus hujus eventi". But he overlooks the fact that the choice of the verb is determined by the figure of "striving", as in the sequel *διώκειν*. It is obviously metaphorical.



stand in the last day who has not practiced holiness in the fear of God, so no one can hope to attain unto the resurrection of life who has not learned to know Christ and the power of His resurrection and fellowship of His sufferings, being conformed unto His death. Such a mode of viewing the resurrection need not do away with the other mode of viewing it as a gift of free grace, bestowed for the sake of the merit of Christ. The first relation in which Paul stands to Christ is expressed in vss. 8, 9: "That I may win Christ and be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith". This is the forensic relation of justification and it is fundamental. But this is followed by a second, that of the apprehension of Christ subjectively in sanctification. And that it is not impossible for Paul to represent the resurrection as a goal to be striven after, appears from the fact that he here plainly so represents the present spiritual resurrection, which elsewhere he views quite as much as the bodily resurrection under the aspect of an absolute act or gift of God. The process of "knowing Christ", particularly of "knowing the power of his resurrection", is subject to a *διώκειν* on the Apostle's part. It is at one and the same time a divine grace and a Christian attainment. It is a *γνώσις* in which Paul takes an active part, in which there is place for a *καταλαβεῖν*, just as there is a *καταντᾶν* with reference to the eschatological resurrection. It is not necessary here to explain, and may not be easy to explain in the concrete, precisely how the Apostle conceived of this. The only point we desire to make is that if the terms of effort are appropriate terms to be used in connection with the spiritual resurrection, then we have no right to say that *καταντᾶν εἰς* used with *εἰ πως* involves an impossible representation from Paul's point of view as regards the resurrection of the body at the last day. Possibly in vs. 14 "the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus" likewise designates the resurrection-experience or the resurrection-state as something to which God will

call at the end, or as something which lies ready in heaven as the goal to which the believer has been called. Now of this prize Paul affirms that he presses on towards it as towards a goal, and of all mature Christians (τέλειοι) he expects that they will be "thus minded", that is assume the same attitude of pursuit.

We have completed our exegetical survey, and the conclusion is that in none of the passages adduced in favor of the hypothesis is the alleged Chiliasm borne out by the facts, while in not a few points it is positively irreconcilable with the Apostle's representation. It ought to be remembered, however, that this result of our investigation concerns only the idea of a provisional Messianic kingdom as *future*, strictly eschatological from Paul's own standpoint, beginning with the Parousia of the Lord. The argument in no wise precludes Paul's having regarded the *present* reign of Christ with its semi-eschatological character, beginning with the Saviour's resurrection and exaltation to the *κυριότης* in the light of a provisional kingdom to be succeeded by the absolute kingdom at the Parousia. In point of fact such a representation is found in the passage of 1 Cor. xv., for here we are told in so many words that at "the end" Christ will deliver up the kingdom to God, the Father, which implies plainly a distinction between the kingdom of Christ as a present and the kingdom of God as a future reality. Here then we have a form in which the Apostle has incorporated into his eschatology the idea of the two-fold kingdom, just as in the teaching of our Lord there is something analogous to this idea in the distinction between the present kingdom and the eschatological kingdom. And it will be observed that in this form and in this form only is the distinction exempt from the objection we had above to urge against the theory of a future millennial kingdom separating the present state of believers from their absolute consummation in heaven, *vis.*, that it would represent an anti-climax and interpose something where the whole tenor of the Pauline teaching requires absolute continuity. On



our interpretation the Messianic provisional kingdom and the present *σωτηρία* are identical and coextensive, so that what the Christian now possesses and enjoys is the first-fruits and pledge of the life eternal. If a future Messianic kingdom were to be assumed, we should have to say that to the eschatological aspiration of the Christian, as Paul everywhere depicts it, it is a negligible quantity, for this aspiration everywhere fastens, without any intermediate resting-point, on the eternal state. This is immediately explained, if the blessings and joys of the Messianic reign have already arrived, so that the Christian hope can with undivided intensity project itself into the world to come.

On the other hand it cannot be said that Paul carries through this distinction between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of God with uniformity. While to a larger extent an eschatological conception with Paul than with Jesus, the kingdom of God is not exclusively so in the Pauline teaching. The Apostle speaks of "inheriting" the kingdom of God, 1 Cor. vi. 9; xv. 50; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5; believers are called to God's kingdom and glory, 1 Thess. ii. 12; they suffer that they may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, 2 Thess. i. 5, 7. But the kingdom of God also appears as a present reality, thus in Rom. xiv. 17, where it is said not to consist in eating and drinking but in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit, and in 1 Cor. iv. 20, where its essence is placed not in word, but in power.<sup>24</sup> Here accordingly the kingdom of God and the present reign of Christ are identified. And if the present kingdom can be called the kingdom of God, it is also to be noticed that the future kingdom can be called the kingdom of Christ. This occurs in Eph. v. 5, where Paul speaks of an "inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God", and in 2 Tim. iv. 1, where we read of the *ἐπιφάνεια* and the *βασιλεία* of the Lord Jesus Christ as coinciding with the judgment. This has been brought into connection with the

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also 1 Cor. iv. 8 and Col. iv. 11.

advanced doctrine of the later Epistles, where Christ is distinctly represented as the goal of the world-movement.<sup>25</sup>

The above observations show that a hard and fast distinction between a Messianic kingdom and the kingdom of God is not found in Paul. Obviously what has invited the distinction in 1 Cor. xv. is the fact that here the reign of Christ appears in one specific aspect, *vis.*, as a reign of conquest. The βασιλεύειν of Christ here virtually consists in the process of subduing one enemy after the other. As such it naturally enters into contrast with the absolute, eternal reign of God at the end, of which it is characteristic that from it all enemies and warfare have been eliminated. It may lend confirmation to this that Col. i. 13, the one passage besides 1 Cor. xv. 24, which explicitly calls the present order of things the kingdom of Christ, has the same militant background: God has delivered us out of the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love, although here the conqueror, who rescues from the enemy, is rather God than Christ.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Enc. Bibl.* ii, 1386.

<sup>26</sup> If one were to look for analogies to the Pauline conception among the apocalyptic references to the provisional kingdom, the vision of weeks of Enoch could be most easily compared, for here the Messianic period is characterized as "the period of the sword". Of course this is meant in quite a different sense from that which Paul puts upon the warfare of Christ.



## THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS. APOCALYPSE OR ALLEGORY\*?

A book professedly written for the edification of the church which does not contain the word Jesus, or Christ, or gospel, or baptism; which makes no mention of our Lord's birth, baptism, death, or resurrection, or of the Lord's Day; which moreover does not quote a single saying of the Lord's nor indeed from a single book either of the Old or the New Testament may well occasion surprise; and we may have sympathy with those who would doubt its Christian origin.<sup>1</sup> But when it is affirmed that such a work not only is Christian, but also was at one time part of the Christian Scriptures, indeed that it was one of the earliest books to be admitted to this honor, that it was canonical before the Gospels or Epistles, that it is part of the foundation of the New Testament, and that it was ousted from this high position only after a sharp struggle about the end of the second century,<sup>2</sup> the duty of investigating its claims and early history becomes apparent. The work I refer to is the so called *Shepherd* of Hermas, a book which needs no introduction to those of you who have gleaned even lightly in the fields of early Christian literature. Opinions may differ as to its meaning and value for the early Christians or for ourselves, but no one has read it, I venture to say, without being at least im-

\* An address delivered at the opening of the ninety-ninth session of Princeton Theological Seminary, on Friday, September 16, 1910.

<sup>1</sup> Among recent writers Spitta (*Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Urchristentums*. Vol. ii), regards the *Shepherd* of Hermas as a Christian revision of a Jewish work: Von Soden (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, Sp. 586), adopts his conclusions with several modifications; Völter (*Die Apostolischen Väter* Vol. I) thinks it springs from a community of Jewish proselytes. For the views of earlier writers see Gebhardt und Harnack, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Vol. III, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Leipoldt, *Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Vol. i. pp. 33, 37f., 39, Zusatz 2, 41ff.

pressed with its evident seriousness, entertained with its quaint *naïveté*, and amused with the atmosphere of romance that pervades it all.

If it be taken literally, there can be no doubt that the *Shepherd* claims to be a revelation. The visions, commandments and similitudes, of which it is composed, are said to be given and explained by divine messengers—at one time by the spirit of Hermas' deceased mistress, at others by the Church in the form of a heavenly being, most generally by the angel of repentance, called also the "pastor" or "shepherd" from whom the book takes its name. But is it not possible that we would do the author an injustice by taking his words literally? The allegory has always been a popular literary dress with which to clothe moral and religious truths, and may it not be that the *Shepherd* of Hermas is to be classed with such works as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which also, taken literally, would claim to be supernatural, but which we all know to have been the product of the brain and the pen of John Bunyan the tinker in Bedford jail? This then is the question which I propose for our consideration this morning: Is the *Shepherd* of Hermas an apocalypse or an allegory?

Nor do I need to apologize for choosing what may appear to some of you an unimportant and petty problem in the history of the church. It is not such. Its solution will affect considerably our estimate of the church of the second century, especially in respect to its literary activity, its dogmatic conceptions, and the part played in it by Christian prophecy. Moreover it has a direct bearing on the question of the origin and growth of the New Testament Canon. For there is a number of scholars to-day who affirm that the idea of a New Testament Canon as we now have it does not appear in the church until toward the end of the second century; that up to that time the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha and Jewish Apocalypses) had been the "Bible" of the church, and the words of the Lord and the



utterances of Christian prophets had been closely associated with it as authoritative; that this condition continued until about the close of the second century, when, out of the struggle with Gnosticism and Montanism the church emerged with a new standard of canonicity namely *apostolicity*.<sup>3</sup> That is to say it is asserted that Christian prophecies even when reduced to writing were regarded as authoritative in the church just because they were prophecies and without any regard to their date or the person of the prophets, and this continued until the exigencies of the church demanded that a new test be erected, at which time those prophecies which had hitherto been regarded as authoritative were deposed from their high dignity unless they could establish a claim to apostolic origin.<sup>4</sup>

The Shepherd of Hermas has always played a part in the discussion attending this theory for it is one of the so called prophecies which are said to have been degraded, but it has not, I think, played the part it should have or will when its unique position is understood. For not only can its date be approximately fixed in the first half of the second century, but it is the only one of the so-called prophecies which does not claim for itself apostolic origin. In connection with its history therefore, can the test of prophecy versus apostolicity in the middle and third quarter of the second century be brought to the clearest issue. If it be found that the book was published and accepted as a prophecy, we shall be able to tell from the nature of the reception accorded it what the opinion of the church then was regarding contemporaneous Christian prophecy. And if on the contrary it turns out that it was not published or accepted as a prophecy, the main problem will be to ascertain how such a work could in the course of say forty years claim equal rank with acknowledged inspired and authoritative books; and we shall incidentally have removed from the

<sup>3</sup>E. g. Leipoldt, *loc. cit.* Harnack *Hist. of Dogma*, Third ed. Eng. Trans. II. 38-66, *Das Neue Testament um 200*. B. Weiss *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 3 Aufl. Sec. 5, 4, n. 1; 8, 5; 9, 6.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. Trans. II. 47, n. 2.

discussion the only work, which at present can be pointed to in support of the theory that Christian prophecy *qua* prophecy, was authoritative in the second century.

I hope then that you see clearly what I propose to do. It is to examine the *Shepherd* of Hermas and its early history with a view to determining the author's intention regarding it, the nature of its reception and treatment by the early church, and how and why it is involved in the history of the canon of the New Testament.

It is strange that this subject has been comparatively neglected. The text of the *Shepherd* has recently received very careful attention, the questions of its origin and unity and date have been, and are still, warmly debated, and the material furnished by it is liberally drawn upon by all students of the early Christian church. But the question of the intention of the author in publishing his work in the form of an apocalypse has been on the whole much neglected. Most writers to-day seem to assume that its author and his contemporaries ingenuously believed that he had been the recipient of real and divine revelations. But little or no discussion is given to the matter. For the sake of completeness I shall enumerate the four hypotheses which to my mind exhaust the possibilities, any one of which might be regarded as satisfactory; and I may add that each of them has had its supporters. (1) The work may be regarded as a genuine revelation. This is the view taken by Wake<sup>5</sup> and some Irvingite scholars<sup>6</sup> in modern times. (2) It may be regarded as a deliberate though pious fraud.<sup>7</sup> (3) The visions and revelations may be regarded

<sup>5</sup> *Apostolical Fathers*, p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. Thiersch, *Die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter*, p. 350ff.

<sup>7</sup> So apparently Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (1902), Vol. I. p. 563, "Der Verfasser schreibt auf Grund göttlicher Offenbarungen und infolge göttlichen Auftrags. Er tritt als ein vom Geiste Gottes inspirierter Prophet auf. Ohne Zweifel hat er damit seinen Mahnungen und Mitteilungen eine grössere Kraft, eine höhere Weihe geben wollen. Dass er Anstoss erregen würde, war kaum zu befürchten. Er schrieb zu einer Zeit, wo der Glaube an die Fortdauer des prophetischen Charismas noch Allgemein geteilt wurde".



as purely subjective. In this case Hermas may be regarded as a mystic, or a visionary, or epileptic, or be classed in a general way with the "prophets" of the second century, without inquiring particularly about the psychology of such "prophecy". Some such explanation as this is quite possible, being not infrequently paralleled in history, and we must give it the more consideration as it is the view most generally accepted by scholars to-day.<sup>8</sup> (4) We may regard it as fiction, pure and simple, and the visions and heavenly commands as a literary garb deliberately chosen by the author without any intention of deceit; in other words it may be an allegory.<sup>9</sup> Of these four possibilities we may dismiss the second with few words. The whole work bears such a stamp of artless simplicity, the author is so palpably straightforward and honest, that the charge of deliberate fraud should only be made on the basis of far stronger evidence than has yet been adduced, and after all other hypotheses have been shown to be insufficient. Moreover, as the first and third of the possible solutions mentioned above have certain points of contact and in the minds of some cannot be sharply sundered, we may state

Mosheim, *De rebus Christ. ante Constant.*, pp. 163, 166 inclines to a view of Hermas which makes him "*scientem volentemque fefellisse*".

Salmon, *Dict. Chr. Bio.*, Art. "Hermas", thinks Hermas "probably cannot be cleared from conscious deceit".

\* Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, p. 73f. Zahn (*Der Hirt des Hermas* pp. 365ff.) perceives the importance of the problem and laments the lack of interest shown in it to-day. He regards the visions as real experiences of the author and thinks the Roman Church was right in seeing in them a divine message, but refuses to discuss the question of their permanent worth (pp. 381f.) . Harnack, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* III. p. 369, and elsewhere. Overbeck, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1878, sp. 282f. (quoted by Harnack, *ibid.*). Leipoldt, *op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 2, and others.

\* Donaldson, *The Apostolical Fathers*, p. 326ff. Lightfoot, *Bibl. Essays*, p. 96. Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. xxiv. Behm, *Ueber den Verfasser der Schrift, welche den Titel "Hirt" führt*.

How these views have received modification and been related to varying opinions concerning the date and authorship of the *Shepherd* may be seen in the table furnished by Harnack in Gebhardt und Harnack, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Fasc. III., p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

our problem in the question: *Is the Shepherd of Hermas an apocalypse or an allegory*,—using the word “apocalypse” as significant, not of the real nature of the contents of the work, but of its claims. And should it appear in the course of our examination that the *Shepherd* does indeed claim to be a revelation, then, and not till then, will emerge the question of the justification of such a claim. A full answer to this question, of course, demands a careful examination of both the contents of the work and its history. But our time is so limited to-day, that I shall confine myself just now to the latter part of the argument, and reserve the other for perhaps some other time. I shall therefore ask you now to follow me as I outline to you what we know of the publication of the *Shepherd*, of its reception by the Church, and of its fortunes until the end of the second century, or thereabouts.

There is no difficulty about determining the date of the *Shepherd* in a general way. Most scholars agree that it was written somewhere between 97 and 140 A.D., or thereabouts.<sup>10</sup> But when we seek to define the time more accurately, a difficulty presents itself, for we have, curiously, two excellent pieces of testimony, one internal and one external, which are hard to harmonize. In the early part of his work<sup>11</sup> Hermas refers in quite a natural unforced manner to a certain Clement as one to whom had been committed the duty of corresponding with foreign churches, and apparently as one of the presbyters of the church at Rome, of which Hermas was a member. Now there is one Clement well known to all antiquity as the author of the epistle of the Church of Rome to that at Corinth, to whom this seems undoubtedly to point. That would give a date somewhere about 100 A. D. The other piece of evidence is that contained in the so-called *Muratori Fragment*, which dates from about the end of the second

<sup>10</sup> For the few who go outside these limits, see the table referred to in note 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Vis.* ii., 1.



century. This informs us that the *Shepherd* was written "very recently, in our own times," during the episcopate of Pius of Rome, by Pius's brother Hermas. This would give a date about 150 A. D.

Until quite recently scholars have been divided according as the first or the second of these testimonies seemed to them the more weighty, and ingenious conjectures have been proposed for explaining away the rejected evidence.<sup>12</sup> Lately, however, as an outcome of discussion concerning the unity of the work, the opinion has gained ground that the *Shepherd* was not produced at one time but piecemeal throughout a number of years. This and the uncertainty both of the date of Clement's death and of the years of Pius' episcopate have made it possible for Prof. Harnack to propose a compromise.<sup>13</sup> He thinks now that this earlier portion of the work was produced about 110 A. D. (possibly in the 3rd year of Trajan) when Clement may still have been living, and that the book was published in its completed form about 135-140 A. D., when Pius may have been bishop of Rome. For our purposes we need not enter into the details of the argument. We shall assume, that which is denied by very few, that the work was in existence in its finished form about the year 135, or 140—always remembering that it may have been known earlier.

Taking this, then, as the date when the *Shepherd* was given to the Church, we ask: how was it received? Remember, it is not a small book; it is about equal in size to our first two gospels together. Nor was it published in a corner, but at the center of the world, in the city of Rome. Such a work as this, if regarded as divinely inspired, must have made a considerable stir, and that immediately, and in the whole Church. And yet there is not one particle of

<sup>12</sup> Zahn, in *Der Hirt des Hermas* and elsewhere, has been strongest defender of the earlier date.

<sup>13</sup> *Geschichte d. altchristlichen Literatur* ii., i. pp. 257ff., where a brief review of the argument and the more important literature may be found.

evidence to show that it was regarded as Scripture or in any sense divine during the 30 or 40 years following its publication. Not until we come down to Irenaeus, the *Muratorian Fragment*, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Tertullian is it quoted and referred to as Scripture or of divine inspiration. Nor can it be objected that this is merely an argument from silence and so of no cogency. For there were events in Rome at this time, and discussions in the Church concerning authoritative and non-authoritative writings, of which we are well informed, and into which the *Shepherd* undoubtedly would have been drawn had it occupied the exalted position that is claimed for it. The result is the same wherever we look—not only at Rome but throughout the whole of the Christian literature coming from or dealing with this period, there is not the slightest evidence that the *Shepherd* was regarded as of any special importance.

It was at this time, for instance, that Marcion founded his school at Rome and formed his canon. But in all the discussions about the books he rejected or received, there is no word of the *Shepherd*, although we are informed by Tertullian<sup>14</sup> that he rejected a work now frequently associated with it in discussions concerning the canon, *viz.*, the Apocalypse of John. This should be decisive alone. If the *Shepherd* were regarded by either party as divinely inspired, it is incomprehensible that it should not have been brought into the controversy by one side or the other.<sup>15</sup> The Gnostic Valentinus was also established in Rome at this time. He accepted all the Catholic Scriptures, as we are informed by Tertullian,<sup>16</sup> and turned them to suit his own ends by means of the allegorical method of interpretation. But there is no sign that he accepted, or so used the *Shepherd*; although its form and contents are admirably

<sup>14</sup> *Adv. Marc.* IV., 5.

<sup>15</sup> Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchrist. Lit.* I. i., p. 51), remarks without comment, and apparently without perceiving the import of his remark: "Bemerkt sei, dass sich bei den Gnostikern und Marcion keine Spur einer Benutzung unseres Buches findet".

<sup>16</sup> *Praescr.* c. 38.



adapted to his methods and results. We know that he so used the Apocalypse of John,<sup>17</sup> but neither Irenaeus, who gives us this information, and who was acquainted with the Shepherd, nor Tertullian, who would not have failed to attack the heretic for making use of a work which he himself regarded as apocryphal and false, contains the slightest indication that Valentinus knew anything about the *Shepherd*. Hegesippus was in Rome at this time—during the episcopate of Anicetus.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, the only piece of evidence we have from his pen is the statement preserved by Eusebius to the effect that some of the so-called apocrypha were composed in his (i. e. Hegesippus') day by heretics. And yet even this is important coming as it does through Eusebius, who used all diligence to discover the origin of the books disputed or rejected in his own time—one of which was the Shepherd of Hermas. For, on the one hand, as the Shepherd was certainly not regarded as heretical or apocryphal in the days of Anicetus, it cannot be assumed among those referred to by Hegesippus in this passage; and, on the other hand, as Eusebius records nothing from Hegesippus' writings concerning the *Shepherd*, the probable inference is that he found nothing to record; and this in turn means that, at the time this writer was in Rome, the *Shepherd* was not of sufficient importance to find a place in his memoirs; certainly it was not one of the authoritative books of the Church. Justin Martyr, too, was acquainted with the Rome of this period, and speaks in a general way of prophets being still known in the Church,<sup>19</sup> but in all his writings there is no mention of Hermas or any reference to his book. The answer is the same when we inquire of Celsus, the opponent of Christianity, who probably wrote during the period under review. He shows considerable acquaintance with Christianity and the Christian writings,

<sup>17</sup> Irenaeus, *Haer.* i., 15.

<sup>18</sup> Eusebius, *H. E.* iv, 22.

<sup>19</sup> *Trypho*, c. 82.

but there is no sign of Hermas or his *Shepherd*.<sup>20</sup> Nor does the early history of Montanism, although concerned with prophecy, afford any evidence. It is not until the time of Tertullian that it is brought into the discussion.<sup>21</sup> It is true that a relationship has been found or fancied between the *Shepherd* and the letters of Ignatius,<sup>22</sup> that of Polycarp,<sup>23</sup> the so-called Second Epistle of Clement,<sup>24</sup> the Preaching of Peter,<sup>25</sup> Theophilus of Antioch<sup>26</sup> and Melito of Sardis,<sup>27</sup> but these are mere resemblances<sup>28</sup> and prove at most only acquaintance with it. None of them rises to the rank of citation, much less is there anything to show that the *Shepherd* was regarded as on an equality with the Old Testament or divinely inspired. In short, there is nothing in the literature of this period to show that the *Shepherd* of Hermas commanded any more respect than might be given to any work suitable for edification.<sup>29</sup>

In and after the last quarter of the second century we

<sup>20</sup> A definite reference could hardly be expected. Celsus knows of Christian prophecy in his own time, but the description he gives of it does not tally with the contents of the *Shepherd*. See Origen, *contra Cels.* vi., 34f., vii., 11.

<sup>21</sup> The Anti-montanist of Eusebius (*H. E.*, v., 17), gives a list of those who prophesied under the new covenant. Two names are added to those known in Scripture, but Hermas is not one of them. This writer is later however than the period we are discussing; Bonwetsch (Art. Montanismus in Herzog, *Realencycl.*, third ed.) and McGiffert (*Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I., p. 233, n. 32), put him about 192 A. D.

<sup>22</sup> Zahn, *Ignatius von Antioch*, pp. 618f.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 620.

<sup>24</sup> Harnack, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, Col. 104. Cf. Overbeck, *Ibid.* 1877, Col. 287f.

<sup>25</sup> Hilgenfeld, *Hermas Pastor*, pp. 1f., 35.

<sup>26</sup> Harnack *Patr. Apostol. Op.*, Fasc. iii., note to Vis. 1, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Harnack, *Sitzungsbericht d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaft*, 1898, p. 517ff.

<sup>28</sup> For still more doubtful resemblances to other works, see Gebhardt und Harnack, *Patr. Apostol. Op.*, Fasc. iii., p. xlvif., n. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Leipoldt, *op cit.*, pp. 33ff., p. 38, Zusatz 1, gives the earliest references to the Apocalypses. A convenient list of early citations of the *Shepherd* may be found in Harnack's *Geschichte d. altchristl. Literatur*, I. i., pp. 51ff., and a fuller discussion of them in the various editions of the text, particularly that of Gebhardt and Harnack.



find a change of attitude toward the *Shepherd*. In Gaul Irenaeus quotes it as "Scripture"<sup>30</sup> (γραφή), thus apparently putting it on a par with the other canonical works. And yet scholars are by no means agreed that this is his intention. It is difficult to reconcile Irenaeus' usage elsewhere, and his emphasis upon apostolicity as a prerequisite of canonicity, with such an explanation. It is noted that the *Shepherd* is not named in this quotation,<sup>31</sup> nor is it quoted anywhere else in Irenaeus' works as far as we know them, although some resemblances are found;<sup>32</sup> moreover, when he is confessedly marshalling the scriptural arguments against the Valentinians,<sup>33</sup> though he quotes freely from most of the books of the New Testament (as we know it), he has no reference to, or proof drawn from, the *Shepherd*. In view of these facts some scholars have thought that Irenaeus regarded the book as of apostolic origin;<sup>34</sup> others have supposed that he may have used the term "Scripture" in this place in the general sense of "writing", or that he made a mistake, fancying that the passage he quoted was Scripture;<sup>35</sup> others again are of the opinion that Irenaeus, while not ascribing the same honor to the *Shepherd* as to the prophetic and apostolic writings, regarded it nevertheless as authoritative.<sup>36</sup> It is not necessary for the pur-

<sup>30</sup> *Haer.* IV. 20, 2, quoting *Mand.* I., 1.

<sup>31</sup> It is a possible but not necessary inference that Harnack (*Patr. Apostol. Op.*, Fasc. iii. p. xlv, n. 1, c.) draws from this fact, viz. that the book was so well known that its name might be omitted.

<sup>32</sup> Harnack, *Geschichte d. altchr. Lit.*, I, i., p. 52, gives the following passages: *Haer.* I, 13, 3 = *Mand.* xi, 3; I, 21, 1 = *Mand.* I, 1; II, 30, 9 = *Sim.* IX, 12, 8; *Frag. Gr.* 29 (Harvey II, p. 494) = *Sim.* VIII, 3, 2, and perhaps *Haer.* IV, 30, 1 = *Sim.* 1. Cf. Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, p. 267, n. 2. None of these are more than resemblances.

<sup>33</sup> *Haer.* Book III.

<sup>34</sup> Hilgenfeld, *Apostolische Väter*, p. 180. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, i., p. 335.

<sup>35</sup> Donaldson, *The Apostolical Fathers*, p. 319, though not committing himself to this view. Gregory, *Canon and Text of N. T.*, p. 241f. But he treats the evidence too cavalierly.

<sup>36</sup> Harnack, *Geschichte d. altchristl. Literatur*, I, i., p. 52; *Patr. Apostol. Op.*, Fasc. III, p. xlvi. A fuller discussion of the matter may be found in this latter place, or, where a different conclusion is reached, in Zahn, *Geschichte d. neutest. Kanons*, I, p. 333f.

poses of this investigation to decide between the merits of these differing views, but I may be allowed to say in passing that neither the view that Irenaeus regarded the *Shepherd* as fully canonical and of apostolic origin, nor that which asserts that he regarded it as authoritative, but not canonical in the strict sense of the word, accounts for the fact that he quotes the *Shepherd* only once when he might have used it many times to his advantage, unless it be assumed that he was not well acquainted with the contents of the work. Again to say that he was mistakenly of the impression that he was quoting from some canonical book is to take refuge in a conjecture which is incapable of proof; and to take *γραφή* in any other than its usual technical sense of "Scripture", while permitted by the usage of this author in a few places,<sup>37</sup> is contrary to general custom of the time, and unsuitable in the passage before us, where the passage from Hermas is used for the purpose of proving a doctrine and inserted between two passages from the Old Testament. All the facts of the case would be accounted for if we might assume that the *Shepherd* had only lately come into Irenaeus' hands, that he regarded it as canonical and of apostolic origin, but had not been able to acquaint himself intimately with its contents.

In North Africa, Tertullian, in his treatise *De oratione*, not only shows acquaintance with the *Shepherd*, but also informs us indirectly that the book was well known in the Church<sup>38</sup> and that some Christians regarded it as normative in matters of devotional conduct. Whether or not he shared their views may not be clear; but certainly he was not concerned to argue the matter at this time.<sup>39</sup> In another work,

<sup>37</sup> *Haer.* III, 6, 4; III, 17, 4; V Preface.

<sup>38</sup> Harnack in *Patr. Apostol. Op.*, Fasc. iii. p. xlvi, n. 1, a. e. agreeing with Zahn (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1873, st. 29, s. 1155), concludes that in Tertullian's time the *Shepherd* was known to the North Africans in a Latin Translation. Since then Zahn has changed his opinion and affirms that it was not translated until later, (*Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons* I, 345). Cf. also Harnack, *Das Neue Testament um 200*, p. 87.

<sup>39</sup> Tertullian, *de orat.* 16.



however, after he had been converted to Montanism, and found the *Shepherd* in conflict with his rigoristic views, he calls it "that apocryphal *Shepherd* of adulterers,"<sup>40</sup> and reminds his opponents that it had been condemned as "apocryphal and false by every council of the churches, even your own,"<sup>41</sup> and that the Epistle of Barnabas (the canonical Hebrews) was more received among the churches than it was.<sup>42</sup> It is sometimes said that in the period which elapsed between these two references to the *Shepherd* the attitude of the Church generally toward the work had undergone a change; the first coming from a time when it was universally regarded as authoritative and inspired, the second from a later time when the apocalypses were being excluded from the canon. Such a sweeping inference is, of course, unjustifiable; we cannot say that Tertullian speaks for a larger section of the Church than that with which he was familiar. But we are bound to ascertain, if we can, Tertullian's attitude toward the *Shepherd*, and whether he changed it, and, if so, why. There can be no doubt of his later attitude. He then considered the work "apocryphal and false" and so unworthy of a place in the "divine instrument". We cannot be altogether sure what he meant by "apocryphal" here. The word has been variously understood in different periods. The earliest meaning<sup>43</sup> appears to have been "excluded from public use in the Church," without reference either to origin or contents of the book excluded. Soon, however, it came to denote not the fact but the grounds for such exclusion; that is to say, it stigmatized a work as untrue with respect either

<sup>40</sup> *De pudic.* 20.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>42</sup> *Utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum, Ibid.*, 20. I cannot find any justification for Gregory's translation, "Would that the letter of Barnabas were rather received among the churches than that apocryphal *Shepherd* of adulterers" *Canon and Text of the N. T.*, p. 223.

<sup>43</sup> See Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentl. Kanons*, I, p. 125ff. E. Schürer in *Herzog, Realencyclopaedie*, Ed. 3, Vol. I, p. 622ff.

to its contents or to its origin<sup>44</sup> or both. But though we know that these several connotations existed in the early centuries, we cannot always be sure in which of them a writer uses the word. It is indeed sufficiently clear, from the opprobrious terms Tertullian heaps up, that he condemns the teaching of the *Shepherd* out and out, but we should like to know whether by "apocryphal" he means to imply that the work is also not what it claims to be with respect to origin; and of this we cannot be certain.

Let us now turn to an examination of the earlier reference. Some of the North Africans apparently regarded it as important to lay aside their cloaks during prayer and to seat themselves afterwards. In justification of the first of these they appealed to 2 Tim. iv. 13, and for the second to the fifth vision of the *Shepherd*. Tertullian treats both customs and both passages appealed to in the same way. Such customs he says are irrational, superstitious, and savor of idolatry, and such an interpretation of Scripture childish, and leads to the foolishhest consequences if consistently applied. Now while it is true that this argument says nothing either of the canonicity of Paul's letter or the uncanonicity of the *Shepherd*, still as Tertullian did regard Paul's epistles as canonical, and as the North Africans to whom he was writing seemingly regarded the *Shepherd* as equally authoritative in matters of conduct, it is often affirmed that the African father would not have lost this opportunity to correct the erroneous estimation placed upon the latter, had he been at the time of this writing of the same opinion that he was when he wrote *De pudicitia*. Moreover, it is noted that he here calls the *Shepherd* "*Scriptura*". It is true that he does this also in the later reference, but in that case it is obvious that he does so sarcastically with reference to the attitude of those who would appeal to it, and that he may contrast it with the true

<sup>44</sup> To Augustine "apocryphal" meant that the origin of a book was "hidden" or unknown, *De civit. Dei*. xv., 23, 4. Harnack, *Patr. Apostol. Op.*, III, p. xlix., n. 1, b., thinks Tertullian uses it with reference to authorship.



Scriptures.<sup>45</sup> But in the former case there is, it is said, no sign of sarcasm, nor anything to show that he differed from his correspondents in his estimate of the *Shepherd*, or that he regarded it as less binding than the writings of Paul.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> "At ego eius pastoris scripturas haurio qui non potest frangi".

<sup>46</sup> Harnack (*Patr. Apost. Op.*, Fasc. iii. p. xlix) thinks that Tertullian at this time regarded the *Shepherd* as "Scripture" but as inferior to the prophets and the apostles ("sed minime audeo dicere Carthaginienses tum temporis Pastorem inter scripturas prophetarum et apostolorum recensuisse"). He refers to Tertullian's treatment of the Book of Enoch and suggests that the *Shepherd* may have had a place at the close of the New Testament after the Epistle to the Hebrews. But, in Tertullian's treatment of the Book of Enoch (*de cult. fem.* I. 3; II, 10, *de idol.* 15), there is every sign that he himself regarded this work as of equal authority with other Old Testament Scriptures; he calls it "*Scriptura*", cites it by way of proof, answers criticisms of its authorship and transmission, says it is vouched for by the Apostle Jude, and tries to explain why it was unjustly rejected by the Jews. Nor can the statement et legimus omnem scripturam aedificationi habilem "divinitus inspirari" (*de cult. fem.* I. 3, 2 Tim. iii. 16), be taken to explain Tertullian's attitude toward the *Shepherd*, for Tertullian is speaking here only of the Old Testament Scriptures, as was St. Paul before him—a thing that is often overlooked in discussing this passage (on the importance of this interpretation of Paul's words for the history of the New Testament Canon, see Harnack, *Das Neue Test. um das Jahr* 200, pp. 25, 35, 39f., and opposed to him Leipoldt, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

With regard to the relative value of the *Shepherd* and the Epistle to the Hebrews the matter is somewhat different. Harnack is here following Credner (*Geschichte d. neutest. Kanons*) and Röscher (*Das neue Testament Tertullians*), in the view that Tertullian had in his New Testament as a kind of appendix, some works which were to some degree inspired and authoritative but on a lower plane than others. Röscher gives as the names of these the Epistle of Peter *ad Ponticos* (1 Peter), the Epistle of Barnabas to the Hebrews (Hebrews), the Epistle of Jude, and the Epistle of the Presbyter (2 John). But, without going into details, it is hard to believe, after reading *Scorp.* 12 and 14, and *de orat.* 20, that Tertullian set the known writings of Peter in any respect below those of Paul; the Epistle of Jude is referred to only once (*de cult. fem.* I. 3), but then as the work of an Apostle and as authoritative; and 2 John is neither mentioned nor used by the North African Father (Röscher, p. 572, see Zahn, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons*, Vol. I, p. 111, n. 1, pp. 304ff., pp. 320f.).

Tertullian's attitude toward the Epistle to the Hebrews requires closer examination. In his treatise *de pudic.*, after he had passed in review the teaching of the Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, Paul and the other Apostles, concluding with the Revelation and First

If this be the correct explanation of this passage we have to ask further on what grounds Tertullian granted such a high place to the *Shepherd*. In the first place it cannot be thought that he accepted it without having some opinion of its authorship; for he denounces strongly all works that do

Epistle of St. John, Tertullian draws the argument to a close (*de pud.* 20), and then adds, "I wish however to subjoin in addition, redundantly, the testimony also of a certain companion of the Apostles, which is well adapted for confirming, by nearest right, the teaching of the masters" (*volo tamen ex redundantia alicuius etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superducere idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum* (Ed. Oehler). He then introduces the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Barnabas for whom Paul vouched, and adds, "and at all events the Epistle of Barnabas is more received among the churches than that apocryphal *Shepherd* of adulterers" (*et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum*). He then quotes Heb. vi. 1, 4-8. There are two questions raised by this passage: the first concerns Tertullian's estimate of Hebrews, the second the comparative value of the *Shepherd* and Hebrews. With regard to the first of these it is evident that the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to Tertullian, was not in itself possessed of divine authority. This appears from the formal conclusion of his argument based on the Apostolic teaching (*disciplina apostolorum proprie*) before he turns to it, from the express statements that he uses it only to *confirm* the teaching of the Apostles and that it is superfluous (*ex redundantia*), from the fact that he does not ascribe but rather denies apostolicity to it, and that he never calls it "Scripture" (he uses *titulus* instead or refers to it by name). The view, which Zahn thinks possible, (*Gesch. d. Neutest. Kanons*, Vol. I, p. 291) that Tertullian himself placed a higher estimate on the work than is here apparent, and did not cite it among the writings of the New Testament only because it was not universally received, and therefore any argument drawn from it not universally valid, while commending itself for several reasons is incapable of proof. According to the evidence before us the Epistle to the Hebrews was outside of Tertullian's canon, and enjoyed only that amount of favor which was due to the writings of a man who was approved of St. Paul and God. But what does Tertullian mean by saying that the Epistle to the Hebrews was "more received among the churches" than was the *Shepherd*? Does "*receptior apud ecclesias*" mean that it was more highly esteemed, or that it was received as canonical by more churches? Röscher understands it to mean both (*Op. cit.*, p. 565); Harnack to mean one or the other, he does not say which (*Patr. Apost. Op.* III, p. xlix, n. 1, c.), but in stating that the *Shepherd* seems to have had a place at the end of the New Testament *after* the Epistle to the Hebrews (*Ibid.*, p. xlviii, n. 1, c) he favors the former, and in another place (*Texte und*



not "bind themselves by full title and due profession of author".<sup>47</sup> And it is equally clear that he received only such works as were of apostolic origin, that it to say, composed either by Apostles or apostolic men.<sup>48</sup> We would therefore conclude that Tertullian regarded Hermas as a disciple of the Apostles. But if this be so the question immediately thrusts itself upon us, why does he not use the

*Untersuchungen* V, i., p. 59), the latter. Zahn holds firmly to the latter interpretation (*Gesch. d. neustest. Kanons*, I, pp. 121, n., 292f.) on the ground that "*receptus*" is not capable of degrees, and of the presence of the plural "*ecclesias*". So also Credner, *Gesch. d. neustest. Kanons*, p. 117. But neither of these explanations is free from difficulty. By the first Tertullian is made to disagree with his other statement in this same treatise, that all the councils of the church had declared the *Shepherd* "apocryphal and false", and so he is sometimes accused of exaggerating in the latter remark (Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, V, i., p. 59, Weiss, *Einleitung in d. N. T.*, 3rd Ed., p. 74). This is unwarranted, and, as we shall see later, these words may express literally a natural interpretation of a Roman statement concerning the *Shepherd*. Zahn's argument is unsatisfactory because it does violence to the Latin. Had Tertullian wished to say that the Epistle to the Hebrews was received by more churches than the *Shepherd* we would expect "*receptus apud plures ecclesias*". It seems to be true that "*receptus*" was used as *terminus technicus* to denote the inclusion of a work among the canonical books, and that in this sense it was incapable of degree. But the word was not used exclusively in this connection, and when not it could be compared (see instances in Zahn *loc. cit.*). It is in this latter sense that the word is used in the passage before us. The discussion is not about canonical works, but about two, both of which Tertullian definitely excludes from the Scriptures. With this in mind the argument in this chapter of *de pudicitia* is both clear and consistent with other parts of the treatise. I have now, says Tertullian in effect, concluded my argument from the New Testament Scriptures, but I wish to add the testimony of one other, which may not be used in the argument proper but is of value in confirming the teaching of the Apostles, for its author was their comrade. I refer to an Epistle of Barnabas, a man commended by God and the Apostle Paul. And though he is not an authority, you must at least acknowledge that his Epistle is recognized as of more value by the churches than that apocryphal Shepherd of adulterers which has been condemned by all the councils of the churches.

<sup>47</sup> *Marc.* IV, 2.

<sup>48</sup> To Tertullian apostolic men (*apostolici*) were those who had associated with and learned from the Apostles, *Marc.* IV, 2; *Praescr.* 32. Cf. also *Praescr.* 21ff.; 30; 44; and what he says against works of post-apostolic date, *Praescr.* 30.

*Shepherd* more frequently in his writings? To this no certain answer can be given, though it may be pointed out that Paul's Epistles to Titus and Philemon, the First Epistle of Peter and that of Jude, although undoubtedly belonging to Tertullian's canon, are referred to no more frequently or hardly so than is the *Shepherd*.

But this view, although held in slightly differing forms by many scholars, appears to me to be wrong from beginning to end. When the Christians of North Africa, in defence of their superstitious practices of laying aside their cloaks before prayer and of sitting down after it, appealed to the statements that Paul had left his cloak behind him at Troas (presumably having laid it aside at prayer) and that Hermas had sat down on his bed after prayer, the answer that sprang to Tertullian's lips, as it would to those of any other sensible Christian, was that such a use of Scripture was childish, silly, superstitious, and incapable of being indulged without entailing ridiculous results. More was unnecessary. To argue the question of the authority or canonicity of the *Shepherd* would not have been to the point. On the contrary it would have weakened the argument, as it might be taken to imply that had the *Shepherd* been authoritative, such a use of it would have been justified. Tertullian here as elsewhere sees the main issue clearly and sticks to it. And yet he has not left us without at least a hint of his estimate of Hermas and his book. He introduces them with the words "that Hermas whose scripture is generally called the *Shepherd*"<sup>48</sup> This is not the way one introduces a well known and acknowledged canonical book. The demonstrative "that" pointing to Hermas with quite particular emphasis is hard to account for unless we find in it, as several scholars do,<sup>49</sup> the note of contempt. The words "that Hermas" find their parallel in "that *Shepherd* of adulterers", and the delicate sarcasm of the words "whose

<sup>48</sup> Quid enim, si Hermas ille cuius scriptura fere Pastor inscribitur, etc. *De orat.* 16.

<sup>49</sup> So Credner, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, p. 117; Oehler, *Tertull. op.*, Vol. I, p. 567, not. c; Gregory, *Canon and Text of the N. T.*, p. 242.



(i. e., Hermas') scripture" is perceived at once when they are put beside those others, which we have heard Tertullian using elsewhere in discussing the *Shepherd*, "but I quaff the scriptures of that Shepherd who cannot be broken".<sup>50</sup> We are compelled therefore to the conclusion that, though some of his countrymen estimated the *Shepherd* very highly,—exactly how highly we cannot say for lack of evidence,—Tertullian at no period of his life of which we have any knowledge shared their views. He despised it.

In Alexandria Clement knew the *Shepherd* and was fond of it. He quotes it freely and shows beyond possibility of doubt that he believed it to contain a genuine revelation. He speaks of "the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance" that spoke to Hermas,<sup>51</sup> of the "Power that spoke divinely to Hermas by revelation"<sup>52</sup> or "the Power that appeared to Hermas in the vision in the form of the Church";<sup>53</sup> more frequently he cites it simply as the "*Shepherd*"<sup>54</sup> (ποιμήν). He appeals to it as proof of Christian teaching associating it with the books of our Bible, he even interprets one passage allegorically.<sup>55</sup> And yet in spite of all this there are few who venture to affirm that Clement puts the *Shepherd* on a par with the Gospels and writings of the Apostles. It is noted that he never calls Hermas an Apostle as he does Barnabas and Clement of Rome, that he does not cite his book as "Scripture" as he does for example the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.<sup>56</sup> It is pointed out that he re-

<sup>50</sup> See note 45.

<sup>51</sup> *Strom.* i., 17, 85.

<sup>52</sup> *Strom.* i., 29, 181.

<sup>53</sup> *Strom.* vi., 15, 131, cf. *Strom.* ii., 1, 3.

<sup>54</sup> The passages have been gathered by Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, I. i., p. 53.

<sup>55</sup> Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, I. i., p. 53). Kutter, (*Clemens Alexandrinus und das Neue Testament*, p. 86) would weaken the force of this, by showing that what Clement does is to interpret allegorically an act of Hermas. But in any case Clement is dealing with a passage out of the *Shepherd*.

<sup>56</sup> Kutter, *Clemens Alex. u. d. Neue Test.*, p. 139 f. On the use of γραφή in a broad sense and the extension of the term apostolic to include the later years of John's life and also Clement of Rome and Barnabas, *ibid.*, pp. 130, 136.

garded Greek Philosophy and the oracles of the Sybil as in a sense divine.<sup>57</sup> An attempt has even been made, but with indifferent success, to show that he values the revelations of the Angel of Repentance in the *Shepherd* more highly than he does the words of Hermas.<sup>58</sup> And the testimony of Eusebius is called in to show that in the *Hypotyposes* in which he commented upon all the books of the canonical Scriptures not omitting the disputed books, which are more nearly defined as Jude, the other Catholic Epistles, Barnabas and the Apocalypse of Peter, the *Shepherd* of Hermas is not included.<sup>59</sup> It has been argued too that, as the final authority for Clement was the Lord and His Apostles<sup>60</sup> and as the apostolic time ended for him in the days of Nero,<sup>61</sup> he could not have regarded a work, which he must have known to be of later origin, as on a par with the writings of the Apostles.<sup>62</sup> It does not come within the scope of our investigation to inquire more definitely into the merits of these views. Our purpose is accomplished when we have ascertained that Clement as a matter of fact did regard the *Shepherd* as at least containing a divine revelation; though it is not unimportant to note that of all the Christian writings appealed to by Clement as authorita-

<sup>57</sup> *Strom.* vi., c. 5. See Eickhoff, *Das Neue Testament des Clem. Alex.*, p. 7. Kutter, *op. cit.* 140f.

<sup>58</sup> Kutter, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>59</sup> Eusebius (*H. E.* vi., 14). Photius' statement (*Bibl. cod.* 109) that the *Hypotyposes* covered only Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles and Ecclesiastes, cannot stand in the face of Eusebius' explicit reference to the Apocalypse of Peter. Nor is the omission of the *Shepherd* accounted for by saying that Eusebius has probably omitted it through accident (Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.* I. i., p. 53) or that Clement did not comment on it because of its length (Zahn, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, i. p. 330). Nor does Eusebius' failure to mention the *Shepherd* among his works used by Clement (*H. E.* vi., 13) destroy the argument.

<sup>60</sup> *Strom.*, i. 1, 11.

<sup>61</sup> *Strom.*, vii., 17, 106.

<sup>62</sup> Kutter, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 128ff., 139f. cf. Kunze, *Glaubensregel etc.*, pp. 40, 138. But it is by no means sure that Clement was as well informed of the origin of the *Shepherd* as was the author of the Muratori Fragment, as Kutter assumes.



tive, this is the only one for which apostolical origin was not claimed in one way or another; and the difficulties which arise in connection with his use of the *Shepherd* would be to a large extent removed, and his procedure shown to be consistent with his own principles, if we might assume that for which there is nothing *pro* or *contra* in his writings, namely, that he thought this book to be the product of the golden age of the Apostles.

Origen, the successor of Clement in Alexandria, regards the *Shepherd* as "very useful and divinely inspired",<sup>63</sup> and frequently adduced proof from it as from any other Scripture. But he also informs us that the book was not universally received but even despised by some.<sup>64</sup> From him also we have a definite statement concerning the authorship and date of the *Shepherd*, namely that it was written by the Hermas to whom the Apostle Paul sends greetings in his Epistle to the Romans;<sup>65</sup> that is to say he refers it to apostolic times, the period which produced all the other canonical books.<sup>66</sup> Nor can we doubt that the opinion of Origen with respect to the authorship of the *Shepherd* was shared by a large proportion of the Alexandrian church.<sup>67</sup>

Among the Roman writers of this period we find no such high respect for the *Shepherd* as we have found in Alexandria. Hippolytus especially, than whom none was better acquainted with the affairs of the Roman Church, and who

<sup>63</sup> Valde mihi utilis videtur et ut puto divinitus inspirata. *In Rom.* (xvi., 14), com. x., 31.

<sup>64</sup> καταφρονούμενος, *De princip.* iv., 11; cf. *In Psalm. Selecta*, hom. i. in *Psalm.* 37; *In Ezech.* xxviii., 13, hom. xiii. These and other references in Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, I. i., pp. 53ff.

<sup>65</sup> *In Rom.* xvi., 14, com. x., 31, "Puto tamen, quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius qui Pastor appellatur".

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Origen in Euseb. *H. E.* vi., 25, 12f.

<sup>67</sup> See Zahn. *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, i., pp. 330ff. where he retracts his earlier statements. Harnack (*Patr. apost. op.* iii., p. lvii) would have us believe that Origen is expressing only his own opinion when he ascribes the *Shepherd* to the Hermas of *Rom.* xvi., 14. It may be true, as he asserts, that Origen does not claim to have any traditional basis for this opinion and never calls Hermas *virum apostolicum*, but it is hard to believe that a man of such scholarly methods as Origen was should make such a statement without basis for it.

had plenty of opportunities to use it, does not once mention by name, or quote from, the work.<sup>68</sup> And yet there is perhaps reason for believing that here too the book was regarded as inspired and authoritative and on a par with other canonical writings. I shall briefly review what evidence there is. (1) The position given to the Shepherd in the *Muratorian Canon*. We shall reserve our consideration of this for a few minutes. (2) Tertullian, in a passage already referred to, has in mind that the *Shepherd* is opposed to his montanistic views and defends himself against its teachings. "But I would yield to you", he says, "if the Scripture called the *Shepherd*, which alone loves adulterers, were worthy of a place in the divine instrument,—if it had not been adjudged among the apocryphal and false writings by every council of the churches even your own".<sup>69</sup> As Tertullian throughout this treatise has the bishop of Rome in mind, the *Pontifex Maximus* as he sarcastically calls him in the initial chapter, it has been inferred that the Roman had appealed to the *Shepherd* in defence of his laxer administration of discipline.<sup>70</sup> The inference is possible but by no means necessary. Tertullian had to defend himself not only from the actual arguments of the past but also from the possible ones of the future, against attacks not only from Rome but also from nearer home, where as we have seen the *Shepherd* was in high repute. The words "your churches" refer of course to the Catholic churches, not to those of any particular locality.<sup>70a</sup> (3) The third witness is the so-called *Liberian Catalogue* of the bishops of Rome, which has the following note under the name Pius: "During his episcopate his brother Hermes wrote the book in which

<sup>68</sup> Bonwetsch, *Zu den Komm. Hippolyts. Texte u. Untersuchungen* N. F. Vol. i., 2, p. 26, finds a couple of resemblances.

<sup>69</sup> *De pudic.* 10. "Sed cederem tibi si scriptura Pastoris qui sola moechos amat divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur".

<sup>70</sup> So Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, I. i., 52, and others.

<sup>70a</sup> According to Harnack, Tertullian could not be referring to Roman or Italian councils (*Texte u. Untersuch.* V. i., p. 59).



is contained the command which the angel enjoined upon him when he came to him in the garb of a shepherd".<sup>71</sup> This catalogue in its completed form belongs to the middle of the fourth century and therefore lies outside the period of our investigation; but there is good reason for supposing that the earlier part of it, down to 231 A. D., was composed a century or more earlier and is from the pen of Hippolytus himself.<sup>72</sup> But even the earlier part did not leave the hand of Hippolytus in its present form. Some later editor or continuator added chronological synchronisms at least (the names of contemporary consuls, Emperors, &c.), and perhaps also this and one other note (concerning the death of the Apostle Peter). According to the table of contents appended to one of the recensions of Hippolytus' *Chronica* we should find in it *Nomina episcoporum Romae et quis quot annis praefuit*.<sup>73</sup> The natural inference is that all except the names and the number of years was added later. Still while expressing doubt on the matter both Lightfoot and Harnack think it probable that the notice concerning Hermas was in the original work, the former because it "seems intended to discredit the pretensions of that work to a place in the canon and therefore would probably be written at a time when such pretensions were still more or less seriously entertained", the motive being "the same as with the author of the *Muratorian Canon* who has a precisely similar note",<sup>74</sup> the latter because "just at Hippolytus' time the *Shepherd* was excluded from the sacred collection in many churches and this notice apparently has reference to the controversy [involved]".<sup>75</sup> It is true that the *Liberian Cat.* agrees with the *Muratorian Fragment* in ascribing the *Shepherd* to a certain Hermas (or Hermes),

<sup>71</sup> "Sub hujus episcopatu frater ejus Hermes librum scripsit in quo mandatum continetur quod ei praecepit angelus cum venit ad illum in habitu pastoris".

<sup>72</sup> See discussion in Lightfoot, *Apostol. Fathers* I. i., pp. 253ff. and a summary of results in Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, II. i., pp. 144ff.

<sup>73</sup> Lightfoot, *Loc. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261f.

<sup>75</sup> Harnack, *Loc. cit.*, p. 150.

the brother of Pius, but it is equally important to note that it definitely asserts that it is a genuine revelation, which the Muratori Fragment does not; and it is highly improbable that Hippolytus, had he entertained this view of the work, would have made no mention of, or citation from, it in his other works. Moreover, if the purpose of the author of this notice was to contribute something toward the settlement of the controversy concerning the canonicity of the book, he chose a very inappropriate method. The statement that the book dates from the days of Pius does indeed implicitly deny apostolicity to the work, but the affirmation of its prophetic character definitely asserts its inspiration.<sup>76 and 77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The singular *mandatum* also is suspicious. *Mandata* (pl.) might by a stretch be made to cover the whole book, but not its singular. The question rises what is meant thereby. The explanation of Zahn (*Hirt des Hermas*, p. 25f.) would solve the problem. In a letter of Pseudo-Pius dealing with the Quarto-decimanian controversy and therefore dating probably from early in the 4th cent., the writer appeals to a command given to Hermes by the angel that appeared to him in the garb of a shepherd, to the effect that the *Pascha* should be celebrated on the Lord's day ("eidem Hermae angelus domini in habitu pastoris apparuit et praecepit ei ut pascha die dominica ab omnibus celebraretur"). Zahn thinks this is the command referred to in the *Liberian Cat.* in which case the notice there contained must not only be from the fourth cent., but also have no reference to our work for it contains no such command. See also Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.* I, i, p. 56, who finds Zahn's explanation "very improbable".

<sup>77</sup> For the sake of completeness we must say a word about the puzzling Pseudocyprianic tract known as *de aleatoribus*. This work might be ignored here were it not that Prof. Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. v.) some years ago endeavored to show that it is from the pen of the bishop Victor of Rome. This view has not found much favor with scholars and recently Prof. Harnack himself does not seem so desirous of maintaining it. (*Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, i, 52, 719. Cf. Herzog, *Realencycl.* 3rd Ed. Vol. iv., p. 374; xx., p. 602); it has however been taken up by Leipoldt in his *Entstehung des newtestamentlichen Kanons*, and part of Harnack's argument made the basis of much of this work. In this tract the *Shepherd* is quoted once fairly literally, once loosely, and several passages seem to reflect the words and thoughts of Hermas. (The text with notes may be found in the treatise by Prof. Harnack mentioned above). In no case is the *Shepherd* or its author mentioned by name. In the case of the first quotation (cap. 2) the introductory words are *dicit enim scriptura divina* and the



We may pause here for a moment to review our examination to this point. There is no evidence that, during the first thirty or forty years of its existence, the *Shepherd* occupied any preëminent position in the Church. There are signs that it was known and used, but there is not the slightest reason for thinking that it was regarded as an apocalypse, as authoritative, or in any sense on a par with quotation is coupled with a passage from Sirach and one from an unknown source [*"dicit enim scriptura divina* (quotation from *Sim. ix.*, 13, 5), *et alia scriptura dicit* (Sirach xxxii., (xxxv.) 1), *et iterum* (an unknown passage)"]. In the second case (cap. 4) the author evidently thinks he is quoting St. Paul, [*"apostulus idem Paulus commemorat . . . . dicens* (several passages from the Epp. to Timothy being combined), *iterum* (I Cor. v., 11), *et alio loco* (apparently from Mand. iv., 1, 9) *in doctrinis apostolorum est* (a quotation from an unknown source, possibly dependent on the *Didache*)"] Our hesitancy, in the face of this, to receive this author as a first-class witness to the canonical authority of the *Shepherd* is increased when we take into account his very loose manner of quoting, the fact that several of his quotations cannot be identified, and also that all the Old Testament passages he cites are to be found in Cyprian's *de Lapsis* or *Testimonia*.

We are not now concerned except indirectly with the general question of his forms of citation and the argument that is built upon them in the discussion of the history of the canon of the New Testament; but I cannot refrain from remarking that when Prof. Harnack lays down, as the basis of further argument, the *dictum* that the author (of *de aleatoribus*) "follows a quite definite and strongly consistent method of citation" ("*eine ganz bestimmte und streng festgehaltene Citationsweise befolgt*," *loc. cit.*, p. 56) he should not weaken his own argument by assuming that the author had two forms of citation, *dicit scriptura divina* and *dicit dominus*, that were apparently of equal value (*augenscheinlich gleichwerthig*). Nor should he say in another place (*Das neue Testament um 200*, p. 36) that according to *de aleatoribus* "the Old Testament and the Apocalypses of Hermas and John belong to the *scripturae divinae* but not so the Gospels and Epistles". Nor should Leipoldt follow him by saying (*loc. cit.*, p. 37) that "this writing (*de aleatoribus*) regards apparently only two books outside of the Old Testament as Holy Scripture in this strict sense of the term". As a matter of fact the Old Testament is never cited as *scriptura divina* in *de aleatoribus*, the passage from Sirach alone excepted, nor is the Apocalypse of John, which is introduced by the words *dominus occurrit et dicit* (cap. 8). To say, as Leipoldt does (*loc. cit.*) that this is apparently accidental is to confess that the whole argument is unfounded. It has escaped the notice of these writers that another and simpler, and consistent principle may be found for the author's method

the Scriptures of the Old Testament. On the contrary, there is good reason for the opinion that no one, orthodox or heretical, was concerned to make or maintain any such claims for it. After that period a higher estimate of it appears in some sections. In Gaul it is quoted by one great teacher as "Scripture", but in such a way as to leave us in doubt whether he really regarded it as Scripture in the strict sense of the word. In Africa the common people esteemed it highly, but their scholarly leader Tertullian despised it. In Alexandria it fared better. Both Clement and Origen regarded it as a real revelation, the former for reasons not clear to us, the latter ascribing it to the Apostolic age. From Rome, where it was produced and where it presumably was best known, comes exceedingly little evidence. Not a single author can be proved to have regarded it as divine or authoritative, but neither do we find any condemnation of it. This can not be the record of a work which was originally published as a divine revelation, accepted as such by the leaders of the church, and drawn upon by them in matters of faith and practice. It is rather the story of a book that began its career in a humbler fashion, that found its way to the hearts of the common people first, that was then occa-

of citation, namely, that in all passages, whether from the Old or the New Testament, from the Gospels or Apocalypse, in which, in the *Scriptures*, the Lord is represented as speaking the introductory formula is *dominus dicit*. In the one occasion where the words quoted are not immediately ascribed to God in the Scriptures, the introductory phrase is enlarged by the addition of *per prophetam* (cap. 10, quoting Eli's words in I Sam. ii., 25.). When the quotation is from the Gospels the addition *in evangelio* is found three times (cap. 3, 10) and in the only other formal quotation from them, both *dominus* and *in evangelio* are lacking (cap. 2). The subject could be mentally supplied; and in *evangelio* was apparently not regarded as necessary. When the quotation is from the Epistles either the name of the apostle (Paul, cap. 3, 4, John, cap. 10), or the title *apostolus* without name (cap. 4, 10) is found with *dicit* (*dicens*). When the authority of the apostolic college is cited the formula is *in doctrinis Apostolorum* (cap. 4). In all other cases the general term *Scriptura* is used (cap. 2). The author has given us no passage from the Acts of the Apostles or from narrative portions of the Bible, and so we cannot say how he would have introduced them.



sionally dimly reflected in the words of some writer or other, and that then here and there, especially far from its native place, and where a wrong opinion of its origin was current, came to be regarded as divine. But we have still one piece of evidence to consider, perhaps the most important of all, and we shall turn to it now.

The so-called *Muratorian Fragment*,<sup>78</sup> it is generally conceded, comes from about the end of the second century and reflects the opinion of the Roman or Italian church. It contains an incomplete list of the books received into or rejected from the New Testament Scriptures, with notes on the same. Toward the end of the list is found the following paragraph: "Of apocalypses also we receive only those of John and Peter which (latter) some among us will not have read in the church. But the *Shepherd* was written by Hermas, very recently, in our own times, when his brother Pius the bishop was sitting in the episcopal chair of the church of the city of Rome, and therefore it ought indeed to be read, but it cannot be publicly read to the people in church, either among the Prophets whose number is complete, or among the Apostles to the end of time".<sup>79</sup> Such

<sup>78</sup> The text may be found in an appendix to Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, also in Zahn, *Grundriss der Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, p. 75, Harnack, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. v., p. 595, and elsewhere. An English translation is given in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. v., p. 603. This is not the place to discuss the date and source of this unique document. I shall assume that it comes from Rome or at least represents the Roman tradition. Also when the plural number is used to denote the authors, I am only following a hint contained in the *Fragment* itself, ("*recipimus*"), without affirming anything of the authorship.

<sup>79</sup> Ll. 71-79. "Apocalypse etiam iohannis et pe|tri tantum recipimus quam quidam et nos|tris legi in ecclesia nolunt pastorem uero | nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe | roma herma conscripsit sedente cathe|tra urbis romae aeclesiae pio eps fratre | eius et ideo legi eum quidē oportet se pu|blicare uero in ecclesia populo neque inter | profetas completum numero neque inter | apostolos in finē temporum potest". In corrected Latin: "Apocalypses etiam Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt. Pastorem uero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre ejus; et

a statement as this would not be found in this place unless canonicity had been claimed for the *Shepherd*. It is natural too to infer that such claims had been made within that particular church from which the *Fragment* emanates. But this is not necessary. The writers had in mind not their own community only, but also the whole Catholic Church,<sup>80</sup> and therefore had to take cognizance of works for which claims were made by outsiders. From whatever quarter these claims may have come, however, the *Fragment* leaves us in no doubt about certain pretensions which were made for the *Shepherd*, and which were doubtless urged in favor of its canonicity. These were two in number. The first was that the *Shepherd* dates from apostolic times. This is evident from the way the *Fragment* heaps up clauses to disprove such an early origin.<sup>81</sup> It was written, it says, "very recently", "in our own times", "when Pius was bishop of Rome", by the brother of this same Pius and this is given as the ground (*et ideo*) for its exclusion from the Canon.

The second argument was that the *Shepherd* was an apocalypse. This is evident enough from its being classed with the Apocalypses of John and Peter. What is the attitude of the *Fragment* toward this? In the first place, it cannot be urged that the parallelism "we receive only . . . but" ("*tantum recipimus . . . vero*") shows the writers' own view *viz.* that the *Shepherd* too is an apocalypse. The only necessary inference is that the work was commonly or sometimes ranked as an apocalypse. Again, it may be asked, whether in asserting the late date of the book the *Fragment* does not mean to imply that it is not apocalyptic. No definite answer can be given to this, but

*ideo legi eum quidem oportet, se publicare vero in ecclesia populo, neque inter prophetas completo numero, neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest*".

<sup>80</sup> *Frag.*, I, 66, cf. 69.

<sup>81</sup> So too Zahn (*Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, i., p. 340) who however does not regard the *Fragment* as well informed concerning the date of the *Shepherd*, but thinks its author was driven to exaggeration by the zeal of the advocates of an early date.



the indications are that it does. Elsewhere<sup>82</sup> the *Fragment* is pronouncedly anti-montanistic, and it is hard to believe that its authors could have thought of prophecy still existing in the Church as late as the time of Pius.<sup>83</sup> But there is still another indication that this is really the view of the *Fragment*. The last lines of our paragraph read, "it cannot be publicly read . . . either among the Prophets whose number is complete or among the Apostles till the end of time". "Prophets" and "Apostles" here, as elsewhere in the literature of this period, are doubtless equivalent to the Old and New Testaments. But there seems to be an especial appropriateness in the use of the terms here. Out of several designations of the Scriptures at their disposal, all current at the time, the authors of the *Fragment* have chosen two which had reference to the two arguments advanced in favor of the *Shepherd* by their opponents. That this is so, that the use of these words is not perfunctory, is shown too by the insertion of the phrase "whose number is complete" after "prophets". This phrase indeed amplifies and completes the argument against the reception of the *Shepherd*, begun in the assertion of its late date. The *Fragment* therefore says in effect, that the *Shepherd* cannot be classed with the Apostles for it is of later date, nor with the Prophets for their number is complete, that is, Hermas was not a prophet nor his work a revelation.<sup>84</sup>

Taking this then as the view of the authors, and remembering the historical situation, this little section of the *Muratorian Fragment*, so puzzling to commentators, becomes a well conceived and carefully guarded statement. The problem was this: Here was a work forty or fifty years old, which had been popular and useful in the church. On account of its apocalyptic form and the apostolic name of its author

<sup>82</sup> L. 84.

<sup>83</sup> Zahn, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 116.

<sup>84</sup> Similarly, Leipoldt, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Hesse, *Das muratorische Fragment* p. 270f.; Credner, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, p. 117, whose statements however are not in full harmony, cf. p. 165; Overbeck, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, pp. 100, 105, and others.

it was held by some to be divinely inspired and equal to the canonical Scriptures. The authors of the *Fragment* knew better. They knew by whom it was written and when, and that it was not a revelation. They had to remove the misunderstanding that was abroad concerning the work, but they had to do so warily or create an opinion of the *Shepherd* as incorrect as the one they would destroy. They dared not say for instance "we do not receive it", a phrase which is used of other rejected books.<sup>85</sup> Of course in one sense the *Shepherd* is rejected.<sup>86</sup> It is not recognized as part of the canonical Scriptures. But all the works of which "not received" is said, (apocryphal letters of Paul and the writings of Arsinous and others), are not only rejected from the Canon but positively stigmatized as evil: as the *Fragment* says, "gall should not be mixed with honey".<sup>87</sup> This phrase could not therefore be used of the *Shepherd* without giving rise to the impression that it was "gall", and so the authors avoid it. Again, put yourself for a moment mentally in the position of those who believed Hermas to be the friend of Paul to whom he sent greetings, and the *Shepherd* to be the record of divine revelations which had been vouchsafed to him. What would be your first thought, were you informed that the book was written a hundred years after you had supposed, and was not a revelation? You would say at once: then the book lies about its origin and its contents, it is apocryphal and false. These are exactly the words Tertullian, as we have seen, used to describe the declaration of some councils of the churches concerning the *Shepherd*, and it seems more than probable that just such a statement as the one before us was in his mind.<sup>88</sup> Whether, however, Tertullian is

<sup>85</sup> Ll. 63ff; 81ff.

<sup>86</sup> This is involved in "*tantum . . . vero*".

<sup>87</sup> L. 67.

<sup>88</sup> Similarly Credner, *Gesch. d. neustest. Kanons*, p. 117. An interesting parallel to Tertullian's statement is found in Zahn, *Gesch. d. neustest. Kanons*, ii. p. 113, "wer das Buch trotz des Namens Clemens (vis. ii. 4) und vieler anderer Anzeichen für ein Werk aus der Zeit um 145 hielt, musste es für eine pseudepigraphische Fiction halten". Cf. also p. 118 and Vol. i., p. 342.



guilty of this or not, such a false inference had to be guarded against, and it is for this purpose that the authors of the *Fragment* after the assertion of the *Shepherd's* late date hasten to add "therefore it ought to be read". Commentators have been puzzled by the "therefore" here. One, who otherwise has excellently understood the situation, is driven to the extremity of saying that the work was ordered to be read because it was written by the brother of a bishop.<sup>89</sup> But the matter is clear when seen in its proper setting. The writers have in view those who would be inclined to go from the extreme of admiration to that of denunciation. To these they say: "the *Shepherd* is not what you think it is, but you must not condemn *it* because *you* have made a mistake; it is a good book and therefore it ought to be read". But after all the main thing in the writers' minds is to ensure the exclusion of the *Shepherd* from the Scriptures, and so, after having qualified its rejection in this way, they conclude strongly (the "therefore" being still in force): "but it cannot be read publicly in the church to the people either among the Prophets whose number is complete or among the Apostles to the end of time"; that is to say, it is to be ranked with neither the Old nor the New Testament.

The correctness of this interpretation will be more apparent when we see how others are involved with difficulties. I will take for examples those of Professors Zahn and Harnack, who approach the matter from different standpoints. Professor Zahn,<sup>90</sup> who has little respect for the judgment of the author of the *Fragment*, explains the injunction to read the *Shepherd* as follows. The Fragmentist believed that the *Shepherd* had been published as an apocalypse but was himself of the opinion that it was not such, and was not friendly disposed toward it. But because it could not be charged with heresy, or intentional falsehood, or because it had been found valuable in the church, or perhaps by way of concession to the opposite party,—we

<sup>89</sup> Hesse, *op. cit.*, pp. 268ff.

<sup>90</sup> *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, Vol. i., pp. 342ff, Vol. ii., pp. 111-118; in Herzog, *Realencycl.* 3rd Ed Vol. ix., pp. 778f.

cannot be sure of his motives,—he retained the work in a minor position, as a sort of deuterocanonical work, and ordered it to be read, only providing that it shall not be read in the public services of the church along with the Old and New Testament. But such an interpretation is possible only to one who holds as low an opinion of the author or authors of the *Fragment* as Prof. Zahn does. In several respects it is out of accord with the statements of the *Fragment*, and what we know from other sources about this time. Elsewhere the *Fragment* is straightforward, honest, and, we may add, definite in its statements concerning the rejection or acceptance of writings. When there is a difference of opinion in the church regarding a work, as in the case of the Apocalypse of Peter, the fact is recorded without comment or attempted compromise. It is hardly thinkable therefore that the author or authors would admit even to a secondary place a work which they believed laid claim to inspiration falsely. Moreover, there is no sign in the *Fragment* or in the other literature of this time of any deuterocanonical books,<sup>91</sup> and later when there were, only such works were involved as were of obscure origin. For the authors of the *Fragment* the origin of the *Shepherd* was not doubtful.

Professor Harnack<sup>92</sup> thinks that the author of the *Fragment*, in agreement with the church generally, regarded the *Shepherd* as a genuine prophecy; that the eloquent silence of the author concerning Christian prophetic writings in their relation to the authoritative church collection is very significant; that the time was past when prophecy just because it was prophecy could be accounted canonical; other conditions were now prerequisite to reception into the sacred collection; that it was necessary therefore for the Fragmentist to create a new category for Christian prophetic books, and that he did this by making it the *duty* of Christians to read them *privately*, that is, not in the public church

<sup>91</sup> Harnack emphasizes this, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, iii., p. 399.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 369ff.



services. But how inconsistent this is with itself and with what Prof. Harnack says elsewhere in the same article! How can the *Fragment* be "eloquently silent concerning the relation of the prophetical writings to the authoritative church collection" and at the same time "create for them a special category"? And how does the creation of a special category differ from the erection of a deuterocanon, of which Prof. Harnack tells us there is no sign at this time in the *Fragment* or elsewhere? Or, looking at the larger question, is it possible that works which a few years before had occupied a position second to none among the Christian writings, should within one generation be relegated to at least comparative obscurity?<sup>93</sup> But quite apart from these considerations Harnack's interpretation is wrecked on the fact that the *Muratorian Fragment* has not one word to say about Christian prophetical writings as a class being read. All other so-called Apocalypses are definitely excluded by the *tantum* of line 72; only the *Shepherd* is separated from them and made the subject of special remark. There is not a shadow of justification for the statement that the contents of this remark were applicable to any other writing or class of writings.

When, therefore, we find these scholars, differing as they do in their attitude toward the history of the Canon and in their estimate and interpretation of the *Muratorian Fragment*, both alike involved in difficulties and inconsistencies through the assumption that the *Shepherd* was published, and for long regarded, as an apocalypse, we come back with the more confidence to the interpretation of this passage to which we were led by our investigation of the historical background. What the authors of *Muratorian Fragment* say here is in effect: "We know in detail the history of the origin of the *Shepherd* of Hermas and can assure the church that it never was intended to be taken as an apocalypse; those who have so regarded it have been mistaken; it is a

<sup>93</sup> Harnack himself (*Ibid.*, p. 405) acknowledges the "ausserordentlich raschen Verlauf des Prozesses. Cf. the criticism by Overbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 75f.

good book and ought to be read, but it is not part of the Scriptures". In other words, what the *Muratorî Fragment* does, is not to take away the authority which had universally been conceded to the *Shepherd* at one time, but to check a growing tendency to regard it as canonical.

We have now reviewed the important evidence of the second century in respect to the position occupied by the *Shepherd* in the Church. What is our conclusion? Just this: the only assumption about which the known facts may be arranged logically and consistently is that the *Shepherd* was published originally, and accepted by the author's contemporaries, as a purely human work in the form of an allegory. It soon became widely known and popular among the churches, and some thirty or forty years after its publication was regarded in some localities as inspired and Scripture. Its literary form doubtless deceived many who were not acquainted with its origin into thinking it a genuine revelation. The attempt was also made to foist it upon the apostolic age. But the Church of Rome, of which Hermas had been a member and in which his work had been produced, was comparatively or wholly free from these wrong opinions, and, as represented in the *Muratorî Fragment*, entered a strong protest against this false valuation of a useful but purely human work.

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## THE NEW OPTIMISM VERSUS THE OPTIMISM OF THE GOSPEL.

Higher Criticism does not and cannot have one hypothesis and method for the interpretation of the Old Testament, and another for the New. For whatever the difference between these two parts of the Bible, they are related as antecedent and consequent. The Old anticipates a fuller revelation of God to mankind than it contains; the New is the fulfilment of that anticipation. This must be recognized in some form whatever be our conception of the content and purpose of the Bible in its entirety. Hence, irrespective of our conception or hypothesis, the Old Testament cannot be thought of as a finality, for it has an outlook beyond itself, and if that outlook be not toward the New Testament, then we know not to what it points. But from this it follows that, relatively, the hypothesis and method of Higher Criticism is comparatively less difficult when applied to the Old Testament than when applied to the New. And chiefly for two reasons. (1) The Old Testament is, primarily, the history of a Nation—a people lineally descended from Abraham. It is this, whatever else may be the value of its religious and theological content. Further on we shall dwell upon the relation of the history to the content. Here it is enough to say that our view of the Old Testament as history determines essentially our interpretation of its religious and theological content.<sup>1</sup> The New Testament centres about a person Jesus, the Christ. Dating from the entrance of our Lord upon His public ministry, to the close of the Acts of the Apostles, it covers a period of approximately thirty-five years,—a small fraction of the many

<sup>1</sup>We may apply here the language of Percy Gardner (*Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 3), "In throwing the Bible into historic perspective modern criticism changes the basis of the whole of Protestant Theology and compels it to seek a new foundation."

centuries from the call of Abraham covered by the Old Testament. But it is the person and work of Christ that fill those years. Hence, this comparatively brief period does not have the historical background for applying the hypothesis and method of Higher Criticism, such as the many centuries covered by the Old Testament provide. Throughout the latter the Nation is always before the Critic: in the former a person. (2) Being primarily history, the Old Testament is a completed history. Of course a few centuries intervene between the close of the Old Testament and the final overthrow of the Hebrew Nation as such. But none the less the Old Testament is the completed history of that nation so far as that nation was identified with the religion and theology of the Old Testament. The intervening centuries added nothing to either. The New Testament, though canonically a completed book, is none the less the record of a movement that had its beginning in the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth; a movement in its genesis inseparably allied with Him, whatever hypothesis and method we apply to the interpretation of the New Testament; a movement the most aggressive and comprehensive in spirit and purpose the world has ever known, and which continues the same to our own day. For these two reasons, the most complicated problem for Higher Criticism is Jesus of Nazareth. The New Testament therefore relatively, is the *crux* of the hypothesis and method of this criticism.

Hence, while in dealing with the Old Testament Higher Criticism has to do with nearly two millennia of the completed history of a Nation which as such many centuries since ceased to be, in dealing with the New Testament it has to do with the genesis of a movement which has been a potent factor in the promotion of all that has been highest and best in human progress for nearly two millennia. Moreover this movement, for some reason, has had an inhering initiation wholly its own. At the first it disclosed this power of self-initiation. It continued to do so in its earlier expansion. It was alone, unaided and violently resisted



on every side. Again and again during the following centuries, the self-initiation of the movement has reasserted itself, going back with new emphasis of faith and conservation of purpose to absolute dependence upon itself as having the inhering power of the Gospel of Christ as its genesis—its power—its assurance of victory. And in doing this it has never been defeated by those who combined in resisting it. It has been from the beginning an Optimistic Movement. All this is a fact of history, and is abundantly confirmed by the new vigor shown in our day by all evangelical bodies in the prosecution of foreign missions. Higher Criticism, therefore, in dealing with the New Testament, cannot afford to ignore the inherent initiation and aggressiveness of the Optimism of the Gospel of Christ manifested not only throughout almost two millennia of history, but to-day although confronted as it is by so many and great hindrances from without, and beset by so many pessimistic and paralyzing hindrances within.<sup>2</sup>

But reverting to the Bible in its entirety and permitting it to speak for itself, it is evident that the Old Testament is provisional—the New Testament is final. In the former, neither does Moses nor do the Prophets claim that their utterances are the final revelation of God to mankind. But the New Testament affirms itself to be the final revelation. In the Gospels Christ does so. In the Acts and Epistles the Apostles do so. To say that each successive epoch in Old Testament history looks beyond itself, is saying nothing more than Higher Critics say, the era of the Prophets of Israel

<sup>2</sup>As Forsyth says (*The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, p. 84): "The greatest issue for the moment is within the Christian pale: it is not between Christianity and the world. It is the issue between theological liberalism (which is practically Unitarianism), and a free but positive Theology, which is essentially evangelical." And here Lyman Abbott's judgment as to this issue, as he sees it from the liberal side, is confirmatory of Forsyth (*Theology of Evolution*, p. 61), "It must be frankly conceded that the question at issue between Modern Criticism and the Old Orthodoxy is not an insignificant one. . . . It is a profoundly serious one. The Old Orthodoxy is right in regarding the New Criticism as revolutionary."

and Judah being to them the culminating stage in the evolution of an ethical Monotheism that has come down to our day.<sup>3</sup> And it is precisely this ethical Monotheism that underlies the four Gospels and the entire New Testament. It was this ethical Monotheism, in its largest meaning, that Jesus of Nazareth grasped. This too the Critics concede, or rather I make integral to their interpretation of the religion and theology of the Bible in its entirety. But to quote Forsyth,<sup>4</sup> "the most impressive thing about Christ's vast consciousness is His sense of finality. It is upon this so much turns, not on His being *a* revelation of God, but *the* revelation, the *final* revelation." This finality is the foundation of and defines what we have termed the optimism of the Gospel of Christ, contradistinguishing it radically from all theories of philosophical optimism. Here, on its practical side, is the issue between the evangelical faith and the convergence of the tendencies of much in the amorphous New Theology. For the question of supreme significance now is, whether or not Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ, was and is the final revelation of God to mankind. If He was not, and if He had only clearer perceptions of ethical Monotheism than the Prophets of Israel and Judah: if His life, character, and teachings are only a stadium in the evolution of ethics, religion, and theology, we may expect further light upon these vital subjects. If we speak of the religion of Jesus as we do of the Buddhistic or the Mohammedan or any other religion, then as Forsyth so forcibly puts it,<sup>5</sup> "the evolution, the relativism that makes us to outgrow the New Testament Christ, will also carry us beyond the religion of Jesus and the cult of Fatherhood. Christianity will become but a stage, even on its ethical side. The Fatherhood of God will become merely a spiritual idea of great, but passing value." For the only finality the evolutionary process allows or a philosophy of religion in which that process is basal can recognize, is the result that

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *Studies of Religion*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> *The Person and Place of Christ*, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.



terminates the entire cosmic evolutionary process. Between the inception of that process and its culmination, there is no place for finality in ethics, religion or theology.<sup>6</sup>

On this hypothesis optimism has no place in the present. For what may come to pass thousands or myriads of years hence under the existing order of things, is of no concern to us in the life we are living now. What we need, and need imperatively, is an optimism which, in its foundation, motives, outlook, and bearing upon every problem of our conscious being, provides for and meets the conditions of the reality of that being. It is precisely this sort of optimism man in all the ages has been feeling for, groping after. Uncounted millions have abandoned the quest, believing they had found the object of their search in the Gospel of Christ. Many millions have done and are doing the same thing to-day. This Gospel has been for all these the Gospel of hope.<sup>7</sup> The lives they have lived have had their motive, inspiration, mold in that hope. They have lived and are now living for others. If they had not lived, would the world have been—by so much—better than it is to-day? Who would dare so to affirm? The fact should be fully and fairly recognized. The optimism based upon the Gospel of Christ has made for itself a record for nearly two millennia, that may confidently challenge the closest scrutiny of all classes of critics and thinkers in our day.

Our insistence on this fact is accentuated by a current

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek, *ἐλπίς* means strictly—expectation—something for good reasons confidently anticipated. Paul uses it in a sense distinctly including both (cf. Rom. v. 2, 4, Gal. v. 5, Col. i. 27, 1 Tim. i. 1.). So does the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (cf. Heb. iii. 6, vi. 18-19). Peter employs it even more emphatically as security, in the sense of absolute safety and its guarantee (cf. 1 Pe. i. 3, 21, iii. 15). This hope is always a hope having both foundation and confident assurance in the acceptance of the Gospel of Christ as the final self-revelation of God to mankind. Here believers have rested their faith. Were they deluded? Are they now? Amiel says (*Journal intime*, p. 264, Eng. Trans., 1885): "The Gospel proclaims . . . the news of irrevocable pardon, this is to say, of eternal life. The Cross is the guarantee of the Gospel. Therefore it has been its standard".

tendency to minimize what the optimism begotten by the Gospel of Christ has wrought, and to divert attention to ecclesiasticism, dogmatism, traditional creedal beliefs. These, it is urged, have been a hindrance to the correct understanding of the Bible, of Christ, and hence of Christianity. We concede that there is truth in this. But when we admit all the truth it contains, it becomes an additional argument for the optimism of the Gospel of Christ. For if the history of Christianity shows anything with the lucidness of demonstration, it is the inhering power of self-initiation the Gospel of Christ has had. Ecclesiasticism, dogmatism, tradition have not in the end bound or delimited that Gospel. It has reasserted and reaffirmed itself. In doing this it has gone back always to the Christ of the Gospels. It has reemphasized the self-revelation of God to mankind in the person and work of the incarnate, the crucified and risen Christ as the finality of this revelation. At no stage throughout its centuries of history has the Christianity of Christ needed any other foundation or motive for enthusiastic optimism than those of the Apostles of the risen Christ. We sympathize with some phases of what is and ought to be urged against ecclesiasticism, dogmatism, and tradition as these have asserted themselves in the history of Christianity. But our insistence is that when all is said that justly ought to be said, it, by so much, historically confirms the optimism of the Gospel of Christ. It makes nothing for the new and better optimism commended to us in the tendencies and conclusion of Higher Criticism and the New Theology. We by no means enter a caveat here against all the positions of Higher Criticism nor against all the modifications of doctrine urged by the conservative representatives of the New Theology. But when on the authority of Higher Criticism and clad in the vestments of the New Theology men proffer to us a new optimism, having neither foundation, nor inspiration, nor motive other than those deduced from an hypothetical evolutionary cosmic process, and supported by inferences from a philosophy of re-



ligion that as yet is embryonic rather than nascent, then in the light of nearly two millennia of what the optimism of the Gospel of Christ has wrought, our reply is, "Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but who are you?"

And they answer, the Bible, Christ, Christianity must be reinterpreted in the light and by the infallible data of Science, criticism in its accepted canons, and the attitude of the modern mind as defined by the compass and drift of modern thought. All essential in each is to be reverently retained; is indeed to be stamped by the authority of scholarship as of greatest value. But what and how much is held to be essential in the reinterpretation? We answer, just so much, and not a whit more, as can be worked into the evolution of ethics, religion and theology,<sup>8</sup> using these technical words with the meaning given them in the philosophy of religion. That is, ethics, religion and theology are cardinal in the universal evolutionary process. Or to put the same thing differently, the Biblical development of what these terms connote must be modified so as to harmonize that development with a comprehensive philosophy of religion the foundation of which is the hypothetical evolutionary process. That is, the ethical, religious and theological in the Bible are to be accorded neither preëminence nor priority because these are there. Their one and only claim to special consideration as data in the study of the philosophy of religion is that they have a well-defined setting in the history of a nation—the Hebrew, and in nothing on the ground that the Bible claims to be the record of the self-revelation of God to mankind,—giving to their development exceptional value.

And here in confirmation of what we have said and in

<sup>8</sup>"The evolutionist perceives the necessity of making the framework of theory strong and sound." Therefore, "the evolutionist must recognize the true value of the religious instinct and admit the vast importance of providing a mode embodying it in the future. How this is to be done is the great problem of coming generations. The generation that is passing away has learned its importance, however far they may be from the solution itself" (Leslie Stephens, *The Nineteenth Century*, p. 350, ed. 1901).

support of our conclusion, we introduce citations from Pfeiderer, certainly one of the ablest expositors of that philosophy of religion, one of the logical necessities of which is the elimination from the Bible of special inspiration, special revelation, and, hence, miracles, but at the same time giving prominence to the Bible as a source of data of the greatest value in the construction of a philosophy of religion all-inclusive of ethics, religion and theology. Of the Old Testament Pfeiderer says,<sup>9</sup> "The Prophets raised the tribal god of Israel to be the God of the world. . . . To the Hebrew Prophet Jehovah always remained the God of Israel in a peculiar sense, but his government of the world had nevertheless a universal end, which passed beyond the national limits and was unconditionally valuable in itself," having as "its moral end the divine government of the world." Further on he says,<sup>10</sup> "If a religious revelation is to be found anywhere, it is certainly to be found in the spirit of the Hebrew Prophets, who knew that the will of God is the will of the morally good. This knowledge, which is of infinite reach, arose among them many centuries before Plato, and they grasped this truth more firmly than that profound thinker." And elsewhere he elaborates this statement and says,<sup>11</sup> "Through this knowledge of the moral nature and government of God which had arisen in their heart and conscience the Hebrew Prophets became the creators of ethical monotheism, the true Biblical religion, which comes to its true fulfilment in Christianity." Of the four Gospels he says—what his exposition of the philosophy of religion assumes of the entire New Testament,<sup>12</sup> "The primitive community (of believers) was the guardian of the most precious treasure of Christendom—the meaning of the facts of the earthly life of Jesus, of His discourses, doings, and sufferings. If it had not so faithfully preserved this treasure the world would have received no Gospels, nor

<sup>9</sup> *Philosophy of Religion*, Vol. i., p. 120 (Gifford Lectures).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 45.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 125.



any tradition of the several features of the life of Jesus. . . . And what would Christianity have been without the Gospels." A defender of the evangelical faith need say scarcely more than this of the worth of the four Gospels. But as if Pfleiderer felt this required explanation and modification, he adds, "Yet the traditions of the primitive community even were already far from being able to give a photographically faithful portrait of the reality." He means of the Jesus who actually was. We ask why so? Here is Pfleiderer's answer. "In its way it (the primitive community) was already creating, fashioning the historical according to the idea, and introducing ideas into history," thereby giving to the earthly life, discourses, doings, and sufferings of Jesus "more and more supernatural color and content." The language of these citations is remarkable. Some at least of those who follow in its general positions and arguments Pfleiderer's philosophy of religion, hesitate to go so far as he does in what he says of the Hebrew Prophets in their creative relation to ethical Monotheism.<sup>13</sup> And to any one not understanding clearly the position he champions as to the Bible, Christ, and Christianity, such language as we have cited might easily be misleading. But in these citations there are two assumptions upon which we shall dwell briefly.

(1) The Old Testament. "They became *creators* of ethical monotheism." But *how* its creators? Pfleiderer explains. It was through the "knowledge of the moral nature and government of God which had arisen in their heart and conscience." That is, it was self-evolved. But in what the Prophets did, being the pioneer by "many centuries" of Plato, if "a religious revelation is to be found

<sup>13</sup> For example, Tiele (*History of Religion*, Eng. Ed., p. 89): "Out of the conception of Yahveh's supremacy over the other gods of the country sprang the idea of his sole lordship over Israel. Beyond this idea the first Prophets of reformed Mosaism made no great advance. . . . The great value of the preaching of the Prophets lies in its ethical character, and in the pure and elevated representation which it gave to their Yahveh. But even this conception of deity is still one-sided, and their universalism continues particularistic."

anywhere it is found in the spirit of those Prophets." Nevertheless Pfleiderer does not admit that there was either special revelation or special inspiration anywhere—either in the Old Testament or the New.<sup>14</sup> *Ex hypothesi* he could not do so. The evolutionary hypothesis upon which he builds his philosophy of religion imperatively interdicts such an admission. The Hebrew Prophets were men exceptional in their "insight into the moral nature and government of God." They were men of fervent piety; patriotic, devout worshippers of Yahveh to the utter exclusion of all other deities whether of Israel or of contiguous peoples. They were men too who held as authoritative the traditions of Israel. For these reasons they resisted idolatry and preceded all others in emphasizing the government of the world by the God of Israel. It was indeed, as Pfleiderer virtually admits, a marvellous achievement in ethics, religion and theology. But it is in its antecedents, in the environment of the Hebrew Prophets in their own time—and in its age-long permanency of result, only one link in the chain of evolution. In it there was neither special revelation nor special inspiration. Thus the era of the Hebrew Prophets and the conceded permanency of their exposition and application of ethical Monotheism becomes the crux of the application of the hypotheses and methods of Higher Criticism to the Old Testament. If it fail here it is self-invalidated in much besides.

(2) The New Testament. Pfleiderer says that in the Gospels "the primitive community (of believers) was the guardian of the most precious treasure of Christendom." Except for this "primitive community" which "so faithfully preserved this treasure, the world would have had no Gospels"; and then he asks, "What would Christianity have been without the Gospels?" But he goes on and affirms that this primitive community "was far from being able to give a photographically faithful portrait of the reality"—the Jesus who actually was. They introduced "ideas into

<sup>14</sup> Cf. especially *Philosophy of Religion*, vol. ii., sect. iii.



history" and so fashioned the historical as the ideal traditional conception of the Jesus who was, thus giving to the reality "more and more supernatural color and content." This assumption of Pfleiderer is fundamental to the interpretation of the Gospels and of the entire New Testament which we are being urged to accept.

It is affirmed that the primitive community superimposed a "supernatural color and content" upon the actual facts of the earthly life of Jesus. This affirmation manifestly eliminates from the Gospels everything supernatural and miraculous,—hence the miraculous conception and bodily resurrection of Jesus—and yet it assumes that this was the work of the primitive community. The sophism here is in the assumption that the Christ of the Gospels is not the Christ of history but an ideal Christ superimposed upon the facts of the life, teaching and work of the Christ who actually was; and this by "the primitive community". But this assumption itself is certainly unhistorical. For from the first "the primitive community" received the knowledge and interpretation of the Gospel of Christ from the Apostles He had called to be with Him, and who declared that they were the eye-witnesses of His resurrection. In the community the Apostles spoke with an authority which was fully recognized.<sup>15</sup> Though not one of the original Apostles, Paul the expositor of the content of the Gospel of Christ and the Apostle to the Gentiles, was the defender of the Apostles' teaching against all departures from it.<sup>16</sup> If he had had the four Gospels before him, he could not have given us a portrait of Jesus the Christ, more like the one they present, than he has given. If then there be in the four Gospels "a supernatural coloring" of the life, works, teaching of the Christ, it evidently was not the primitive community that did this. It was the Apostles' teaching.

But again, this alleged "coloring" is a misleading metaphor. There is the coloring of the artist's pigments and

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Acts ii. 42, with 2 Pe. iii. 2.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 9; Eph. iii. 5; 1 Thess. ii. 6.

brush,—perhaps to flatter his subject. Such a coloring, critics of the school of Pfleiderer insist, has given us the portraiture of Jesus the Christ in the Gospels. But there is another and different kind of coloring. We mean the blended shadings, the delicate tints and the deep, rich primary color which the sunshine paints on the flower. The sunshine does not make the coloring and then paint it on the opening flower. As well think of the sunshine painting a flower upon the face of a rock. The sunshine brings out the coloring that first in the bud was to be in the flower, thus revealing its beauty. What sunshine is to the flower, the Holy Spirit was to be and is to the person, the life, the teaching, the work, the sufferings and death—hence to the resurrection of Jesus and His enthronement at the right hand of God the Father. For the Holy Spirit was not, and could not be the interpreter of Christ and the content of the Gospel until Christ had completed the work He came to do and resumed, as Mediator, the glory He had with the Father before the world was. This interpretation began on the Day of Pentecost,<sup>17</sup> but it did not end then.<sup>18</sup> It was to be mediated through the subjective experience of those who believed,<sup>19</sup>—not that this experience of itself or any consensus of such experience was to be authoritative in doctrine; but because it was only to such experience that Christ in His person and work could be spiritually interpreted.<sup>20</sup> This may be a reason why even the earliest of the Gospels did not appear until the doctrinal content of the Gospel had been developed and had become the understood faith of the primitive community. What Garvie has said applies here, "Those who accept the historical Jesus as the Son of God and Saviour of the world, and assign the significance and value of Divine revelation to His earthly life, also recognize Him as the Living Christ, present, interested,

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Jno. xiv. 25-26, xvi. 7-14, with Lk. xxiv. 49; Acts i. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 6, with iii. 16-18.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 14, with Rom. viii. 6.



and active here."<sup>21</sup> This was the belief of "the primitive community." But it was a belief founded upon and developed by the preaching and teaching of the Apostles, and not a belief evolved out of the consensus of the self-consciousness of that community. This belief may have been only an ideal wrought into valid historical tradition as to Jesus—the Christ. But if so, it was the Apostles who did this, not "the primitive community".

We now have come to a point of view from which it is germane to our subject to say something of the insulation of the Hebrew Nation as a nation. Of course, all nations—ancient or modern, are insulated. That is, each nation has a government and laws of its own. Otherwise a nation could not be. A race may continue; but a nation ceases to be when its government is dismantled. And its laws, being without the support of authority, are of necessity abrogated. The Hebrew Nation was theocratic; its laws and legislation were understood by the people to be of theocratic origin and sanction. And here is the fact that contradistinguishes the purpose for which the Hebrew Nation was called into existence and so strangely preserved, notwithstanding the vicissitudes and overwhelming misfortunes and calamities they underwent for so many centuries, from that of other contemporary nations. Beside the Hebrew Nation, there has never been another whose existence, continuance, and destiny were so indissolubly bound up with fidelity to a distinct religious belief.<sup>22</sup> The insulation of the Hebrew

<sup>21</sup> *The Inner Life of Jesus*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>22</sup> The Hebrew Prophets "All start with the belief in a personal God whom they name Jehovah. He is God of Israel. He brought them up out of Egypt." (Davidson, *The Old Testament Prophecy*, pp. 274-275, cf. p. 421.) "The Hebrew Prophets from Moses onwards, with their superior hold upon morality, which is the very nerve of personality, purified their popular religion, but without losing themselves in abstractions; and it is a mere travesty to speak of their God as an impersonal tendency. From beginning to end He is essentially personal." (Illingworth, *Personality, Human and Divine*, pp. 55-56.) Max Müller postulates that the formation of a nation is conditioned by previous agreement as to religion. (See his *Science of Religion*, Sec. iii, pp. 144-155.) Is there one instance of this—ancient or modern—except the Hebrew

Nation was such that unlike other nations they were not to seek the extension of their geographical limits by diplomacy or war. The promises made to them were conditioned upon their fidelity to their stewardship. The threatenings and judgments pronounced against them were for unfaithfulness. Sometimes the philosophical student of history finds one of his most perplexing problems in discovering the reason for a nation's existence; for he can find no legacy bequeathed by it to the future.<sup>23</sup> Not so with the student of the history of the Hebrew Nation. He discovers, and plainly enough, the reason both in its history and—having long since passed away—in the legacy it has bequeathed to mankind. For be the hypothesis and method of any one what they may in interpreting the Old Testament, he must premise that it contains the history of an insulated nation, in which insulation this nation was historically allied to the development of an insulated religion. And further, he can scarcely escape premising that the development of this religion could not have been without the isolated nation. For it must be evident that in some definite sense and by some means Israel did become the channel for the accomplishing of the divine redemptive purpose in behalf of humanity. That purpose is the golden thread running through the history and literature of Israel, giving it a variety which is certainly not due to conscious purpose on the part of individual writers.<sup>24</sup> Those who deny that the Old Testament contains a special revelation from God to mankind, nevertheless recognize the oneness of purpose "running through the history and literature of Israel". Otherwise their hypothesis of the evolution of religion could not be applied to the interpretation of the content of the Old Testament.

Nation? The distinctive religious liberty of the Hebrews dates back to the call of Abraham. Cf. Clay, *Amurru, The Home of the Northern Semites*, pp. 85-86. Also Berry, *The Old Testament Among the Semitic Religions*, pp. 193-201.

<sup>23</sup> Greece and Rome are the conspicuous exceptions to this.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, *How God has Spoken*, p. 161.



If then it be denied that the Old Testament contains a special revelation to mankind, but assumed at the same time that the insulated evolution of the Hebrew religion gave to the world the true conception of ethical monotheism, which had its subsequent relatively fuller exposition in the intuition of the fatherhood of God by Jesus of Nazareth, could this insulated evolution of ethics, religion, theology have been without an insulated nation the history of which was coeval and continuous with that evolution? As a fact it was not. Higher critics and writers on comparative religion and on the philosophy of religion, find much to commend in the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria,—and perhaps more in Buddhism, Confucianism and Mohammedanism. And it would be anomalous indeed if in these religions they found nothing to commend—nothing that might be compared with the ethics, the religion and the theology of the Old Testament, and as well with those in the New. For whatever the development and progress of any section of the human race, such development and progress surely could not have originated in the primal and essential differentiation of one particular section from the race in its totality of potentialities. No man, be he scientist, philosopher, historian, or higher critic, has any warrant in known facts for affirming such original and fundamental differentiation. Why then should such differentiation be virtually assumed in the case of the Hebrews? Rather, there are far stronger reasons for assuming such differentiation in the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the people of India, or of China. Yet it is not to the evolution of ethics, religion, and theology in any one or all of these, to which we are pointed to-day, as having bequeathed to us a legacy of invaluable worth. Who commends to us Buddhism, Confucianism or the far later Mohammedanism as in its history, in its achievements, in its status to-day,—to say nothing of the distinctive tenets of either,—as offering the solution of our social and ethical problems, and hence as a foundation for a practical and efficient Optimism?

All these are commended, sometimes eulogized, and much is said of the lessons Christianity may learn from them. But those who do this never fail to give preëminence in ethics, religion, theology to the Bible in its entirety though denying that it contains a special revelation.

We have used the phrase "insulated evolution" to define the trend and outcome of the Hebrew religion in that by which, historically, it is differentiated from all other religions. It is this insulation that demands explanation in any study of comparative religion or in any philosophy of religion. For there is no fact in either profane or sacred history that stands out more boldly or in its results has made a like contribution to ethics, religion and theology. Except for what we have termed "insulated evolution" neither the fact nor the results would have been. We cannot enlarge upon this. But if the Hebrew Prophets about the year 800 B. C., without special revelation or inspiration themselves, and without the guidance and help of such antecedent leadership in the belief of Israel during the preceding centuries of its history, evolved their ethical monotheism out of their own consciousness in some such way as Raplan defines,<sup>25</sup> then why did not the seers, the prophets, the "advanced thinkers" of other and contemporary religions do the same thing? There is nothing captious or evasive in this question. But we are not aware that writers on the evolution of religion, on the philosophy of religion, or on comparative religion, now regard it as a question of special importance. W. Robertson Smith easily disposes of it.

<sup>25</sup> Raplan's *Psychology of Prophecy* has only very recently appeared. So far as we know it is the first formally scientific exposition of Prophecy. Of Revelation he gives this psychological definition: "Revelation, as I conceive it, therefore, is a sudden mysterious awareness of an inflow of thought, an inundation of spirit, an awakening of mind, seemingly from unaccountable sources, and, therefore, believed to be from non-natural channels through supernatural agency." (p. 110.) The sub-title, "A Study of the Prophet Mind as Manifested in the Hebrew Prophets," explains the purpose of the book. It really differentiates in nothing essential "the Prophetic Mind" of the Hebrew Prophets from that of the prophets of Paganism. In both, psychologically understood—prophecy is one and the same.



He says: "What is often described as the natural tendency of Semitic religion towards ethical monotheism, is in the main nothing more than a consequence of the alliance of religion and monarchy."<sup>26</sup> This alliance was germinal of "the way in which the prophets conceived of Jehovah's sovereignty."<sup>27</sup> But "in Judaism the spirit of loyalty was allied with genuine moral earnestness."<sup>28</sup> His conclusion is that "in other nations individual thinkers rose to lofty conceptions of a supreme deity, but in Israel, and in Israel alone, these conceptions were incorporated in the accepted worship of the national god. And so of all the gods of the nations Jehovah alone was fitted to become the God of the whole earth."<sup>29</sup> Smith gives about ten pages to a discussion of the subject of which we have stated only four of the salient points. But these are enough to show that he deals with the question as it makes the evolution of religion integral to its answer. Jevons has recently, though somewhat sympathetically, criticised the position of Smith. He says:<sup>30</sup> "The monotheism of the Jews is a unique and solitary phenomenon in the history of religion. Nowhere else in the world has the development of religion culminated in monotheism. The reasonable inference from this patent and fundamental fact is, that nowhere else can religion have developed along the same lines as among the Jews." Why this difference? Smith's explanation does not explain as Jevons shows conclusively. We have used the phrase "insulated evolution" tentatively only as a working definition. For in fact evolution allows nothing of the kind, because in the theory of the evolution of religion, the Hebrew religion and the religion of Christ are in the same category as the evolution of the soaring eagle from its reptilian ancestor.

Such in general is the interpretation of the Bible in its

<sup>26</sup> *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 74, Ed. 1889.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>30</sup> *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 388. Comp. p. 390. IV. Edition.

entirety lying behind and defining the optimism that is to supersede the optimism of the Gospel of Christ. Hence, the only optimism that meets the demand of the present is an optimism defined and delimited by the ethical, religious, and theological evolution of the past which as yet has had its highest and purest expression in the religion of the Hebrews and in the exceptional intuition Jesus of Nazareth had of the Fatherhood of God—consequently of the sonship and brotherhood of mankind. This optimism is to be for us the inspiring motive for the present—the prophet of the future. But it is in nothing a finality. For, as we have seen, the only finality the evolution of religion allows is a finality inseparable from the ultimate finality of the whole cosmic evolution,—something in the very far-off future. That issue for humanity under the existing order of things is portrayed in roseate colors. But as yet the evolution of religion in the Old and New Testaments is given preëminence in this portrayal—especially the life, character, ethical teachings of Jesus—the Christ. Of the many confirmations of this we could easily adduce, we offer but one. Le Conte is neither a Higher Critic nor a theologian, but a scientist and a thorough-going evolutionist. He says, "The most powerfully attractive ideal ever presented to the human mind, and, therefore, the most potent agent in the evolution of human character, is the Christ. This ideal must come, whether in the imagination or in the flesh we say not, but must come—somehow in the course and not in the end. At the end the whole human race drawn upward by this ideal must reach the fulness of the stature of Christ."<sup>31</sup> No one, so far as we know, has stated this position from the optimistic point of view more explicitly than Le Conte does here. But the changes are being rung easily upon it. We are told that this is *the* essence of *the* mission of Jesus the Christ, while, in almost the same breath we are warned against interpreting and understanding the Gospel of Christ as the finality of revelation. Nor are all by any means so confident

<sup>31</sup> *Evolution of Religion*, pp. 363-364.



as Le Conte seems to be that the Christ will continue to be "the most potent agent in the evolution of human character." He may prove to have been only a link in the chain of evolution as it moves toward its ultimate issue. Some see even now the evidences of this. Comte omitted the name of Christ from his roster of illustrious men who bequeathed legacies to mankind. Foster anticipates the coming of a time when Christ may be forgotten. Many even now doubt whether Christ has any message for our age. And Savage speaks for many when he says "It matters not therefore that Christianity (he means the Unitarian conception of it) is the last and most perfect system of religion; since it is a product of evolution it will be set aside by evolution."<sup>32</sup>

But as yet this is more a sporadic and isolated than a converging tendency. What it presages does not here concern us. What we have kept steadily in the prospective is the optimism founded upon an "ethical Gospel,"<sup>33</sup> which is the heritage of the evolution of religion in the history of the Hebrew Nation, and afterward fully evolved in the life, character and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, and in His intuition of the Fatherhood of God and of the sonship and brotherhood of man. We may now dwell, as briefly as possible, upon the cardinal points in the general conclusion to which our line of thought and argument leads.

(a) The new optimism logically rejects all that is basal to the optimism of the Gospel of Christ, that is, the special inspiration of the Bible; the miraculous conception and

<sup>32</sup> *The Morals of Evolution*, p. 187. Quoted by Alviella, *Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought*, p. 217.

<sup>33</sup> Sanday, quoting a writer in the *Hibbert Journal* who describes the New Theology as "a return to simplicity of statement and to the preaching of an ethical Gospel" which "discards every theologoumenon which has not a practical value," says: "The mischief lies in the sweeping negative, which may well set the loyal Christian on his guard, as he knows how much that is precious to him may easily be included. . . . There, once more, we know what to expect; and I am afraid our expectations are realized to a greater extent than they need be." (*The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 151-154).

bodily resurrection, hence the Incarnation, Deity, and glorification of Christ with the Father, of Christ the finality as the self-revelation of God to mankind. We do not mean the criticism and restatement of the formulation of these beliefs of the evangelical faith—which is one thing. But their rejection *in toto* which is altogether another. The issue here is not whether these beliefs are true or false *per se*; but that the new optimism has no place for them. For they are eliminated by the hypothesis and methods of Higher Criticism.<sup>34</sup> This may not be at first, but the gravitation from the first is that way. Regarded as subordinate, therefore, relatively indifferent, they are not in any case to be held as essential to the Gospel of Christ. This position is indefensible, and its maintenance is impossible from a psychological point of view. For in nothing can the human mind long tolerate the attitude of doubt on any subject of inquiry, and especially upon any subject related to religious belief. It logically demands and presses toward a definite conclusion *pro* or *con*. Here neutrality and indeterminateness are in the nature of the case impossible as they can be in nothing else. It is the evolutionary philosophy of religion that predetermines the direction of the gravitation and dictates the conclusion. The foundations of the new optimism are so radically other than those of the optimism of the Gospel of Christ, that whatever is distinctive fundamentally in the latter, is by the imperiousness of the logical gravitation in the former rejected. The evidences of this are now before us. The cleavage is sharp. Compromise is impossible. Antagonism is inevitable.

(b) The new optimism emphasizes social progress—and does not, except indirectly, emphasize the salvation of man as a sinner from sin. Solidarity is far more prominent in its conception of mankind than the individual. Its unit is not the individual, though its free use of the nomenclature of Christianity and the language of the Gospels especially, seems to give the impression that it is most zealous for the

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Forsyth, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, p. 103.



individual. But its practical aim is not the individual first, and then through the individual the betterment and ethical uplift of society and thereby the promotion of the progress of humanity. Its normal tendency has been the reverse of this. Nor could it be logically otherwise. The cosmic conception that molds its theory of the evolution of religion does not place the primary emphasis upon the salvation of the individual from sin. It is needless to show that the optimism of the Gospel of Christ emphasizes, above all beside, the salvation of the individual sinner from sin. It was in this that early evangelism won all its victories, and in three centuries wrought such marvellous ethical and social transformation among peoples so long and so thoroughly dominated by paganism. And here again compromise is impossible. Antagonism is inevitable. The evidence is abundant and irresistible that the power of the optimism of the Gospel of Christ has been in the radical change it wrought in the individual. By this it became the source of the transformation of society. The new optimism gives no sign of having a like power. Nor is evidence in sight that it ever will possess it. For, *ex hypothesi*, it cannot move faster than the evolutionary process that molds it. It can have no other or greater inhering initiation. If the optimism of the Gospel of Christ had had no other initiative, would Christianity have made for itself the place it holds in the history of human progress?

(c) The new optimism emphasizes the existing order of things as the horizon of its vision. Its evolutionary genesis and mold—we may add, its confident prophecy as to the future of humanity, necessitates this. All this optimism is to achieve for mankind is predetermined by the potentialities of the present order of things. A future state of existence may be assumed, but can never be more than an assumption in the new optimism; for there is nothing in it that makes the belief in a future state of existence fundamental. The more closely the new optimism by means of advance in scientific certainty, and in both the philosophy

of history and the philosophy of religion, allies itself intelligently with the entirety of the evolutionary process under the existing order of things, the more determinate of the content and the incentive to endeavor becomes the horizon bounding that order. For no matter how greatly that horizon may be enlarged, it is always the same order of things. It never includes anything beyond this order of things—either in time or space or eternity. And here again the new optimism is self-differentiated from the optimism of the Gospel of Christ in a way and for reasons that make compromise impossible and antagonism inevitable. For the foundations upon which the optimism of the Gospel rests are not delimited by the existing order of things. They are not predetermined by either time or space. They are timeless and eternal in the redemptive purpose of God. This is the genesis of the optimism of the Gospel of Christ. If it include the existing order of things, which certainly, according to Holy Scripture, it does, it includes that order because of the order of things that is to follow. Here is the inhering power of self-initiation in the Gospel of Christ—the reason why it has brought to pass results in human progress through the salvation of individuals, giving them the hope and the inspiration of the certainty of eternal life, which the new optimism cannot give.

Our limits forbid further analysis of the conclusion we have reached. It is enough to add that the issue we have defined has become so acute that a reaction is certain,—indeed has begun. Not to mention other reasons, the elimination of special revelation with all it includes, from the Old and New Testament, has necessitated a corresponding elimination of what the universal self-consciousness of man has recognized as inhering in the reality of his being. If radical criticism has left only an expurgated Bible, it has defined a corresponding conception of man. For the Bible is addressed as a revelation of God to man, to the totality of the being man, his life here and his eternal destiny. And, therefore, whatever is rejected in the foundation and content



of the optimism of the Gospel of Christ, must by so much delimit our conception of man in the totality of his being. In other words, it requires the assumption that in the reality of the being of man there is nothing responding to the self-revelation of eternal redemption in Christ Jesus. But we ask, are not the distinctive truths of that self-revelation just what man has felt after if haply he might find them? And further, we ask, could man have responded to that revelation and have had the experimental assurance of its adaptation to the needs of his being, or have been the subject of so radical a change in his character<sup>35</sup> by the power of the Gospel of Christ, if this were not so? The millions who have believed this Gospel and in whom it wrought such miracles in character and life, constitute an irrefutable answer to our four-fold question. We here leave our discussion of the new optimism *versus* the optimism of Christ, which we have intended to be tentative and suggestive, not exhaustive.

Germantown, Pa.

W. H. H. MARSH.

<sup>35</sup> Percy Gardner, though dissenting so largely from the evangelical faith, gives considerable prominence to Christian experience. In anticipating criticism for this he says (*Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 25), "The phenomena of religion are by far most fully and clearly displayed in Christian experience. . . . In my opinion the great teachers of Christianity have far better understood the psychology of religion than have any other investigators who have proceeded on other lines."

## REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

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### APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION. By JAMES ORR, M.A., DD., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow. 8vo.; pp. xii, 224. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

This book comes to us under a great name. Ever since the publication of "the Christian View of God and the World," some twenty years ago, Dr. James Orr has been regarded both as one of the most learned of Christian scholars and as one of the most up-to-date as well as least concessive of the defenders of the Christian faith.

The aim of the volume under review is in accord with this reputation of its author. 'He would defend revelation and inspiration in connection with the Bible by a more positive view of the structure of the Bible itself than is at present prevalent' In other words, he would prove by the assured results of the best biblical scholarship that the Bible is the supernaturally inspired record of a revelation which is supernatural both as to its source and as to its method.

His style, too, is what might have been expected, and so is every way worthy of his great theme. Indeed, we think that, as a writer, Dr. Orr is at his best in this volume. There are the same comprehensiveness and variety and minuteness of information, the same absolute command of his material, the same fairness and force in argument, to which we have all along been accustomed; but it seems to us that his temper is even more genial, his reasoning even more direct, and his sentences even simpler and more flowing than usual. In short, we do not see how he could have presented his views better than he has done.

In these views, moreover, we find much to admire and to commend. With his aim, of course, we are in heartiest sympathy. With his position that "a positive view of the structure of the Bible, the recognition of a true supernatural revelation in its history, and a belief, in accordance with the teaching of Christ and His apostles, in the inspiration of the record imply each other,"—with this we find ourselves in full accord. We would call attention, too,—to particularize among excellencies too numerous to be even named—we would call attention to his insistence on and his explication of the distinction between the natural and the supernatural, to his emphasis on the historical character of the Old Testament, to his discussion of the miracle



as related to revelation, to his treatment of prophecy, to his proof of the supernaturalness of Jesus. Along these lines specially it seems to us that he has written most illuminatingly and has indeed made the newer learning vindicate the Scriptures as the very "Word of God."

And yet, when all this has been said, the reviewer is forced to add that, in his judgment, at several points of present controversy, Dr. Orr takes positions which are both incorrect and prejudicial to that view of the Bible which he would establish.

1. He fails to relate special revelation to sin. He discovers the need of such revelation in "a true idea of God," in the "conception of religion as personal fellowship," and in "a right idea of the plan of the world." While, however, these are all real reasons why special revelation is demanded, not one of them is the reason which the Bible gives. Its teaching is that Christ, who is the revelation of God, was manifested on account of sin. The Gospel was given for and because of sinners. "God gave his only-begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 16) Moreover, not to present sin as the immediate and great occasion for special revelation is to pass over the real because the self-evident reason for its necessity. Doubtless, had man never sinned, his religious nature would at length demand an immediate and special revelation of God, such an one, therefore, as nature never could have afforded. Sin, however, cannot but demand at once that God himself should speak to us: for what the sinner needs is grace; and grace is not an attribute of God's essential nature, but the most glorious trait of his moral character. God's purpose of grace, consequently, while it may be hinted at, can not be assured by any mediate or natural or general revelation. If we are to know that and how God has chosen to save sinners, he must himself tell us. Hence, for Dr. Orr not to connect special revelation with sin is to undertake to defend the former and yet omit the divine and the strongest argument for it.

2. He exaggerates ethnic revelation. To us it almost seems as if he confounded common grace with special revelation, the operation of the Spirit acting through the truth, whether of the Gospel or of reason or of conscience, and the operation of the Spirit making known truth not given in either reason or conscience. Of course, we are not unmindful that "God has never left himself without witness," and we have not forgotten Job and Melchizedek and Balaam. These, however, seem to us examples of what the Spirit accomplished by means of the light of reason and conscience and above all through the primitive revelation, the light of which, as Dr. Orr justly remarks, was never wholly lost: they imply, as after all our author himself is careful to point out, illumination of what has been revealed rather than special and supernatural revelation. But if this be so, why suggest even the possibility of such a revelation having been made to the heathen? In doing this does not one weaken the argument for the necessity of such a revelation for the heathen?

3. He misses, as it seems to us, the true relation of fact to word, of

life to doctrine, in revelation. While he admits that "in all cases the divine act is connected with the divine word, without which its meaning would not be intelligible," he holds that it is still the historical element, the fact, the life, in the Biblical revelation which gives it "its distinctive character." Is this the truth, however? Of course, our preaching and even our faith would be vain, if Christ had not risen according to the Scriptures; and so, as Dr. Orr properly and cogently insists, the historical element is fundamental in revelation: but is it not the didactic element which gives to the revelation of Scripture its distinctive character? Suppose that we had nowhere been taught that Christ "died for our sins and was raised again for our justification," how would the history of his resurrection and, indeed, the whole Gospel, differ, not in truth, but in character, from many heathen fables? Is it not the words of Christ that give its significance to the fact of Christ? Is it not more nearly true that doctrine should interpret life than that life should make doctrine? And this mistake, too, can not but embarrass our author's argument. It causes him to adopt a principle which is admitted in no other sphere and the reason for which he does not give. If a man explains his conduct, can the world be brought to regard anything as so important because so distinctive as his explanation of his conduct? Even when his conduct is not so much the foundation for teaching as itself didactic, still it will be around the man's own interpretation, whenever given, that interest will centre.

4. As might have been expected, he considers the facts of the Scriptures before the latter's teaching with regard to its inspiration. Instead of analyzing the testimony of Scripture to its own inspiration and then inquiring how far the facts agree with this testimony, he begins with the facts which illustrate the *nature* of inspiration as seen in the book itself and then tries to show how this agrees with the witness of Scripture to itself. To us, however, this seems to be a wrong procedure. In the case of other books the first question would be: What has the document to say of itself? This would be the first fact to be considered. This is so for two reasons. One is that if the claims of the book are contradicted by the facts of its nature, that discredits the book and renders further examination unnecessary, but in order to this conclusion the claims must at the outset be understood. The other reason is that the claims of a book determine the presumption with which its examination should be undertaken. If the Bible claims to be infallible and inerrant, then we must examine the facts in which this claim fulfils or contradicts itself with a presumption that we could not and should not have in the case of a book which made no such claims. It is as necessary that it should be so as it is impossible for us to approach any question of which we know anything without some presumption. Hence, again, Dr. Orr weakens his argument. Without explaining why, he adopts a procedure elsewhere regarded vicious.

5. As also might be anticipated, he denies the inerrancy of the Bible.



That is, while he heartily insists that most alleged discrepancies are such only in appearance and can be explained away, and that "the most searching inquiry still leaves us with a Scripture, supernaturally inspired to be an infallible guide in the great matters for which it was given—the knowledge of the will of God for our salvation in Christ Jesus, instruction in the way of holiness, and the hope of eternal life," he is unwilling to affirm the truth to fact of the *ipsissima verba* in all less important respects. This is consistent with his position just noted. If one will determine his view of inspiration solely by the facts in which the nature of the Bible appears, then he must hold with Dr. Orr; for undoubtedly there are statements in the Bible which have not been reconciled with what seem to be the facts. But is not this again a wrong method of procedure? If one would understand Darwin's doctrine of natural selection, he inquires, not what do the facts of nature that he would explain by his doctrine show that he should have said, but what did he himself actually say. And if we would ascertain the truth of his doctrine, we take into consideration, even in his case, more than the facts by which it must be tested. Because of his high character as a man of science, we would not reject even his doctrine on the ground that there were some facts which it did not as yet seem to fit. In a word, though a man and essentially fallible, it would be felt that his character ought to count for something. How much more, then, ought the character of him who is the Son of God and so essentially infallible to count for much? And, therefore, the question is not, whether in view of some apparent discrepancies in Scripture, we must not deny its inerrancy. It is whether, in view of the facts, that no one of these discrepancies has been proved to involve a contradiction; that the doctrine of inerrancy would be unlike every other Scriptural doctrine if it did not meet with difficulties in the facts that it would interpret; that the progress of scholarship tends, as Dr. Orr gladly admits, to remove these discrepancies; that the doctrine of inerrancy rests on the same basis as every other doctrine of the Bible in that it is its plain teaching; and specially that our Lord, who is himself "the truth", not only held the view of his day, which was that the testament then existing was infallible, but explicitly taught that "the Scripture cannot be broken" (John x. 35)—in view of all these considerations, the question would seem to be whether, in spite of some difficulties that we see not how to overcome, we ought not, because of the amount and character of the testimony, to insist on the absolute inerrancy of the original autographs of the Word of God. Any other procedure in other matters the common sense of men would condemn. Moreover, our author's course weakens his position yet further. The idea of a supernatural revelation is a difficult one for many to accept, but it becomes more difficult if we have to conceive of it as errant. To err we feel to be human, and we can see no reason why he who is himself "the Truth" may err in the fact that what is said relates to unessentials. It is the truth of his own nature and not the nature of what he is saying that necessitates and guarantees his inerrancy.

6. He minimizes Christ's knowledge as man and, indeed, would seem even to forget that in him there are two natures. This results necessarily from the position which we have just been criticizing. God, it is felt, cannot err. Therefore, it must be shown that in becoming man God so emptied himself of divinity as himself to become capable of and even liable to error. But is this according to the teaching of Scripture as to the person of our Lord? He was and is still and ever will be a true man, "bone of our bone" and "flesh of our flesh." But he is not an ordinary man. To begin with, his humanity is perfect. Now this, as Dr. Orr says, is consistent with limitation, nay, it implies it. The human, though perfect, can not be or do or know all things. Hence, our Lord affirmed that as man he did not know the time of the day of judgment. Limitation, however, is very different from error and does not imply it. A man may know nothing of Assyrian and yet be a scholar; but if a man professes to know Assyrian and still makes mistakes in it, he can not be a perfect scholar. Moreover, though the two natures in Christ remain forever unmixed and distinct, the divine must powerfully influence the human. While our Lord as a man is all that we are, save sin, we are not all that he is even as man. The union with the divine nature must exalt inconceivably the human nature and qualify it for its work. Is it to be supposed, then, that Christ would or could be left to hold or to teach error? Even though the errors as to the Old Testament were as unimportant and unessential as is claimed, this is still so. Error of any kind is incompatible with Deity. A divine person—and that Christ always was—can not err. The human nature, if the divine person has assumed one, must, because human, continue subject to limitation; but because of the divine personality into which it has entered, it can not, even as human, make mistakes. To hold that it could is to assert a contradiction. This is the greatest stumbling-block in our author's way. The confessional view of Christ's person is undoubtedly mysterious, but that which Dr. Orr falls back on is contradictory.

7. In line with the procedure just noticed, and growing out of the same misconception, he conceives of special revelation itself as imperfect. It must be so, it seems to him, because it is progressive. It is on this ground that he would explain the ethical difficulties of the Old Testament, such as the sanction of laxity in the marital relation, the wars of extermination, etc. These are imperfections, but then they do not count against the Old Testament because it was given in the childhood of the race and belonged to a preparatory dispensation. Such reasoning, however, would not be tolerated elsewhere. A wise parent may not require of his children all that is right; but, and specially because he is dealing with children, he will require and sanction only what is right. He will distinguish between completeness and perfection; and while he will recognize that his teaching, because of his pupils' lack of development, must be very incomplete, he will recognize at the same time that, also because of this, it must from the first be perfect. Now it is so with the Old Testament. It neither



requires nor sanctions, when fairly exegeted, anything inconsistent with the absolute holiness of God's nature. For example, the Seventh Commandment rests, not on the divine nature, but on God's free constitution of things; and while we, as belonging to and under that constitution, have no right of ourselves to modify or set it aside, God, as being its author, has the right to do so when and where and as he pleases, provided it be consistent with his nature or in the interests of righteousness, as in all these cases it can be shown to be. In a word—for we must conclude this already too long review—there is a radical difference between completeness and perfection; and while supernatural revelation may often be incomplete, and while its adaptation to its time and mission may, as in the bud, consist in its incompleteness, it must from the first and in all its stages be conceived as perfect. What is imperfect, what in its principle is out of harmony with the divine nature, can not be regarded as the very word of him who in himself is perfection. It is our author's occasional failure to recognize this which seems to us the chief weakness of his in most respects very admirable book. He would "contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints;" but he is sometimes blind to the fact that, much light as the modern view of the Bible may throw on it, still, its very conception of the Supernatural is the denial of that Scriptural and rational doctrine of supernatural revelation which Dr. Orr, in common with all the saints, would vindicate.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE SPIRITUAL NATURE OF MAN. By STANTON COIT, Ph.D. 8vo., pp. 112.

The West London Ethical Society: The Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater.

This is an ingenious attempt to dispense with God by putting man in his place. "The Group Spirit", "the Social Oversoul", the "General Will and the Common Heart of social humanity", whatever you please to call the human race conceived as a unity, is our Heavenly Father. Jesus Christ is "that idealistic trend which exists in and out of the churches, and which has freed the slaves, is emancipating woman and is bringing kings and lords, and all worshippers of Mammon, into the fellowship of a universal equality." "Religion" as ordinarily conceived, "is just a discipline devised by statesmen to help nations in the struggle for existence." And "the affirmation which the nations wait for is that finite intelligences, coöperating for the common ends of mundane existence, are themselves of infinite worth and of ultimate and absolute reality, in the same sense in which such assertions have been made concerning an Infinite Ego or Creator." The fundamental difficulty with this whole position is that it rests on an absurdity. It assumes that finite human intelligences can, by coöperating and so multiplying themselves, become the Infinite Ego or Creator. That is, in the last analysis, it identifies quantity and quality.

*Princeton*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES AND ETHICS. By FERDINAND S. SCHENCK, D.D., LL.D., Author of *The Bible Reader's Guide*, *The Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer: A Sociological Study*, *Modern Practical Theology*, *The Sociology of the Bible*. 8 vo.; pp. vii, 176. New York: Young Men's Christian Association Press. 1910.

This book is "offered as a text-book in colleges—and mainly for voluntary classes in those state and other universities and colleges where these subjects are not taught, and for such classes of young men and women wherever formed." As should be the case, though covering a great deal of ground, it is very concise and simple. The deeper problems it passes over, and its method is that of question and answer. To the reviewer this method seems somewhat mechanical, and as unlikely to develop the student so much as if he were expected to frame for himself his answers out of the material given to him; but we can well understand how, with so competent a teacher as the author to discuss and amplify the answers, the method of this book might be admirable.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN THE ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES. By LOUIS HENRY JORDAN, Special Lecturer on Comparative Religion: Author of *Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth*; *Comparative Religion: Its Method and Scope*, etc. In collaboration with Baldassare Labanca, Professor of the History of Christianity in the University of Rome, Author of *della Religione e della Filosofia Cristiano*, *Storia e Filosofia dello Religioni*, etc. 8vo.; pp. xxviii, 324. London: Henry Frowde. Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, E. C. Edinburgh, Glasgow, New York, Toronto and Melbourne. 1909.

"This volume presents a synopsis and review of the history of the study of religion in one of the chief strongholds of Christendom. Its contents are furnished in about equal proportions by its two collaborators, one half of the book being written by the author, while the remainder consists of a translation which Mr. Jordan has made of Prof. Labanca's monograph, *Difficolto antiche e nuevo degli studi religiosi in Italia*. In addition to the personal assistance which Prof. Labanca has supplied, the author has adopted some suggestions offered by Prof. Mariano of Florence, and has incorporated them in his manuscript. The exposition, taken as a whole, constitutes a complete survey of the subject with which it deals. The account given of the conflict that resulted ultimately in the abolition of the Theological Faculties in all the Italian Universities is probably the fullest and the most exact that has yet been published in England. A new spirit of inquiry is spreading over Italy, and must, before long, affect very powerfully the critical study of religion in the national Universities."

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.



DIE VERSCHIEDENEN TYPEN RELIGIÖSER ERFAHRUNG UND DIE PSYCHOLOGIE.  
Von D. WILH. SCHMIDT, ord. Professor an der Universität Breslau.  
Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1908. 8vo., pp. iv, 318.

Dr. Wihl. Schmidt, to whose colleague at Breslau, Prof. G. Wobermin, the German translation of James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* is due, has taken this book as the starting point of an investigation of the relations of psychology to research in the sphere of religious phenomena. His work, as it lies before us, falls into three parts which may be headed in turn, briefly, "James," "Psychology," "Religion," the intention of the whole being to arrive at a well-grounded conception of what may be expected of psychology as an aid to the understanding of religion. That psychology, the sphere of whose observation embraces the whole spiritual world, cannot neglect so great and universal a spiritual phenomenon as religion, goes without saying. That the study of religion cannot afford to turn its back on any source of light upon its problems is equally clear. That the two lines of research should coöperate lies therefore in the nature of the case. The only question concerns the manner of their co-operation. James's book has the value of a first reconnaissance of a great, and hitherto as good as unknown, field of research, and as such has a distinct pedagogical significance. What it chiefly teaches us, however, is how not to do it. We cannot reach the specifically religious feeling by way of examination of merely assumed kindred moods, analogous feelings, fixed ideas, morbid states of mind. When we are saying this, we are setting aside, however, not psychology but James's method, for the study of religion. Nevertheless psychology cannot expect to say the last word with reference to religion; whether in its origin, or in its development and its stages, religion stands outside the reach of science, which always finds religion extant, however far it stretches its investigations,—a thing to be acknowledged rather than dominated by it. No one can pass judgment on such a phenomenon, except one who knows it from his own experience. And it follows from this that there can be no such thing as a universally valid explanation of religion. This is the result of the peculiarity of religion, which, as an actual experience, is and abides an individual thing. So far, however, as this inner experience manifests itself in common traits seen in different cults, and shows tendencies to similar lines of development through the historical evolution of religious cults, it may become the object of scientific study, and here psychology will find an ever enlarging sphere. These are in brief Dr. Schmidt's conclusions, after a very thorough and detailed discussion of the whole field, presented of course from his own particular standpoint, which is fundamentally that of the old mediating theology with an emphasis on individualism and the autonomy of the will peculiarly his own.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION. A Survey of Its Recent Literature. By LOUIS HENRY JORDAN, B.D., Author of "Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth," "The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities," "Modernism in Italy," etc. Second Section, 1906-1909. 8vo., pp. 72. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Company, 20 South Frederick Street. 1910.

This pamphlet reviews twenty-five of the works on Comparative Religion issued during the years indicated on the title page. That these works have been wisely chosen and discriminatingly reviewed does not need to be added when once the reviewer has been named. The criticism of these books is followed by "a reasoned summary of the conclusions to which, as regards the present outlook of Comparative Religion, it is inevitable that every open-minded reader must be led." To this last statement the writer of these notices feels constrained to except. He is not ready to admit that he is not open-minded. But neither can he consent to the wisdom or the justice of classing and analyzing with the other religions, and as the other religions, that one which alone he believes to be supernatural. Unless it be assumed that this distinction can no longer be maintained, it must be recognized in order to any true comparison. That there may be such, one of the chief conditions is that essential differences in the things to be compared should first be noted and appreciated.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION. A Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology. By IRVING KING, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. xxii, 371. \$1.75.

In this study in the social psychology of primitive religion, which Dr. King of the University of Iowa assures us is written in no dogmatic spirit, we are furnished with an instructive attempt to interpret the history of religion in terms of the philosophy of pragmatism. Students who approach the problem with different presuppositions, especially those who consider a Divine revelation *a priori* possible and *a posteriori* discoverable in the history of religious development, will find occasion seriously to differ with Dr. King, but will, nevertheless, be glad to make hearty acknowledgment of his psychological insight, his lucid style, and his thorough command of the best ethnological sources.

Dr. King contends that the religious consciousness cannot be differentiated from general consciousness, either on the side of content or function. With somewhat less petulance than is frequent, Dr. King declines, in the name of the science of psychology, to reckon with a possible connection between the natural and the supernatural, declaring that should such connection exist, it is incapable of description by the categories of experience. The religious consciousness is, therefore, not a development from any innate religious instinct or perception, but is a type of valuational attitude, which has been *built up* through the overt activities which appear in social groups.



Acts always precede a consciousness of value in a given direction: the activities of primitive social groups, both those which appeared with reference to meeting various practical needs of the life process, and those which were spontaneous and playful, led to the appreciation of the universe as full of a Mysterious Power, such as the *manitou* of the Algonkin, or the *mana* of the Melanesian. In general, it may be said that magic is a relatively individualistic and secret way of reacting to this Potency, while religion is the social and public reaction, which finds expression in ceremonials of varying complexity and significance. The objects which have engaged the activities of a people in the elementary processes of food-supply, protection, and reproduction seem to them surcharged with this impersonal Power, and form a rallying point for religious values. As soon as man conceived of an active force present in the world, it was natural for him to regard persons as infected with this powerful contagion. So originated the culture-heroes and the man-gods of whom Mr. J. G. Frazer has given so full an account. These deities, who are in the beginning regarded as closely and actively related to some acute social interest develop in the direction of the extension or variation of the social life which called them forth. The essential elements of a supreme being are, moreover, present in the god of such a social group or tribe. "For practical purposes, he is a supreme being because the tribe itself is a limit to the comprehension of further values", though he may not be intellectually so conceived until a later stage is reached (p. 269). The ethical conceptions of the Hebrews are conceived to be the product of such a psychological monotheism. "The distinguishing characteristic of the religio-ethical ideas of the later Hebrew prophets is that they are the outcome of reflection upon contemporary mores and traditional religious concepts" (p. 280). From the standpoint of Dr. King's pragmatism, the *value* of the ethical monotheism of the Hebrews is not impugned by any attempt to work out its natural history. The peculiar function of religion is in relation to experience. "The only way to prove any claim of theology is to show its vital relation to the crises of life. No one was ever convinced of the truths of religion in any other way nor has any one who believed them from this side lost his faith by mere ratiocination. If such a one has lost his faith, it has been because its vital contact with his life has ceased, and the work of reason is, then, simply to show that what is left is dead" (p. 350).

The philosopher who is not a pragmatist will find himself in fundamental disagreement with Dr. King's presuppositions. The anthropologist will be indebted to him for emphasizing the prevalence among primitive peoples of a belief in a Mysterious Power, call it *manitou*, *mana* or what you will; he will also be grateful to him for calling his attention more closely to the part that is played by the social group as such in the development of cultural ideas, and for many illuminating hints for the solution of particular problems which have long engaged the patience and ingenuity of those who are concerned with

the history of religious and social origins. The Christian will rejoice that it is still possible for Dr. King to declare his faith, though the declaration rests on what will seem to many precarious and insufficient grounds.

*Princeton.*

HAROLD MCA. ROBINSON.

CHRISTIANITY IS CHRIST. By W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS, D. D., Anglican Church Handbooks, Longman's, Green and Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

The author of this admirable little book states in his prefatory note that its aim is "to present in a short, popular form—the substance of what has been written in recent years on the central subject of Christianity—the Person and Work of Christ". He endeavors to give a "summary of the Christian position as stated by its leading modern exponents"; and as its purpose is "to be of service", to the clergy and laity "in meeting the various attacks upon the Christian faith", it is in form and substance strongly argumentative and apologetic.

The great central thought of the whole book is suggested by its title. Christianity is Christ; and Christ as portrayed to us in the Gospels, in the church and in religious experience can only be explained and understood upon the basis that He is God manifest in the flesh. Instead of arguing for the truth of Christianity from the historicity or inspiration of the Scriptures, Dr. Thomas begins with the fact of Christ. That this is the foundation of Christianity has always been recognized. It therefore is absolutely necessary to consider who and what Christ was. This brings before us the great question of the Person of Christ.

The order of the development of the argument is as follows: Christ's character as portrayed in the Gospels is absolutely unique and sinless. But this sinless One claimed to be the Son of God. Christ is the great authority as a religious teacher, His teaching is unique. It is inexhaustable, permanent, authoritative and verifiable. His miracles are unique. Taken alone they are of no value but are to be expected in connection with such a one as Christ. The death of Christ was a sacrificial death and He went willingly to die for others. His Resurrection is proved beyond a doubt. (The author gives an admirable summary of the different supplementary arguments for the reality of Christ's resurrection). Such is the picture of Christ as given in the Gospels. The problem is to account for it. Christ's character is real and natural and it is monstrous and impossible to think that it could have been invented by the writers of the Gospels.

Besides all this, we find the Christian church founded on a belief in the Divine Christ, inspired by it, empowered by it and still controlled by it. About us we see Christ now changing human lives and leading his church to victory over all the world. The author



continually presents the question "What manner of man is this"? Who is Christ?

After a chapter on the Virgin birth, which is shown to be required by Christ's divine character, the book concludes with a short discussion of the "Meaning of Christ"—"God reconciling the world to Himself"—and the "Verification of Christ" through the work of the Spirit.

The book deserves a wide reading. It is a fine synthesis of the great arguments for the Person of Christ and for the Divinity of Christ considered from a new viewpoint with much freshness and vigor. The argument is so presented that the conclusion is overwhelming that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that those who believe may have life through His name.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

GOD AND MAN: PHILOSOPHY OF THE HIGHER LIFE. By E. ELLSWORTH SHUMAKER. G. P. Putman's Sons. Price \$2.00 net. 1909.

As the title suggests, the author treats of the great questions of the relation of God to man and to the world. Starting from the obvious position that man stands in definite, determined physical, psychical, and spiritual relationship to the whole universe and to all things in this world whether present or past, he goes on to consider the "many sided man, himself" and suggests his varied abilities and his possibilities.

The author is at his best when glorifying man and much that he says is thought-producing and inspiring. His treatment of God is not nearly so satisfactory.

Dr. Shumaker treats man's environment or the "World-all" as the cradle or training school used by God to fit man for his great destiny. He vigorously maintains that all nature reveals God at work as the great parent "mothering" the human race. The author tries to draw a parallel between the revelation of God in nature, in Christ, and in His Spirit, and the mode of gaining knowledge in the other spheres where truth is revealed to man or discovered by him. He explains from the view-point of psychological philosophy the approach of God to man, man's need of a decision to seek the highest, and the wonderful richness of the higher life of communion with God.

It is impossible to pass over without comment the form and language of this book. The English is a monument to the unfortunate influence of the German atmosphere. Too frequent use is made of compound words and there are many new derivatives which seem to be imported directly from Teutonic sources. It is also unfortunate that the whole was not condensed into one half its present size as there is far too much repetition and a needless amount of amplification and illustration.

Dr. Shumaker's book is interesting from the point of view of the philosophy of the higher man but has the serious and all too common fault of failing to differentiate sharply between nature and

nature's Maker, of forgetting the great primary fundamental truth that the Christian's Heavenly Father is before all a Person and that His revelation of Himself is that of a person to persons.

Man has all the wonderful possibilities claimed for him in this philosophy with one terrible exception. He lacks both the permanent powerful desire and the strength to rise heavenward. If there were no sin and no consequences of sin, this philosophy might be sufficient. But with the world as it is, we still need the Gospel of the Power of Jesus Christ—the personal, present divine Saviour from sin.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

PROBLEMS OF YOUR GENERATION. The author claims but to have been privileged to transmit the following chapters. Daisy Dewy. New York: The Arden Press, 122 East 25th St. 1910. Price, Post-paid one dollar.

As the title suggests, this book claims to be a communication from the spirits of those who have died. Its object is to explain the truth of the Infinite and Eternal to the finite minds of those who face life's present pressing problems. It is elementary in teaching, fanciful, foolish and condescending in style, and while full of semi-scientific speculation, contains no new revelation or new synthesis of truth. It is somewhat religious but is not Christian. The publishers have done what they could with the material at their disposal, and this little book might serve as a pretty parlor ornament along with many other works whose chief value is to be found in their attractive binding.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

PAIN AND SUFFERING. Their place in the World. By the Rt. Rev. A. C. A. HALL, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. 8vo., pp. 16. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co.

This is only a tract, and it is a short one; but it discusses a great and difficult subject, it says all that needs to be said, and we have never heard it said better. Not its least excellence is that in suffering which can not be prevented or removed, it does not hesitate to see the cup which our Heavenly Father gives.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE FUNDAMENTALS. A Testimony to the Truth. Vols. I and II. 8vo., pp. 126 and 125. Testimony Publishing Company, 808 La Salle Ave., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

These books belong to a series which will be sent "to every pastor, evangelist, missionary, theological professor, theological student, Sunday school superintendent, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretary in the English speaking world, so far as the addresses of all these can be obtained." The expense of this undertaking is borne by two Chris-



tian laymen, "because they believe that the time has come when a new statement of the fundamentals of Christianity should be made." The conservative standpoint and the high character of the fourteen papers in these two issues is indicated and guaranteed by the names of the authors. These show that the ablest of our conservative scholars have been secured for this enterprise. We do not see how it can fail to do much good, and we wish for it great success.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE APOLOGETIC OF MODERN MISSIONS. Eight Outline Studies. By J. LOVELL MURRAY, M.A. 8vo., pp. 80. Student Volunteer Movement, 125 East 27th Street, New York.

These studies do not present the argument for the supernaturalness of Christianity that may be based on the foreign missionary movement, but they aim "to examine the more common criticisms of foreign missions," such as: "Criticisms of the idea of foreign missions, Criticisms of the life and qualifications of the missionary, Criticisms of the methods and practices of missions, Criticisms of the results of missions." The chief value of this little volume is in the Bibliography at the close and the references under each topic to pertinent literature.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

A CALL OF ATTENTION TO THE BEHAISTS OR BABISTS OF AMERICA. By AUGUST J. STENSTRAND. 8vo., pp. 36.

This is a decidedly incoherent and sometimes ungrammatical appeal to all seekers after truth, and especially to American Babists to study impartially the early history of Babism.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE HISTORICAL MAN OF NAZARETH. By WILBUR F. BRYANT. 8vo., pp. 121.

Though by a layman, this is an interesting, instructive, and often acute defense of the historical character of the Gospel narratives.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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## EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

KOSMOS, A Poem from the Proverbs of Solomon, Son of David, Who Ruled in Israel, Translated from the Van Ess Edition of The Septuagint Version, and Compared with American Revised Version of Proverbs of Solomon I-IX, Arranged as Follows: Object of Author, Prologue of Earth, Prologue of Saturn, Address of Sun, of Moon, of Mars, of Mercury, of Jupiter, of Venus, of Saturn, Followed by Epilogue of Saturn, Epilogue of Earth. By JAMES CHESTON MORRIS. For sale by George W. Jacobs and Co., 1216 Walnut St., Philadelphia. 75 cents net. Pp. 32.

Mr. Morris, who appears from the Dedicatory Letter, addressed to the late Bishop McVickar of Rhode Island, to have published already the Book of Ecclesiastes as the Ethics of Solomon, gives no explanation, justification or comment to enlighten the reader as to the peculiar setting he has here given Proverbs i-ix, save a few words in said Letter that are wholly inadequate if intended to satisfy the reader of the author's correctness in his astrological assumptions. Beyond a brief review of David's reign, a reference to Psalm xix and Job xxxviii.7, an allusion to the expressions paths, ways, etc., as intended to mean orbits and the like, an application of ix. 1 ("Wisdom hath hewn out her seven pillars") to the days of the week, and the mere quotation of vii. 21a (wanting in the Hebrew text), there is nothing to assist the expectant and even sympathetic reader in his effort to accompany Mr. Morris on his celestial journeys. The whole booklet leaves an odd impression. In spite of the assignment of the last poem to Earth as her Epilogue, one feels dazed and wonders how he got into this fairyland, why he was led thither and whether he can ever remember how to get there again. If there are any clear allusions in the whole nine chapters to any of the celestial bodies (besides Earth) they are iv.18, a verse which refers to the sun but which appears in the "Address of Mars," and vii. 20, a verse which refers to the moon but which appears in the "Address of Venus." Proverbs ix. 12 appears a happy expression of the reviewer's state of mind on finishing this remarkable publication: "If thou (the author) art wise, thou art wise for thyself"—no one else will ever share that wisdom; "And if thou (the critic) scoffest, thou alone shalt bear it"—we prefer not to scoff.

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD

HEBREW INSTITUTIONS, SOCIAL AND CIVIL. By J. B. SHEARER, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Biblical Instruction, Davidson College, N. C. Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Virginia, 1910. Pp. 170.

This book belongs to a section of our land and to a past generation. By it the older South, "being dead, yet speaketh." The reviewer is glad to be assured by those who have the right by birth and sympathies to speak for the South of to-day, that the opinions and sentiments on social and civil questions voiced in this book are not its opinions and sentiments. May this younger generation soon prove by its productions that conservatism in theology is not necessarily linked in the South with indefensible traditions, abandoned positions, and conditions that have passed away never to return.

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD.

THE QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS. A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede. By ALBERT SCHWEITZER, Privatdozent in New Testament Studies in the University of Strassburg. Translated by W. MONTGOMERY, B.A., B.D. With a preface by F. C.



BURKITT, M.A., D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1910. 8vo. Pp. vii, 410.

Schweitzer's book, of which this English translation is now offered to the public, contains two distinct elements. The larger part of it is a historical critique of the Life-of-Jesus literature. To this is added a constructive attempt to interpret the life of Jesus on extreme-eschatological lines. The constructive part is, however, of much smaller compass than the historico-critical section and besides brings no new material, being virtually a testatement of the views developed in the author's earlier treatise, *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis. Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu* (1901.).

The entire book is brilliantly written. Dr. Schweitzer wields a trenchant pen. His thorough familiarity with the extensive literature enables him to handle it with supreme ease. He evinces great skill in making the biographers of Jesus speak for themselves, not so much by direct quotation, but rather by a free reproduction of what is individually-characteristic and epoch-making in the work of each. Still the chief value of the work lies not after all in these popularly-attractive features, but in the philosophic grasp which the author reveals in tracing the inward trend of the Life-of-Jesus movement in its logical necessity from Reimarus up to the present day. As a true philosopher of history he interprets to us in a most illuminating and convincing manner the progress of this theological movement step by step. No doubt it is to no small extent the author's personal detachment from what he describes that enables him to do this. He is so subjectively-free of the theological motives and principles which inspired the "liberal" Life-of-Jesus production as to be for that very reason an ideal judge and historian of the same.

It will well repay us to note briefly some of the outstanding conclusions reached by Dr. Schweitzer concerning the motives, tendencies, methods and results of this interesting phase of theological activity in the nineteenth century which now seems to have reached, if not its ultimate limit, at least a significant mile-stone in its career. As to the motive from which the whole movement sprang we are told that it "did not take its rise from a purely historical interest; it turned to the Jesus of history, as an ally in the struggle against the tyranny of dogma." "Hate as well as love can write a life of Jesus and the greatest of them are written with hate." By "hate" in this connection is meant not hate of the Person of Jesus, but hate of the supernatural nimbus with which He appears surrounded in the faith of the Church. And this defect in the initial motive has proved a veritable *vitium originis* in the entire after-history of the movement. Because the so-called "historical Jesus" was at the outset enlisted as an ally in the great theological strife of the age, he had forever after to put on the armor and wear the colors of the party that had enlisted Him and to share in its successive evolutions and transformations. He had to become all things to all: to the vulgar rationalists a rationalist, to the

liberals a liberal, to the mediating theologians, a mediating type of mind and character. Like a Nemesis this inability to see in Jesus anything else but the reflex of its own opinions and prepossessions has pursued the investigation and treatment of the subject. With unsparing severity the author lays bare its baneful influence upon the "liberal" school in particular. The "liberals" were obsessed with the idea that they had a mission to perform in writing the life of Jesus. It was "to defend the originality of Jesus by ascribing to Him a modernizing transformation and spiritualization of the eschatological system of ideas." The "spiritual" was to them, of course, identical with the content of their own theology. From a different angle, but much to the same effect, a characterization of this school is given in the following sentence: "Historical criticism had become in the hands of most of those who practised it, a secret struggle to reconcile the Germanic religious spirit with the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth." The intimate connection of this whole "liberalizing" tendency with the Marcan hypothesis as a fixed principle in literary criticism is well brought out. Mark with its scarcity of discourse and its assumed gradual development in the career and consciousness of Jesus offers so much less serious resistance to the elimination of the eschatological, unaccountable, in a word the supernatural, than the other sources. The Marcan hypothesis from its very birth was delivered into bondage to an a-priori view of the development of Jesus. Hence not Reimarus, not Strauss in his original *Life of Jesus*, not Bruno Bauer, but Weisse, Wilke, Volkmar, Schenkel, Weizsäcker and H. J. Holtzmann are at one and the same time the god-fathers of the Marcan hypothesis and the typical champions of the "liberal" spiritualizing interpretation of the character and teaching of Jesus.

Not less interesting than all this is the characterization Dr. Schweitzer gives of the method applied in the *Life-of-Jesus* construction. With what self-congratulation and pride was the "liberal" school accustomed to present its own method as the ideally-objective one and as based on and verifiable by the sources, over against the subjective and a-prioristic constructions of the dogmatic tradition. As a matter of fact, if we may believe the author, the modern *Life of Jesus* is not entitled to classification with history, in the strict sense of the word, at all. Dr. Schweitzer, to be sure, states this fact not for the purpose of criticism, but as an inevitable result of the character of the sources. But leaving this opinion for what it is worth, even so the old orthodox contention that the "liberalized" Jesus was not a product of research properly so called, is strikingly verified. To quote once more the author's own words: "The character of the problem is such, that historical experiment must take the place of historical research. That being so it is easy to understand, that to take a survey of the study of the *Life of Jesus* is to be confronted, at first sight, with a scene of the most boundless confusion. A series of experiments are repeated with constantly varying modifications . . . Most of the writers, however, have no suspicion that they are merely repeating an experiment which



has often been made before. Some of them discover this in the course of their work to their own great astonishment—it is so, for instance, with Wrede, who recognizes, that he is working out, though doubtless with a clearer consciousness of his aim, an idea of Bruno Bauer's. If old Reimarus were to come back again, he might confidently give himself out to be the latest of the moderns, for his work rests upon a recognition of the exclusive importance of eschatology, such as only recurs again in Johannes Weiss." All of which amounts to a confession that the modern interpretation of the life of Jesus has been sailing under false colors, when instead of openly acknowledging itself a species of experimentation upon an unwieldy material, it insisted upon posing as the product of genuine research, and demanded, but too often successfully owing to the unwariness of the public, acceptance as such.

The modern treatment of the life of Jesus has according to Dr. Schweitzer proceeded along two distinct lines and accordingly arrived at two distinct conclusions. Along the literary line it has led to thorough-going scepticism, along the historical line to thorough-going eschatology. The former movement culminated in Wrede, the latter Schweitzer, who does not permit his modesty to obscure the truth, finds culminating in himself. Formulated with respect to the central question of the Gospel-history, the Messiahship of Jesus, the difference between the two positions comes to this, that the literary method of approach has issued into explaining the Messianic element in the tradition as a later growth, whereas the eschatological method gives it a central place in the life of Jesus itself, makes it indeed the determining factor of the development of this life. Because the Messianic element is present in the Gospels, not after a desultory fashion but pervasively, the assertion of its secondary, unhistorical nature must needs lead, as in Wrede, to thorough-going scepticism, so far as the possibility of restoring the picture of the historical Jesus is concerned. Schweitzer emphasizes his agreement, or rather coincidence, with Wrede as regards the severe criticism to which both subject the modern psychologizing treatment of the account of Mark, a treatment which reads so much between the lines in the interest of a hypothesis of development and so unjustly discriminates between Mark and the two other Synoptics, as though the former belonged to a higher genus and had been guided by something like the modern historical spirit in handling his material. He also agrees with Wrede in the latter's polemic against the historical-kernel-method, and insists upon it that a report as a whole must be taken either as historical or as unhistorical, that to take part and reject part, without reliance upon some objective criterion, is the height of arbitrariness. The whole "liberalizing" version of the life of Jesus, depending as it does on these two delusions, is utterly discredited. "The psychological explanation of motive and the psychological connection of events and actions which these writers have proposed to find in Mark, simply do not exist." "A vast quantity of treasures of scholarship and erudition, of art and artifice, which

the Marcan hypothesis has gathered into its storehouse in the two generations of its existence to aid it in constructing its life of Jesus, has become worthless." "Thorough-going scepticism and thorough-going eschatology between them are compelling theology to read the Marcan text again with simplicity of mind. The simplicity consists in dispensing with the connecting links which it has been accustomed to discover between the sections of the narrative, in looking at each one separately, and recognizing that it is difficult to pass from one to the other." In recognizing this disconnectedness the thorough-going scepticism and the thorough-going eschatology agree. The difference comes in when each tries to explain the method there is in this Gospel-madness, the strange system that runs through the disconnectedness. Wrede has for this the explanation, that into the warp of the life of a mere teacher and miracle worker, which constituted the original story, there has been introduced, already by the tradition preceding Mark and still further by Mark himself, a strong weft of ideas of a dogmatic character, according to which Jesus was a higher, superhuman being called to the Messianic office. And it is this later, not the former, element which gives movement and direction to the Marcan narrative. Only in so far as the memory of the original course of events not been entirely obliterated, as the Messianic, Christological scheme is introduced into the tradition not as an open profession on the part of Jesus, or as a recognized fact on the part of the disciples, but as a hidden thing, a mystery during the earthly life, not to be divulged until the resurrection. This still betrays, according to Wrede, the not entirely extinct consciousness that the Messianic character did not exist in His life-time, but was the after-product of belief in His resurrection from the dead. The atmosphere of mystery which pervades the Gospel is partly due to this, partly it is the natural concomitant of the conception of Christ as a supernatural being. Such in a few words is the hypothesis of Wrede. Schweitzer subjects this hypothesis to a very acute criticism. He shows how Wrede is at a disadvantage as compared with his precursor Bruno Bauer, who considered the interpolation of the Messianic element the personal, absolutely original act of the Evangelist, whereas according to Wrede it was largely and primarily the collective act of tradition. The alleged process is too subtle to ascribe to a collective subject. Besides this, in the account of the incident at Caesarea-Philippi, of the entry into Jerusalem, and of the confession before the High Priest, we have three instances which break through the scheme of Messianic secrecy, so that Wrede himself is compelled to find here the hand of a more naïve, less-consciously productive tradition than elsewhere. But Schweitzer remarks that even here of *naïveté* in depicting Jesus as the openly-professed and openly-recognized Messiah there is no trace, so that the presumption becomes strong that in these cases we strike the bed-rock of solid tradition. The story of the passion also runs directly contrary to Wrede's hypothesis, for those who set up the theory of secrecy could have had no possible interest in representing Jesus as having been openly put



to death as Messiah, *i. e.*, in consequence of Messianic claims. A more general ground on which the author criticizes Wrede's scheme is that primitive theology had no ostensible motive for dating back the Messiahship of Jesus to the time of his earthly ministry, at least, if one may judge from the relative indifference of Paul and the Acts with regard to the pre-resurrection period. It is impossible to explain how the Messianic beliefs of the first generation arose, if Jesus throughout His life was for all, even for the disciples, merely a teacher. If it is difficult to eliminate the Messiahship from the life of Jesus, it is far more difficult to explain its reëtrance subsequently into the theology of the early Church. The mere belief in the resurrection as such can not have produced the Messianic character; else those, who believed in the rising from the dead of John the Baptist must have regarded him as the Messiah. And, if the Messiahship actually dates from the resurrection, why is it that the Messianic teaching is not put into the mouth of the risen Jesus? Exception is justly taken to Wrede's method of treating alike all prohibitions of Jesus to make known his work and forcing them all into the same category of the Messianic secret, whereas it is plain that the motives varied in the several cases. Equally unwarranted is the identification of "the mystery of the kingdom" in the parable-teaching with the Messianic secret. Wrede fails to recognize that "second wider circle of mystery which has to do not with Jesus's Messiahship, but with his preaching of the kingdom."

Since then the thorough-going scepticism of Wrede does not solve the problem, the only experiment that remains to be tried is that of thorough-going eschatology. To be sure the eschatological key has been tried on the lock of the Gospel-mysteries before, only it was not the key of *thorough-going* eschatology. Schweitzer's objection to the eschatologists that came before him, like Johannes Weiss, is that they applied the principle in question to the teaching of Jesus only and not to His life. They make Him think and speak eschatologically, but fail to see that He must have acted in the same spirit. The true explanation of all the mystery enshrouding the Gospel-account lies in this that it is "dogmatic history", history moulded in its actual unfolding by theological beliefs. "The chaotic confusion of the narratives ought to have suggested the thought that the events had been thrown into this confusion by the volcanic force of an incalculable personality, not by some kind of carelessness or freak of the tradition." The concrete working out of this principle yields the following outline of Jesus's life. The ministry took up less than one year. This reduces the period of popular preaching and teaching to very narrow limits. After but a few weeks of such activity Jesus entered upon a policy of concealment. The explanation of this is not that His cause was lost and He had to flee. That is a mere figment of the psychologizing, pragmatizing interpreters of Mark. Jesus had been dominated from the first by a dogmatic idea, the idea of the immediate nearness of the kingdom, as made certain by the initial fact of the movement of repentance evoked by the Baptist. Jesus, however, was not so much borne upon the

current of eschatological expectancy; He Himself rather set the times in motion by acting, by creating eschatological facts and emergencies. He expected the kingdom not only in the near future, but definitely at harvest-time in that same year of his ministry. The parabolic references to the harvest have this for their realistic background. The mission of the twelve of Matt. x. was to make known the impending arrival of the kingdom. When Jesus sent them forth, He did not expect to see them back in the present aeon (v. 23). With the coming of the kingdom His own Parousia was to coincide. It was His purpose at that time to initiate the great eschatological crisis, to let loose the final woes, the confusion and the strife, from which should issue the new supernatural world. Now it was the non-fulfilment of this acute expectation that made the great turning-point in the life of Jesus. This and not "growing opposition" or "waning support" induced his change of attitude and procedure. From now on Jesus's one thought is to get away from the people. It is from them He flees, not from the hostile scribes as modern theology imagined. For the non-fulfilment showed, that the coming of the kingdom could not take place after the manner at first contemplated through repentance and a general tribulation befalling himself and his followers alike. Jesus now saw that God had appointed it otherwise. The suffering expected for all must have been set aside, abolished for the others and concentrated upon Jesus alone, and that in the form of a passion and death at Jerusalem. He must suffer for others that the kingdom might come. According to Schweitzer the idea of suffering had been associated for Jesus with the conception of the kingdom from the beginning, but only in a general way, insofar as the Messiah must needs share in the tribulation impending upon all. Now the suffering became His own individual destiny. Jesus further conceived of this suffering as atoning in dependence on Isa. liii. The many for whom He suffers are not, as Johannes Weiss would have it, the unrepentant Jewish nation, but in the most comprehensive sense the chosen of all generations since the beginning of the world. It was discharging a debt which weighed upon the world. Inseparable from the prediction of suffering is that of the resurrection. In recognizing this Schweitzer again agrees with Wrede over against the modern theology, which endeavors to explain the resolve to suffer psychologically and declares the prediction of the resurrection unhistorical. But, whilst Wrede says: because both belong together, both are dogmatic and *therefore* unhistorical, Schweitzer says: they are both dogmatic and *therefore* historical, because they find their explanation in eschatological conceptions. Jesus, then, went to Jerusalem for the express purpose of bringing about His own death and resurrection. He was the sole actor in this the second stage of His career. "The things which happen, the questions which are laid before him, contribute nothing to the decisive issue, but merely form the anecdotic fringes of the real outward and inward event, the bringing down of death upon himself." And He actually succeeded in forcing the history



to obey this programme of dogmatic origin even to the extent of confining the catastrophe to Himself and not involving the disciples.

In more than one sense this construction makes *tabula rasa*. It leaves nothing of the "figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb." It is also negative so far as the author himself is concerned, in that it obviously carries with itself the denial of every normative, authoritative character to the consciousness and teaching of Christ. The Christ of this experimental reconstruction is nothing but a deluded visionary. This historical Jesus, Schweitzer admits, must be to our own age a stranger and an enigma. In the "liberal" picture He had seemed for a while to be advancing to meet our age. But it was only apparently so. "He does not stay, he passes by our time and returns to his own. Indeed the whole idea, as if by a restoration of the actual Jesus, through historical methods, spiritual forces can be set free, and a new and vigorous Christianity built up, is a great error. The historical knowledge of the personality and life of Jesus will not be a help, but perhaps rather an offense to religion." And yet, while admitting all this, Dr. Schweitzer is not willing to admit that by such a view the historical foundation of Christianity is destroyed. Jesus still means something to our world, because a mighty spiritual force streams forth from Him. But the author does not succeed in making plain how he conceives of this. It is something connected with the great sayings of Jesus. How such force can belong to these, seeing they are all eschatologically conditioned, it is hard to see. Beyond vague statements and phrases we get nothing that could help to solve this riddle. It is "Jesus as spiritually arisen within men", "the spirit that goes forth from Him and in the spirits of men strives for new influence and rule". How little all this means appears from the author's own confession of inability to disengage that which is abiding and eternal in the being of Jesus from the historical forms in which it worked itself out, and to introduce it into our world as a living influence. The only thing somewhat more definite we learn is that the words of Jesus, precisely because they are based on an eschatological world-view, that is to say were unrelated to all historical and social circumstances, are appropriate to any world, since they raise man in every world above his world and time. But raise him to what? Certainly not to the transcendental sphere, the heavenly aeon which Jesus had in mind, for the reality of that is not recognized. And if there be substituted for this the vague modern ideas of "eternal life" or "inward freedom", or some such thing, what power could possibly proceed from the words of Jesus, realistically meant as they undoubtedly are, to induce such a misty indefinable state? It all comes back to a sort of vague spiritualizing of the eschatological hope, something which Prof. Burkitt also suggests, in the preface, as called for by the times, now that the eschatological hope has proved to be no mere embroidery of Christianity, but the heart of its enthusiasm.

It does not seem to have occurred either to the author or to the

writer of the preface, that there may still exist even in the twentieth century a faith robust enough to take the Jesus even of the thorough-going eschatology at His word. We do not mean by this, of course, that any Evangelical Christian could accept Dr. Schweitzer's reconstruction of the life of Jesus in detail. There is too much in it that is phantastic, e. g., such assumptions as that in the early part of His career Jesus passed for Elijah even to the mind of the Baptist; that Peter against the intention of Jesus revealed the Messianic secret; that Peter's knowledge of this secret was due to the experience of the transfiguration which therefore did not follow but preceded the incident at Caesarea-Philippi; that what Judas betrayed to the authorities was not the place where they could apprehend Jesus, but the Messianic secret. On the other hand it might be suggested that this "thorough-going eschatology" is not quite thorough enough, in that e. g., it does not carry back the deliberate purpose to suffer and die an atoning death to the beginning of Jesus' ministry. There is certainly as much evidence for the early presence of this in Jesus' mind as there is for the early presence of the Messianic consciousness in general. But all this should not cause us to overlook the good work which the eschatological school has done and is still doing in restoring to the historical Christ the sublime lineaments which he has always borne in the historic faith of the Church. The Jesus of the eschatologists and the Christ of the Church-dogma are strikingly alike in several respects. For one thing such men as Weiss and Schweitzer have rescued the historical Christ from the desupernaturalizing process to which the liberal theology subjected His person and consciousness. For after all apocalypics and eschatology are preëminently the sphere of the supernatural. A Christ in whose mind and life these two elements were dominant must be a Christ steeped in the supernatural. The apocalyptic and the eschatological further stand for a very pronounced and definite conception of salvation. A Christ who derived the ideals and impulses of His life from these, must have laid claim not to the rank of a mere prophet or teacher or ethical reformer, but to that of a veritable Savior. And the same eschatological atmosphere excludes every undue emphasis upon human merit or effort as contributory to salvation and consequently brings out the principle of divine grace. One of the most striking features of Dr. Schweitzer's sketch of the mind of Jesus is the convincing manner in which the predestinarian character of many sayings is shown. To be sure Johannes Weiss had already made a beginning with this. But it had been never before so distinctly enunciated that eschatology and predestinarianism go together. It will not henceforth be so easy to maintain that the predestinarianism of Paul is foreign to and absent from the teaching of our Lord. The eschatological school must also be given credit for the rehabilitation of the principle of atonement as an integral part of the professed work of Christ, as indeed lying at the heart of His very purpose, to execute which through death He deliberately went up to Jerusalem. Here again Schweitzer



follows in the footsteps of Johannes Weiss, but goes one step further, in that he makes the atonement refer not to the unrepentant Jews but to the sinful world as such. Still further the eschatological Jesus resembles the Christ of the Church, in that He is and acts as a thorough believer in fixed dogmatic conceptions, indeed makes dogma the parent of history. And finally there is to be registered the great gain that the eschatological school has driven out of the life of Jesus the "liberal" figment of a subjective development in his consciousness both with regard to His work and His person. Taking it all in all there is abundant warrant for saying that the writers of this school have strikingly vindicated the right of supernaturalists, Augustinians, Calvinists to claim Jesus as their own. Everybody will have to admit that the historic church has more faithfully preserved the image of the Christ, if thus He lived and thought and preached, than any school or phase of theology that has criticized her faith.

The translation, so far as we have been able to compare it with the original, has been admirably done. In the title of Dulk's book on p. 324 "The false *Step* in the Life of Jesus" does not correctly render the original "*Der Irrgang des Lebens Jesu*". John occurs for Peter on p. 127. Bruno Bauer's birth-year is given as 1809, and yet it is said on p. 138, that, when in 1839 he removed from Berlin to Bonn, he was "just at the beginning of the twenties". The original has not "beginning" but "end" of the twenties, but the slip is pardonable since the age of thirty is too advanced to be called "that critical age" in the life of a young man when he is apt to "surprise his teachers".

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

## HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

LETTERS OF JOHN MASON NEALE, D.D. Selected and Edited by his DAUGHTER. With Portrait. London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 8vo. pp. xvii. 379.

There is no more picturesque figure in the history of the "Catholic Revival" than that of John Mason Neale. We were not ungrateful for the *Memoir* of him published three or four years ago by Mrs. Charles Towle, although in many respects it left much to be desired. It is a pleasure now to be permitted to get somewhat closer to his interesting personality by means of this selection from his letters. His daughter, in the choice of the letters to print, seems to have had precisely this in view. The letters here presented tell us something of Dr. Neale's work: his work to such an eager worker was a large part of himself: and it is a distinct advantage to be enabled to view his work from the inside and to estimate more justly from the insight thus received the motives which impelled him and the spirit which animated him. What we chiefly value in these letters, however, is the glimpses they afford us of the personality behind the work, the

revelation they give us of the man that he was. It is a very attractive personality they present to us; crotchety no doubt, somewhat pugnacious, running in a narrow groove, but earnest, high-minded, indefatigable and animated by a true devotion to the causes he gave himself to. Never physically strong, he yet accomplished an amazing amount of labor. And he has left behind him not only a fragrant memory, but a triple monument in three great achievements. The nursing Sisterhood which he founded has prospered and become a beneficent power in the land. The reform in Hymnology which he introduced has affected the entire body of English hymnody and left a permanent impression on the worship of English-speaking churches. And his method of the indoctrination of the young by means of "truth embodied in a tale" remains until today the insufficiently followed example of a successful endeavor to mould the minds and hearts of the rising generation: have any stories in Church History as yet supplanted his?

Like several others of the leaders in the "Catholic Revival" Neale sprung from Evangelical soil and was bred in Evangelical traditions. His early letters from Cambridge introduce us to the Evangelical circles there. Charles Simeon died at the close of his first year, and Neale's letters of the time reflect the feelings of the Evangelicals on the great event. "Poor Mr. Simeon", he writes on Oct. 20th, 1836, "I am afraid, is dying. Mr. Carus watches over him, as if he were really, as he is fond of calling himself, his son." A fortnight afterwards he transcribes from Carus' own lips a moving account of the veteran's death-bed talk, recalling what may be read more at large in Carus' own *Memoir*; and then on Nov. 13 he records his death. "I, as you may easily conceive", he writes, "have thought of little else all day . . . So the day he has been preparing for fifty-six years has come at last. Oh, what a meeting he and Henry Martyn must have had! All the pleasure of thinking of that would be taken away by that horrible thought that friends will not know each other in another world. I cannot think how anyone can believe it. Poor Mr. Simeon; I cannot tell you how much I am grieved for his loss. I should think there was a great deal of sorrow tonight in Cambridge. I was going to say, 'What a glorious night for him!' but there is no night there."

Simeon had desired that his funeral should be very simple, and it was not designedly public, but the state of feeling in the University and town, partly in revulsion from former ill treatment, was such that the funeral became "unavoidably one altogether of public character." It fell on Saturday, Nov. 19—market-day—and the town was full: few greater displays of public sorrow and reverence have ever been seen in Cambridge. Dr. Moule in his memoir of *Charles Simeon* (in the *English Leaders of Religion Series*) gives two accounts of the scene at the funeral by "interested spectators." Neale gives another dated the day after (Nov. 20) but speaking as if it were written on the day itself. :—"Today Trinity Church was a most striking sight: the deepest mourning everywhere, not silk but crape, and the crowded state of



every part, the altar and the ante part being overflowing. Though I was a quarter of an hour before time, I did not get a foot in the real Church, and had to stand all the time, as three or four hundred more had. Numbers had to go away. A beautiful sermon by Dr. Dealtry from 'Them that honour Me I will honour.'"

Yet other than Evangelical influences were working on the ardent young man. The Oxford Tracts were agitating the world when Neale entered Cambridge, and not least the world of Cambridge. It was they and the successive parts of the "Pickwick Papers" which stirred the imagination of the eager undergraduates. A ferment was produced which a participant in it tells us no one can understand who did not witness it. Neale was caught in the effervescence of the hour and was so carried away that his friends thought of him as simply standing ready to "take up with the *ipse dixit*s of a Newman or a Pusey." The letters do not enable us to trace the process of his change from Evangelicalism to Tractarianism. They pass over at once from the Evangelical letters of 1836 to the Tractarian ones of 1839. The change, however, no matter how accomplished, was thoroughly wrought. It was scarcely fair, nevertheless, to represent him as becoming a mere blind follower of Newman and Pusey. This he never became. Sharing, from his own Cambridge standpoint, the new views proclaimed at Oxford, he never became a personal follower of the Oxford leaders. To Newman's personality he was indeed rather antipathetic, and he looked somewhat askance at Newman's whole point of view. He did not even admire him as a writer of English prose. Among the few literary judgments expressed in these letters is this one: "I am disgusted with the article in the last *Christian Remembrancer* on Newman's Sermons. In our own communion I look on Andrewes and Taylor as superior to him as one man can be to another; and out of it, how could they have forgotten S. Francis de Sales, to mention no other?" And Newman's book on *Development* he had little patience with. He cannot imagine how any one could imagine Newman to hold a view compatible, for a moment, with Bishop Bull, and himself considered that Newman refrained from openly attacking Bull, only to avoid scandal. "The test way", he thinks, "very unfair." "Of course, N. would naturally choose such tests only as suited his purpose." "What I also object to is N's constant reference to his own past works. He means, of course, to say: 'You, the reader, believe now what I believed then: develop as I do, and you will in time think as I do now.' And doubtless, so far as his extracts go, we do hold now what he did. But there is another element in his then opinions which we never had—his exceeding hatred to Rome. And that may, almost unconsciously to himself, have made him what he is, on the principle of desire to reverse a wrong. So that I am more than ever inclined to go with Hope's theory, and believe that the first generation of reformers may perhaps be absorbed by Rome: but that the second will remain in our Church and renovate it. I don't care what Irons or anyone else thinks. I am quite sure that if we don't desert ourselves, God will not desert us. If you

all go, I shall stay. If Andrewes is not saved (who had far less reason than we have to remain) there are so few that will be that really it can little matter whether one goes on or not."

With so much detachment from the Oxford leaders, however, Neale's standpoint was essentially theirs. There may have been less primal "hatred of Rome" to be overcome in his case, and there was a more distinct drawing to the Orientals in him than in them. But the effect was the same; and one cannot help observing that the drawing to the Orientals was largely literary and sentimental. It led Neale, however, very far. In the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit he went with the Orientals absolutely. "In my own mind", he writes in 1850, "I am convinced with Palmer that the Latin doctrine, if consistently carried out, would become heresy, and that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son at all except in the way of Temporal Mission, and then not according to His Divinity, but only according to His operations." At bottom the meaning of this can only be that he could not conceive the Trinity save under the form of Subordination; and the equalization of the Son with the Father in all things seemed to him to be Sabellian. The roots of the Oriental view of Procession are indeed set in a subordinationism which is a caricature of the Nicene doctrine. So Orientalizing were his tendencies that his friends were alarmed lest he should become in his fundamental thought sectarianly Oriental. Early in 1844 he writes to his friend Benjamin Webb, to whom most of the letters in this volume are addressed:—"I know you are afraid I shall take an Oriental view, *i. e.*, I suppose so Oriental that it will cease to be Catholic. At the same time without becoming a shade more Anglican, I do see more and more clearly that the High Papal Theory is quite untenable. . . . I cannot think, as Montalembert does, visible union, or as the B[ritish] C[ritic] sometimes seemed to wish to do, the desire for visible union with the Chair of St. Peter, the keystone, as it were, of the Church, at least not in the sense in which the Western Church has sometimes done. We *Orientals* take a more general view. The rock on which the Church is built is S. Peter, but it is a triple Rock, Antioch, where he sat, Alexandria which he superintended, Rome where he suffered." Certainly this passage is compact of legend: but it makes very plain the position which Neale consciously sought to take up. He wished to be truly "Catholic", with conscious withdrawal from all that was peculiar—and therefore sectarian—whether in Oriental, Romanist or Anglican. His tendency was, however, very distinctly to identify Catholicism with Orientalisms. An amusing outgrowth of the reverence, amounting to idolatry, with which he stood before the very idea of "Catholicism", as well as of his zest in controversy, was the habit he acquired of employing the adjectives "Catholic" and "Protestant" as mere synonyms of "fine" and "horrid". Thus a beautiful oak wood is described by him as "Catholic", while of a Cathedral service he writes: "The chants were admirably well sung and *the* thing: but the Antiphons were just as Protestant and operatic," and of the undigni-



fied behavior of some Portuguese nuns, he says: "Truly I never beheld anything more horribly protestant."

To his own mind Neale was above all things a Reformer. The Church of England had fallen into a deplorable condition and it was the duty of all true men to do their part in lifting her out of the slough. And certainly the usages which he found here and there obtaining in isolated churches were enough to shock an earnest spirit. "I must tell you of a thing", he writes on one occasion, "practiced in Tong Church. The Squire has built a pew in the Chancel; when the Commandments are begun, a servant regularly enters at the Chancel door with the luncheon tray." This *apropos* of a crusade he was leading against pews, for which, a little later, he set to work systematically to collect appropriate anecdotes. "I have thought of a good idea", he writes to his friend Webb, "as I think you will allow. It is a collection of anecdotes against pews, such as the editor of the *British Critic* gave us, for instance. You and I will do it, and put our names to it, as proofs that the stories are authentic; we will set about it immediately. Scrape up all the stories you have been credibly told, or know yourself, and send them to me and I will digest them in order." There were more serious abuses. A clergyman "taking the duty" in a little parish, and being called upon to baptize an infant, on taking the child in his arms found there was no water in the font. "He thought it, of course, an accidental omission, and asked for some. The Clerk was in astonishment; however he sent for a glass of water, thinking the clergyman wanted it to drink. And on conclusion it came out that they never used it there!"

Among the usages which had grown up in the Church which Neale considered corruptions and felt called upon to reform was, oddly enough considering what he has come to stand for in the Churches, hymn-singing. No doubt his early dislike of hymns may have been in part due, as his daughter suggests (p. 45), to a revulsion from Dr. Watts' hymns, "which he and his sisters, in common with most of the children in Evangelical families, used to learn by heart." It was certainly more largely due, however, to reaction from all that was Evangelical; for hymn-singing was distinctively Evangelical, and when Neale reacted again from his dislike of hymns Benjamin Webb is accordingly found twitting him with not having fully cast off his Evangel-prevalent among the leaders in the "Catholic Revival" in opposition not merely to Evangelical hymns but to vernacular hymns, and indeed to hymns in public worship altogether. No hymns are included in the ical slough. It was partly due, also no doubt, to a general sentiment Prayer Book, and already in Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae* published in 1832, an attempt is made to show that hymn-singing is not "Catholic"; and Neale could speak in 1840 (p. 22) of his own dislike of hymns as something well known and altogether natural. Three years later, however we find him already fully converted to at least the practical value of even English hymns, and endeavoring to convince his friend Webb of it, too. "Why should Hymns" he now argues, "be less Cath-

olick than prayers? and therefore, why English Hymns less Catholic than English Prayers? We may wish to restore Latin in both, if you like. But till we can, surely English Hymns, if good, are better than none. . . Depend upon it, we shall be acting more on the general principles of the Church, in making the best of a bad thing—allowing the universal abrogation of Latin to be so—than in saying, If we can't have that we will have none." (p. 58.) Webb proved difficult to convince; and a half-dozen years later called out from Neale a full argument in favor of the practical necessity and feasibility of creating an English hymnody by translation from the Breviary, by writing him frankly "I expect I shall loath your Methodistical snuffling hymnizing article. It is the oddest thing to me that you never slipped off that Evangelical slough: and it is due, I take it, to your fatal facility of versifying." (p. 124.) To Neale's leadership in this reaction from the earlier position of the "Catholic Revival" as to the use of hymns in public worship, and to his "fatal facility of versifying", the English Churches owe much,—how much has lately been told the readers of this *Review*, briefly but satisfyingly, by Dr. Louis F. Benson (July 1910: VIII. 3, p. 388 sq.). Neale's researches in mediaeval and ancient hymnology, were epoch-making also for our knowledge of a large and much neglected branch of devotional literature. He brought to light a great number of forgotten sequences and discovered the secret of their structure. His knowledge of Liturgiology on all sides but the aesthetical (where he allowed the superiority of his friend Webb) was unsurpassed, and especially so far as it was connected with the hymnological element. His sense for values in hymnology was remarkable and in his renderings of mediaeval hymns he had an unerring instinct for their adaptation both in content and language to modern needs. His feeling for sonorous sound is somewhat curiously illustrated by his mentioning these two lines—

"Michaelem in virtute  
Conterentem Zabulon"

as "two of the finest lines, I think, in mediaeval hymns". This praise of course can attach only to the cadence of the verses: they have no substance. To our thinking, indeed, it would require a very keen sense of the witchery of words to extract music from this collocation of vocables: but Neale's own hymns are witnesses to the exquisite ear he had for melody. Their extreme popularity is testified by their almost universal use. The editor of this volume (p. 175) tells us that one-eighth of the hymns in one of the editions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (61 out of 473) and one-tenth of those in the *English Hymnal* (72 out of 656) come from his pen. Going further afield we note that in the admirable *Hymnal* edited by Dr. Benson now in use in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, twenty-one hymns are accredited to Neale, and that in Dr. E. H. Johnson's *Sursum Corda* the most recent Hymn-Book prepared for the American Baptists, nineteen are his.

Apart from matters brought into controversy by the "Catholic Revi-



val" there are few allusions in these letters to doctrinal subjects. Even to these matters themselves the allusions are brief; there are no extended discussions. There are, however, one or two interesting allusions to views on the Real Presence in the Eucharist. "I have had a curious correspondence with Popoff about Transubstantiation", he writes on one occasion (p. 122). "I confess it seems to me nonsense to say, We believe in *μετουσίωσις*, but we say nothing of the *modus*; and we use the word in a sense of our own, quite distinct from the Latin meaning. And the Slavonic *Presvshchestvenie* is almost stronger, and means—were there such a word—transapparentiation." A few days afterward (so it seems; but the dates of the letters seem awry) he writes again: "What we both wish to express is this: the Bread and Wine are in the Liturgy changed into the Body and Blood of our Lord, as much as one thing can be changed into another; how it is done we don't decide; it may be by Transubstantiation, or by Impanation, or by a Hypostatical union. Now what are we to call this change? I name it Transmutation because it seems to me the vaguest word as to *modus*, the strictest as to *res*. I agree with you, however, that *transmutare* is not strictly *μεταποιεῖν*. Therefore, I will give another word, 'transfactured'. But if *μετουσίωσις* be not transubstantiation, how is *ὁμοούσιος* Consubstantial? In fact, you can draw no distinction between substance and essence. If you believe the essence of the consecrated Bread and Wine is the essence of our Lord's Body and Blood, you believe in the gross idea of Transubstantiation (which I am not denying)." Some years later he writes again (p. 197): "I think St. Cyril's words are much more explicit than mine. He says clearly, 'Which is *not* bread,' and that I take to be the only thing of importance. In the difference between *not bread* and *not simply bread*, lies, I think, the whole question." Thus hard it was to keep from confessing Transubstantiation and yet confess a change of substance which does not carry with it a change of attributes. One feels reasonably sure that if it were not for the desire on the part of the Greeks, and the necessity on the part of the Anglicans, to separate themselves from "Romish error" here, no difficulty would be made with the word "Transubstantiation". If *μετουσίωσις* is just Greek for Transubstantiation (and who can deny that but a Greek?), is not the assertion that what was a moment before just bread and still has all the attributes of bread is not bread at all any longer, just plain English for Transubstantiation (and who but an Anglican would ever think of denying it?). Apropos of the Eucharist, there is a curious story told (p. 258-9) which has an application. We read: "Here is a story which I heard yesterday. Lord Strathallan, the great-grandfather of the present, was mortally wounded at Culloden. His chaplain, the Abbé Maitland (for the old Scotch clergy, from their great connection with France, took that title), was with him on the field of battle, and the dying man wished to receive Holy Communion. But no bread or wine could be procured. So he was communicated with the only procurable things—oatcake and whiskey. Of course, as a real Communion, it was utterly invalid in both

kinds; but making all due allowance for invincible ignorance, it was a beautiful act of Spiritual Communion." It is a matter of interest to inquire what Neale could mean by pronouncing an act which from his standpoint must have been sacrilegious "a beautiful act of Spiritual Communion." From the Reformed point of view it is needless to say that the Communion thus administered, in the circumstances recited, while irregular, was entirely valid; but we cannot see any thing particularly "beautiful" in it.

Of the troubles which disturbed Neale's life at Sackville College, we naturally hear a good deal in these letters; and what we hear is very welcome. We gain from it a sense of the uncomplaining patience with which he endured what to him was veritable persecution. Of the rights and wrongs of the general case the letters do not enable us to judge, but they do enable us to perceive the very high temper in which Neale passed through the serious annoyances which came out of it all. The later years of his life were largely devoted to the institution and firm establishment of the nursing Sisterhood of St. Margaret's, and it was in the service of this Sisterhood that he wore himself out in the end, and met his death. His daughter obviously considers this Sisterhood his most "abiding and visible monument". It is doubtless not free from the faults which mar the most of the Sisterhoods established by the leaders of the "Catholic Revival", though it is clear that Neale's good sense and good feeling saved him from the extremities to which some of them went; and it is plain on the face of it that this Sisterhood has been a beneficial institution. When we speak of the religious usages introduced by the Tractarians and made a part of the "Rule" of these Sisterhoods, we touch on the least attractive side of Neale's activities. He was very tenacious of his priestly functions and sought to make full proof of his ministry. Take the practice of Confession for example. He placed the highest estimate upon its exercise and was persistent and insistent in pressing it upon all over whom he exercised authority or acquired influence. We say nothing now of its legality in the Church of England, a matter on which Neale from the beginning felt quite clear. The practice seems to us on grounds of mere ethics or even common decency indefensible,—a matter on which Neale appears to have felt no qualms. We defy anyone of unsophisticated mind, nevertheless, to read even the touchingly simple and transparently sincere letter here given, written to a lady wishing to prepare for her First Confession, without a sense of the horror of the thing. Think of urging, with all the compelling authority of an obviously pitying priest, delicate-minded and shrinking girls to pour into an attentive masculine ear a full account of all the movements capable of being construed or misconstrued as sin which they may from the dawn of memory have felt in their hearts. "To me you had better begin from the beginning—'The first sin that I remember was that I—' and so on. When you have gone through your life till the present time, then will be the time that *I* should go over it with you, taking the Commandments in order . . . " It certainly is a humiliating exercise which is here



demanded of people, and we cannot wonder that Neale adds: "I know, from my own experience the dreadful pain of a First Confession". What we wonder at is that he should feel authorized to promise "comfort" from it. As we read, we have a distressing feeling that the analogies to the scene here presented to our imagination are to be found in such others as the Hindoo priest's urging mothers to cast their babies into the Ganges with the plea that the pain will no doubt be great, but the comfort will be sure.

Neale had just entered upon his forty-ninth year when he died. He had begun life under the pall of pulmonary disease. His great desire was for parish work. But he was able to carry on that work, in the neglected living which was given him, for only six weeks, when the verdict fell upon him and he went forth in bitterness of disappointment to find whatever life could be snatched by him from the destroyer. He snatched from the destroyer a life of rich variety, of profound learning, of abounding activity, of world-wide influence. And he died, in the midst of his usefulness and in the fulness of recognition, still in the harness. We have his books; his works live after him. We would fain know as much of such a man as we can. He is an example to us all.

The editing of the volume is good so far as it goes,—and it goes far enough to provide a fairly good Index. We wish it had gone far enough to provide full annotations. Fifty, seventy-five, years are a long stretch of time for these full days of ours, and this is the period which has passed by since these letters were written. There are many allusions in them to people, transactions, even places, which will need explanation to the majority of the readers of the book.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

VICTOR MONOD. *LE PROBLÈME DE DIEU et la Théologie Chrétienne depuis la Réforme. I. Étude historique.* Foyer Solidariste: Saint-Blaise, près Neuchâtel (Suisse); Roubaix, 123, Boulevard de Belfort, 1910. 8vo pp. 169.

M. Victor Monod is profoundly disturbed by the condition of current opinion upon the nature and activities of God. The idea of God he thinks has perhaps never before been made the object of more intense and wide-spread study. But the issue of the prolonged debates of recent centuries has been little more than an immense confusion. Nearly every thinking man has formed a different conception of the Divine Being for himself. "In the teaching of the Churches heterogeneous philosophies and contradictory religious aspirations are juxtaposed or superficially amalgamated." The question is raised whether "the Christian doctrine of God is essentially amorphous and irrational or is only compromised to-day by lack of critical spirit and of historical knowledge in some of its adherents." M. Monod's convictions lie in the line of the latter alternative, and he naturally wishes to do his part to clarify the atmosphere. The task he has undertaken is essentially a dogmatic one. But it has its natural if not necessary historical approach. "To draw out in order,"

he explains, "the solutions of the problem of God which have been proposed by the great theologians, to set them in the historical framework which explains them, to indicate how they have been engendered by successive corrections or reactions, to discriminate, in a word, the vital necessity to which the succession of divers theological systems has responded; these have appeared to me the indispensable preliminaries of a methodical study of the question." Accordingly he gives us now this "historical study," while the dogmatic construction to which it is to lead us up waits a more convenient season. He does not feel bound, however, to pass in review in this "historical study" the whole history of the idea of God, in detailed exposition. He is not writing a history of the idea of God but a historical introduction to his own forthcoming attempt to put together a competent exposition of the idea of God. He therefore confines his survey to the historical antecedents of his own construction.

In point of fact, M. Monod confines his survey of the history of the idea of God to two epochs, the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries; and in these two epochs to two great outstanding movements of thought, the Reformation, or better, the Reformed theology, and the Kantian criticism. The conceptions of God characteristic of these two great movements of thought he sets over against one another in sharp antithesis, discriminating them under the contrasting designations of "God as sovereign" and "God as a moral person." The antithesis obviously is a false one; the two designations are not mutually exclusive. It is also historically unjust: the Reformed theology throws an emphasis upon the moral personality of God which cannot be exceeded, and the moral personality of God is not the most outstanding feature of the conception of God developed by the Kantian movement. M. Monod himself cites Calvin as declaring that God is good by a necessity as stringent as that by which He is God, and that it would be easier to sever the light of the sun from its heat than to separate God's power from His righteousness; while the very stress which the Reformed theology places on the will of God is a stress on His personality, since he who says will says person. And M. Monod himself points out how the moral character of God evaporates in, for example, the thought of M. Ch. Secrétan in the face of the demand of "absolute freedom" for Him. The real distinction between the Reformed and the Kantian movements in their relation to the idea of God lies quite apart from the question of His moral personality, although, of course, it concerns very distinctly the question of His sovereignty. The difficulty with Kantian speculation has been indeed to find any place for God at all in its scheme of things. Beginning with calling in God only as a postulate of the moral imperative, it ends by limiting His action in the interest of human freedom. The whole tendency of the Kantian thought is spoken out when M. Secrétan remarks: "There seems no place in the world for both man and God;" and M. Monod's dilemma is from the Kantian standpoint a very real one: Render with Calvin all glory to God and man is reduced to nonentity; vindicate with Kant all man's liberty and all man's dignity and



you have (with Schleiermacher) no use for God save, perhaps, for the Judgment Day. The issue that is drawn between the Reformed thought of the sixteenth and the Kantian thought of the nineteenth century is not between a sovereign and an ethical God; it is between God and man. And the movement from the one to the other is a veritable revolution by which God is dethroned and man elevated to His place as the center of the universe. M. Monod puts it not unjustly in a passage which we gladly quote entire (p. 108): "Just as for Copernicus the earth so far from being a pivot about which the stars revolve, describes an ellipse around a fixed sun, so for Kant the objects which constitute the external world so far from determining knowledge are subject to laws impressed by the mind. This figure can be adapted to indicate the way in which the Kantian theology sets itself in opposition to the theology of the sixteenth century. God is no longer the central star of the religious domain; He is only a satellite, a postulate of the mind. The point of departure is the thinking subject, his rights and his needs; the nature and the attributes of God can be determined only as functions of the exigences of the human being. And the whole effort of Kant bears on a point which theologians of the sixteenth century had not thought to investigate: In what is God necessary to man? Is the existence of God legitimated by the needs of reason?" In a word the sixteenth century conceived man as the creation of God, existing for God and serving His ends; men now are prone to think of God as, if not exactly the creation of man, yet as existing for man and serving man's ends. The center of the universe has shifted; and God has become, as has been, perhaps wittily, perhaps bitterly, said, very much a domestic animal which man keeps, as he does his horse or his cow, to meet certain specific needs of his being.

About half of M. Monod's volume is given to an exposition of each of these two types of thought concerning God. The latter half, dealing broadly speaking with the Kantian notions, under the rubric of "God as a moral person", appears to us the more penetrating and satisfactory piece of exposition, chiefly because it seems to us the more sympathetically worked out. The master-thought of this movement is shown to be the conception of the greatness of man: "the idea that man so far as he is man and because he is man has right to the free efflorescence of his personality and can recognize as legitimate no authority which is not judicially constituted." This master-thought is traced in its enunciation to Kant, to whom God exists only as a moral postulate and only so far as His existence may be made consistent with what Kant deemed the necessities of the moral responsibility of man. So determining has the conception of "freedom" thus conceived become in modern thought that M. Monod incidentally drops the remark, as if it were a matter of course, that since Kant "liberty and morality have become so indissolubly bound together that Luther's and Calvin's doctrine of the subject-will has become merely an incomprehensible curiosity to the contemporary consciousness." After Kant, no doubt, there comes Schleiermacher, in whose system there is no place for any other liberty than

"that of Spinozistic spontaneity, autonomous vitality", the capacity of "reaction upon finite beings which exert a certain determination on man, and of determining them in turn"; and who led in the interest of the religious feeling a reaction towards a kind of spurious Calvinism which would preserve a divine sovereignty without emphasis upon the Divine personality. "God, for Schleiermacher," we read (p. 130), "is therefore a mysterious master of whom we know only one thing,—that He commands and that we ought to obey. He is an active Being and not a dead Law, but He is not less an abstract Being, with no name and no countenance, known only by the hand which He presses against us. The Sovereign God of Calvin, the Monarch of good-pleasure and individual feeling is gone; but on the celestial throne there still remains in austere idealization the Scepter, the Baton of command." But Schleiermacher does not mark the end of the series. After Schleiermacher comes Secrétan,—Secrétan to whom "freedom" is at once the first and the last word of philosophy, a "freedom" for man which admits of no limitations and a corresponding "freedom" for God which enables him to keep out of the way of this "free" man,—by virtue of which He is infinite only if He wishes it, and can be finite as well if He wishes it, knows what He wishes to know and is ignorant of what He wishes to be ignorant of. "If God is God"; says Secrétan, "it is only because He wills it." Thus Secrétan finds his way out of the great difficulty of his school of thought by pressing to its extreme its primal postulate. It has been common to say that if "freedom" be defined as this school defines freedom, then we have to choose between a "free" humanity and a "free" Deity; both cannot be "free" in this sense, which knows no difference between freedom and ability. Secrétan replies that the difficulty disappears if only you make God free enough, if only you ascribe to Him "absolute liberty", a liberty which is capable of everything; for, then, He would be free not to be God, or even to abnegate His freedom itself. "Secrétan, we see," remarks M. Monod (p. 148), "commences by attributing to the absolute Being a fathomless freedom and sovereignty, but he adds that the day on which pure freedom resolves itself into an act, the day on which creation takes place, the reign of Law, of Relation, of Determinism commences." For M. Monod's present purpose, Secrétan has spoken the last word which has yet been spoken in the way of solving "the problem of God,"—that is to say, in the effort so to conceive God that man may be left "free", in the exaggerated sense of freedom assumed by this school. But this last word has not, he thinks, solved the problem; and the way is open for another attempt to reach a true conception of God,—a conception which shall do better justice to both sides of the problem, the side rooted in man's sense of dependence as well as that rooted in his sense of freedom. For the terms in which this solution may be worked out, however, we shall have to wait for the dogmatic discussion which, M. Monod promises us, shall follow this historical sketch. We may, indeed, already perceive that what M. Monod proposes to do is to set over against "God as sovereign" and "God as moral person" alike the conception of "God as



Father." This is, of course, to introduce another false antithesis, and to substitute tropical for scientific treatment. But despite these drawbacks with respect to method it is quite possible that M. Monod may give us in his dogmatic treatment a very happy solution of the problem of the conception of God. We are content to wait to see.

Meanwhile we note that M. Monod already recognizes that there is another side to the problem besides that of human "freedom" and "responsibility" so insisted on by the Kantian thinkers. This other side of the problem is that which forms the burden of the Reformed theology; and M. Monod has begun his book with a survey of it as given expression in that theology. We have already intimated, however, that we do not think this survey as illuminating, because not as sympathetic, as that given of the Kantian theories. It would seem that with all his desire to do justice to that sense of dependence on God which is the psychological reflection of the Divine Sovereignty, M. Monod is to some extent preoccupied with the current overestimate of man in his present condition in the world, which has its ultimate roots in a defective sense of sin. He himself very fairly describes this current point of view when, speaking of the surprise with which the modern man hears Calvin describe the doctrine of predestination as "sweet and savoury", he offers this account of it: "The reason is that the condition of man does not appear to us as tragically horrible as it does to the Calvinists; we are surprised at the rejection of the lost, the Reformed of the sixteenth century were astonished rather at the salvation of the elect." This is but to say that a Pelagianizing estimate of man in his powers, achievements and present condition can not accord with an Augustinian soteriology; the current estimate of man is distinctly Pelagianizing and therein lies the whole account of its ineradicable opposition to the Reformed theology. Borne along to some extent, doubtless, by this current of modern thought, M. Monod finds himself out of tune with the Reformed soteriology, and most of all with its emphasis on predestination; and finding himself out of tune with it, he is not quite able to comprehend it, much less to do full justice to it. He recognizes, indeed, the religious value and the practical motive of the Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine sovereignty; he even exaggerates this aspect of it, by representing it as a product of religious experience in such a sense as to give it only a subjective grounding, in this connection misconceiving the doctrine of the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*. "We see", he remarks, (p. 15), "that while scholasticism limited its art of persuasion to two processes, reasoning and the citation of an inspired text, the Reformation made appeal to a third authority, the inward witness of the Holy Spirit". The "witness of the Holy Spirit" was not to the Reformers, however, in any sense a "third authority" operating apart from (perhaps in opposition to) reason and the Scriptures—as anyone may satisfy himself by merely reading the Anti-Anabaptist chapters in Calvin's exposition of it at the opening of the *Institutes*; but a power of God clarifying reason in its use of the Scriptures and acting only confluent with them. M. Monod's partial sympathy with

the Reformed doctrine as an expression of religious experience is therefore itself a symptom of his real lack of complete sympathy with it; and when he goes into its particulars his lack of complete sympathy is manifested in not infrequent failures to enter fully into its spirit which betray him into certain errors of judgment regarding it. There occur even occasional lapses in apprehension of declarations of the advocates of the view he is controverting, which lead him into no doubt unconscious but nevertheless regrettable misrepresentations of their contentions. Thus for example the *De dono perseverantiae* xx. is cited (p. 59) as an avowal on the part of Augustine that "it was the Pelagian controversies which caused him to defend the doctrine of election in its integrity." What Augustine really says is precisely the contrary, namely, that before the controversy broke out he had taught the whole doctrine of election with clearness and emphasis, and had been compelled by the controversy only to do more laboriously and abundantly what he was doing in any event. Immediately after quoting Zanchi's clear statement of his *ordo decretorum* (which is, on this occasion at least, expressly Infralapsarian: "creation, fall, election, redemption"), and while in act of inveighing against Zanchi's scholasticism, M. Monod shows so little care for the niceties of the subject as to attribute to Zanchi Amyraut's *ordo decretorum*. "Once, once only," he cries "God has thought of man and assigned him his destiny. Thenceforward everything is evolved with the rigor of a mathematical theorem: creation, fall, redemption, election, reprobation, crimes and virtues, prayers and blasphemy, all has been willed, foreseen, foreordained by God." Are then the differences which separate Supralapsarian, Infralapsarian, and Postredemptionist too small to hold a place in the mind of one who consigns them all alike to the oblivion of an incomprehensible past?

It is naturally, however, when M. Monod undertakes professedly to report the objections to predestination that his failure of sympathy with the doctrine works most havoc in his reasoning. Here we have arrayed all the old uncomprehending arguments: predestination deprives the work of Christ of all significance, it menaces the authority of the moral law, it dissipates the guilt of man, and the like. What underlies everything, however, is failure to realize that predestination is never supposed to determine ends apart from means. It would for example be as intelligible to argue that when a king has determined to take a city he may at once intermit all concern about armies and engines of war—the determination will take the city; or that when a physician has determined to cure a patient, he may safely neglect to administer the remedies—the determination will cure the patient; as that when God has determined to save His people, all significance in the work of Christ, the only means by which the determined salvation is to be accomplished, is taken away. How reasoners like M. Monod are pursued by this incomprehensible uncomprehendingness is oddly illustrated in a footnote in which he wishes to ascribe to Luther himself, that sound and fervent predestinarian because sound and fervent believer in God and His grace, the objection to predestination that "it renders



singularly vain and futile the work of Jesus Christ." We quote this footnote in full. "This was the objection of Luther. Towards 1542 he wrote: 'I hear that the nobles and great people emit such criminal talk about predestination as to say, If I am predestinated I shall be saved whether I do well or ill, and if I am not I shall be damned. I shall gladly combat this impious language if my uncertain health will permit me. If this talk were sound, the incarnation of the Son of God, His passion, His resurrection and all that He has done for the salvation of the world would be abolished. What end would be served by the prophets and all the Holy Scriptures? What by the Sacraments? Let us cast off and trample under foot this talk'—*Commentary on Gen. xxvi. Opera, Witebergae* 1580. Vol. vi. 353—How far we are here from the affirmations of the *De Servo Arbitrio*!" Needless to say the words quoted from Luther have no such implication as M. Monod puts on them. In them Luther promises that if only the infirmities of his health permit, he will confute those who abuse the doctrine of predestination, saying, "If I am predestined, I shall be saved no matter whether I do well or ill; if I am not I shall be damned." To give a brief hint of the line his confutation will take, Luther adds that if such talk were sound "the incarnation of the Son of God, His person, His resurrection and all that He has done for the salvation of the world would be abolished",—the prophets and the whole of the Sacred Scriptures, the sacraments would be useless; wherefore, says he, we should reject and trample under foot such prating. What Luther says in this none too vigorous language is, as we all at once perceive, simply that if predestination is perverted into a predestination of ends apart from all means—so that those predestinated to life will live no matter what they do—then the significance of all means is taken away and this is tantamount to abolishing Christ and all His work, the Scriptures and all the Means of Grace, since these are the means by which the predestined end is attained. But he says this only in objection to a manifest perversion of the doctrine of predestination, and in vigorous defense of the doctrine of predestination. And when M. Monod cries out upon it: "'How far we are here from the affirmations of the *De Servo Arbitrio*", he merely betrays how far he himself is from understanding not Luther merely whom he quotes (perhaps at second-hand; possibly through the deflecting medium of Luthardt) and the *De Servo Arbitrio* which he refers to, but the whole Reformed doctrine of predestination which he is in act of expounding and criticizing. Luther speaks here in complete and even enthusiastic accord with the affirmations of the *De Servo Arbitrio*, and can be misunderstood only by writers who, not being in agreement with Luther, are determined to make Luther be in agreement with them.

We have no intention, however, of indulging in a series of petty criticisms of the details of M. Monod's exposition of the Reformed doctrine. We have merely wished to illustrate by a few instances taken at random from his pages a vein of failure in comprehension which runs through them and vitiates their conclusions. There is much in his exposition and

criticism meanwhile that is worthy of remark—particularly, if we may specify, his connection of the political and religious thinking of the times. We can only express the conviction that if M. Monod had approached the study of the Reformed theology with the sympathy with which he has approached the study of the Post-Kantian movement, he would have found an acceptable doctrine of God less a problem to his thought, because he would have found it already worked out for him in that great body of Augustinian thinking which has been the possession of the world for nearly a millennium and a half. The scandal of this body of thinking has ever been, and is, that it thinks of God as God, and will not have His glory diminished by the exaltation of man. M. Monod himself says (p. 84): "The error of Calvinism was, above all, that it did not recognize the specific and unique value of the human person." The charge is quite untrue. Calvinism fully recognizes the high value of human personality. But Calvinism certainly does not allow that the human person has power to set itself by the side of the Divine. And the retort is just that the error of Anti-Calvinism has always been, and continues to be, that it does not recognize the specific character and unique value of the Divine person. M. Monod sometimes speaks as if he would charge Calvinism with wiping out the gulf which separates man from the beasts that perish. It does not do that. Calvin teaches rather that man is raised infinitely above the brutes by that *sensus deitatis* which is ineradicably imprinted on his nature, and by reason of which he aspires to immortality (e. g., *Institutes* I, iii. 1, 3; v. 4). But Calvinism resists and will continue to resist every effort to wipe out the greater gulf which separates the creature from his Creator. We have said advertently "greater gulf." For we stand with Calvin, or rather with Augustine,—for Calvin is quoting Augustine here (*Opp.* viii. 256)—when he declares that "he is assuredly mad who does not ascribe to God a far greater preëminence above himself than he allows to the human race above the beasts." And we stand with Calvin when (still after Augustine) he adds that what is most becoming in the sheep of God's flock is quiet submission to His will; and when he adjoins, now on his own behalf, that this would assuredly be more fitting than, after the example of Pighius, to substitute man for God and demand that each man should earn his own destiny on the ground of his own virtues. The "problem of God" is to be solved for the twentieth century as for all that have preceded it, not by deifying man and abasing God in his presence, but by recognizing God to be indeed God and man to be the creation of His hands, whose chief end it is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever. And this is as M. Monod truly perceives, just Calvinism.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By PHILIP SCHAFF. Vol. V. Part I. The Middle Ages from Gregory VII., 1049, to Boniface VIII., 1294. 1907. Pp. xiv., 910. Price \$3.25. And Vol. V. Part II. The Middle Ages from Boniface VIII. 1294, to the



Protestant Reformation, 1517. By DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburg. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Pp. xi., 795.

The late Dr. Schaff in writing his Church History thought it wise to finish those volumes that deal with the Reformation before taking up the Middle Ages. Unfortunately death overtook him before he could fill the hiatus thus made in his series, and the duty of completing the work devolved upon his son. By the two volumes before us the history is now continuous from the beginning of the Christian era down to the end of the Reformation.

The many readers of Schaff's History will be glad to know that in these volumes the same plan has been followed as in the earlier ones. There is the same index to the literature, the same division into comparatively short sections, the same kind of appended notes and excursus, with reviews of discussions of more debated points, or important documents. Nor will any difference in literary style be apparent to most readers. Only in one respect has the son departed from the plan of the father. He has devoted two volumes to the period 1049-1517, instead of one as was intended. For this, however, we may be thankful to him, for it has allowed a fuller treatment of such important matters as "the crusades, the rejuvenation of monasticism by the mendicant orders, the development of the canon law, the rise of the universities, the determined struggles of the papacy with the Empire, the development of the Inquisition, the settlement of the sacramental system, and some of the most notable characters the Christian Church has produced" as the author himself tells us. And certainly as we read the volumes, we feel that there is hardly a subject treated that could have been omitted, or that would not suffer by being treated less fully. The not infrequent detailed accounts of events such as the coronation of a Pope in the Middle Ages, the very circumstances of Becket's death, the altar-piece at Triani, Jerome's address in the Cathedral of Constance before his martyrdom, or the luxury of Leo X's court,—I have chosen them at random—might indeed be omitted by the specialist, but only enhance the value of the work for the ordinary student and reader.

It is unnecessary to review the volumes in detail, and it would be inappropriate to call in question its judgment on special matters. The volumes are not intended to be a critical history of the times, but to serve as hand-books and guides. As such they fulfill their purpose admirably. The author shows himself a sane and scholarly Protestant who is capable of appreciating the great work done by the papacy during the formative period of European civilization; he has sympathy for the mystics, the schoolmen, the Friars and others, and gives them credit for the work they did. To this we must add that his sense of proportion is good. A little more than a quarter of the space is given to the papacy and what centres thereon. To the monastic orders and scholasticism each are allotted over one hundred pages, the

Renascence receives nearly the same, and those very important yet much neglected subjects of popular piety, superstition, witchcraft, &c., are given about an equal number. Altogether the author and his readers are to be congratulated on the appearance of these two well filled readable volumes. It is to be hoped that the author will now see his way clear to continuing the series beyond the Reformation, and bringing it down to modern times; for such a work is needed.

*Princeton.*

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE CONFESSIONAL HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH. By JAMES W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Published for the Author by the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa. [1909]. 8vo, pp. viii, 637. Price, \$3.00.

The late Dr. Richard employed himself with untiring energy through many years in an eager study of the doctrinal history of the great age of Lutheran theology. The present goodly volume, which was passing through the press at the time of his death, may be regarded as, in some sense, the garnered fruit of all these years of labor. It is a solid contribution to our knowledge of the origin, contents and history of the symbolical works which are current among Lutherans, written with adequate knowledge, with great clearness and force, certainly not without bias—Dr. Richard was a doughty controversialist—but with transparent honesty of purpose, though not always (for this happens sometimes with doughty controversialists) with perfect comprehension of points of view other than his own, or with sympathetic appreciation of their adherents. He begins from the beginning, with an illuminating account of the rise of the Reformation movement and follows the progress of events to the composition of the Augsburg Confession. The whole history of this document, internal and external, is then traced, and as well that of the other old Lutheran Confessions. Then a new start is taken, and the movements which led up to the formulation of the Form of Concord are minutely studied, culminating in an account of the collection, called the Book of Concord. A chapter, each, is then given to the history of the Lutheran Symbolical books in the eras of Pietism, of Philosophy and of Rationalism, and to their history in the Nineteenth Century; and the volume closes with a chapter on the Lutheran Confessions in America. The scheme, it will be perceived, is very comprehensive, and the treatment everywhere is quite detailed. The book furnishes a welcome guide through the intricacies of an unusually complicated section of the history of Christian doctrinal construction.

*Princeton.*

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

REGINALD PECOCK'S BOOK OF FAITH. A Fifteenth Century Theological Tractate. Edited from the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, with an Introductory Essay, bp J. L. MORISON, M.A., Professor of History in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada;



Late Lecturer on English Literature in the University of Glasgow.  
Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, Publishers to the University. 1909. Crown 8vo.; pp. 315.

Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, courtier, churchman, "rationalist," recanter, "forerunner of the modern world," has been enjoying something like a resuscitation in recent years. Mr. W. W. Capes in his *English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Miss Greenwood in the second volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Dr. Gairdner in his *Lollardry and the Reformation in England*, seem to have conspired together to recover his name from the obscurity and his works from the ashes to which the angry churchmen of his day consigned them. Mr. Morison follows hard on their heels with this admirable edition of his last, in some respects his most important, book, which has been preserved to us in a single, imperfect manuscript. Mr. Morison does not scruple to speak of his hero as "the only great English theologian of the fifteenth century" (p. 22), whose "intellectual individuality" was "second only to that of Wycliffe in the history of the English Renaissance" (p. 68) and who possessed a "historic sense" "unequalled in England for more than a century" and a "capacity for the scientific standpoint" "startlingly modern" (p. 76). His *Book of Faith*, he pronounces, along with his *Represser* (*A Represser of ever-much blaming of the Clergy*, edited for the Rolls Series by Churchill Babington, 1860), "the most important contribution to English theological thought between Wycliffe and the Tudor writers" (p. 10). Such encomiums may seem overstrained—until we regard the waste and desolation of English theology of the middle of the fifteenth century against which the works of this self-conscious individualist are thrown up to observation. In any event it is an interesting episode in the history of British thought which Pecock marks, and we are glad to have this excellent edition of the maturest of his works.

It is on Faith; and it is written with the express design of showing that faith is reasonable. The conception of faith presented is the established notion of faith in its large sense. It is conviction founded on evidence; and the evidence on which it is founded, when it is religious faith, is, in the last analysis, the evidence of God. Here is how Pecock defines faith in another book (*The Folewer to the Donet*, p. 28): "It is a knowyng wherbi we assenten to eny thing as to trouthe, for as mych as we have sure evydencis gretter than to the contrarie that it is toold and affermid to us to be trewe, bi him of whom we have sure evydencis, or notable likli evydencis, gretter than to the contrarie, that therinne he not lied." And here is how he speaks of it here (p. 122): "But, sone, y wole that thou bere wele in mynde whet of feith is seid in the places bi thee now alleggid, thet feith, of which we spoken now, into which we ben bounde, and which is oon of the foundementis of Christen religioun, is thilke kinde or spice of knowyng, which a man gendrieth and getieth into his undirstonding, principali bi the telling or denouncing of another persooone, which may not lie, or

which is God." There is nothing revolutionary in this, and there is nothing new in his deference to reason, even in matters of faith,—reason which he calls "the largist book of autorite that ever God made"; or in his confidence in the syllogism, which, Mr. Morison tells us, "he ever spoke of with a reverence he was not prepared to concede to God Himself." "A sillogism wel reuled," he asserts, "after the craft taught in logik, and havving ii premyssis openli trewe and to be grauntid is so stronge and so myghti in al kindis of maters, that though al the aungels of hevene wolden seie that his conclusioun were not trewe, yitt we shoulde leewe the aungels seiying and we shoulde truste more to the proof of thilk sillogisme than to the contrarie seiying of all the aungels in hevene." It is strongly said; but does it say anything more than each of us knows in his heart—that we cannot believe any testimony which contradicts what we perceive to be true?

The chief purpose which Pecock had in view in writing was to confute the Lollards, and we incidentally get a view of the wide extension of Lollardry and the devotion to the Scriptures shown by the Lollards. Pecock does not like their confidence in private judgment, and it is just the common Romish argumentation which we get from him. Decidedly, however, this confident old reasoner is worth listening to, and we are grateful to Mr. Morison for putting his *Book of Faith* in our hands.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

ESSAYS ON THE SOCIAL GOSPEL. By ADOLPH HARNACK, Professor of Church History in the University of Berlin, and WILHELM HERRMANN, Dr. Theol., Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg. Translated by G. M. Craik and edited by Maurice A. Canney, M.A. Crown 8vo., pp. viii, 225. [vol. xviii of the "Crown Theological Library"]. London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907.

THE PROGRAMME OF MODERNISM. A Reply to the Encyclical of Pius X., *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, with the text of the Encyclical in an English version. Translated from the Italian by Rev. Father GEORGE TYRRELL. With an introduction by A. LESLIE LILLEY, Vicar of St. Mary's, Paddington Green, London. Crown 8vo, pp. xvii, 245. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908.

ANGLICAN LIBERALISM. By TWELVE CURCHMEN. Crown 8vo, pp. 321, [vol. xxiv of the "Crown Theological Library"]. London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908.

MONASTICISM: Its Ideals and History; and THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. Two lectures by ADOLF HARNACK, Rector of and Professor of Church History in the University, and Member of the Royal Prussian Academy, Berlin. Translated into English by E. E. Kellett, M.A., and F. H. Marseille, Ph.D., M.A. Crown 8vo, pp. 171., [vol. xxviii, of the "Crown Theological Library"]. London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [n. d.].



A number of the volumes of the "Crown Theological Library" have already been reviewed in this journal, some of them at considerable length. We bring together here a few of its later issues which do not seem to call for more than passing notice, although each of them has its distinct value. The promoters of the "Crown Theological Library" have, of course, their own ends in view in the selection of the books to which they give a place in their interesting series. When they tell us that it "has been instituted to present a religious literature dealing with modern difficulties", and that the several volumes "have been selected with a view of meeting religious questionings of the present age", they are speaking, of course, from their own standpoint, which is that of an advanced "liberalism". From a different standpoint one might say the object in view was to commend the liberal construction of Christianity to a wide public by presenting it in a number of its most attractive minor publications. Certainly, so far as the foreign works published in this "library" are concerned, the selection has been made with wisdom for the attainment of this end. And, however little we may be able to accord with the conclusions presented, we shall always be charmed and instructed in reading such presentations of them. Of the writings now before us Harnack's essays on *Monasticism* and *The Confessions of Augustine* are the most attractive and the most important, each having been in fact almost epoch-making in its time (about thirty years ago). They are not here for the first time, however, given to an English public but are reprinted from an earlier issue by the same London publishers (1901). The volume entitled *Essays on the Social Gospel*, is scarcely less interesting. It is made up of two essays by Harnack on *The Evangelical Social Mission in the Light of the History of the Church* (1894), and *The Moral and Social Significance of Modern Education* (1902), respectively, and a well known and very radical essay of Herrmann's on *The Moral Teachings of Jesus* (1903, 1904). It must be admitted that a grave mistake has been made in compacting these essays, of such diverse character and subject and not altogether consistent contents, together into the appearance of a continuous discussion; and this mistake is emphasized by prefixing Herrmann's preface to his very individual essay to the volume as if it belonged to the whole. An unformed reader will almost necessarily be misled into a wrong estimation of the volume and its contents by this odd procedure. The student of the history of the Modernist movement will be grateful for the translation of the Encyclical of Pius X and the Italian answer to it given him by Father Tyrrell, but neither document has other than an historical value. And perhaps we can hardly say even so much of the twelve essays brought together in the volume called *Anglican Liberalism*, although it will repay reading by those eager to know something about the currents of feeling which are flowing up and down in English "liberal" circles to-day.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

WIDERLEGUNG DER VON PASTOR ALLWARDT HERAUSGEGEBENEN SCHRIFT:

"*Die jetzige Lehre der Synode von Missouri von der ewigen Wahl Gottes*". Auf Wunsch der Lebanoner gemischten Specialkonferenz dem Druck übergeben von J. F. F. GERIKE. Zweite Auflage. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House. 1910. 8vo, pp. 64.

"The Synodical Conference", commonly known as "The Missouri Synod", belongs to that class of Lutheran bodies which accepts the whole Book of Concord for its symbolical writings and therefore looks upon the Form of Concord as part of its binding confession. The eleventh article of the Form of Concord, *Of God's Foreknowledge and Election*, teaches that God's eternal election stands in a causative relation to "our salvation and whatever pertains to it". And therefore the Missourians have strenuously contended that the predestination of God is "a cause of faith", and faith as foreseen (*intuitu fidei* or *fide praevisa*) accordingly cannot be a cause of predestination. Lutherans in general, on the other hand, adopting this latter position, stand in an ineradicable controversy with the Missourians on "Predestination"; and among them the Synods of Iowa and Ohio, who accept, like the Missourians, the whole Book of Concord, but accord with the common Lutheran view that foreseen faith is the ground of election, naturally are most sharply involved in this controversy.

We cannot ourselves doubt that the Missourians are right in their interpretation of Chapter XI of the Form of Concord. And we can have even less doubt that the Form of Concord in placing the electing grace of God at the root of all salvation is asserting the very essence of the eternal Gospel. Our sympathies are entirely, therefore, with the Missourians in this controversy, and we look upon them as in it contending for the central fact of our faith, that God it is, to wit, to whom we owe all our salvation. We have read Pastor Gericke's pamphlet, therefore, with very great pleasure; the points in which, as Calvinists, we differ with him easily fall into the background in comparison with the great common confession of the *solī Deo gloria*. We assent with all our heart when we read (p. 41): "We believe on the ground of the Word of God that we are called according to the purpose (Rom. viii. 28): we believe further according to the Word of God that God has ordained us to conversion and therefore also to faith (Acts xiii, 41 'As many believed as were ordained to eternal life'). We believe, according to our Confession, that election is a cause of our salvation, and moreover, works, aids and promotes whatever pertains to it."

The occasion of the pamphlet is indicated sufficiently by its title. It is one of the "documents" of the perennial debate between the Ohioans and Missourians. The first edition was printed for private distribution, this for public circulation. We rejoice that the spirit of C. F. W. Walther still lives in the Missouri Synod, and that its voice is still resonant in defense of the free grace of God as the source of salvation.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.



CHRISTENTUM UND WISSENSCHAFT IN SCHLEIERMACHERS GLAUBENSLEHRE. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der schleiermacherschen Theologie. Von HEINRICH SCHOLZ, Lizentiat der Theologie. Berlin: Arthur Glaue Verlag. 1909. 8vo.; pp. ix, 208. Price: 3.25 Marks; bound, 4.25.

A careful and fruitful study of the fundamental problems of Schleiermacher's theology, written with all the glow of personal admiration. In Lic. Scholz's opinion Schleiermacher has not even yet come to his own. He likens him to Kant who himself said to Stägemann, "I am come a hundred years too soon with my books: a hundred years hence I shall for the first time be understood and my books will be studied and come to their rights." Not all the treasures have yet been disclosed which lie hidden in Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*, says Lic. Scholz, and proceeds to prove it by drawing out of that mine treasures, both new and old.

The disposition of the book is as follows: First, the foundation is laid in a chapter on "Faith and World-Knowledge," in which the character of Schleiermacher as a thinker, theological and philosophical, is discussed. Then, in a second chapter, the "Scientific Character of the *Glaubenslehre*" is explained under the three heads of "the Systematic Plan," "the Critical Style," "the Evolutionistic Method." Finally, in a third chapter, "the Apologetical Attitude of the *Glaubenslehre*" is expounded under the three heads of "the curtailment of orthodox dogmatics," "Pantheistic appearance and spiritual Christianity" and "the duty of faith and the absoluteness of Christianity."

We quote a sentence or two merely to show Lic. Scholz's manner of dealing with his hero:—

"To call him a Spinozist merely because it was Spinoza who struck out the great word, *libera necessitas*, has no justification, least of all if what is meant is to designate thus an element of his thought as alien to Christianity. Schleiermacher already said himself that if his doctrine of Predestination was Spinozist, Augustine must certainly be called a Spinozist *ante Spinozam*. Something further must be added. In spite of the energy of his efforts for union, Schleiermacher was a 'theologian of the Reformed School.' Here is the explanation, not only of his determinism but of nearly everything which has been laid to him as Pantheism—as A. Schweitzer admirably remarks: 'The chief criticisms which have been brought against Schleiermacher are precisely those which have always been urged against the Reformed type of doctrine—Pantheism, Determinism in connection with the absolute feeling of dependence, recession of the idea of freedom and the like'" (p. 151).

"The transfigured sublimity of the Fourth Gospel is the pulse-throb of the *Glaubenslehre*. Theoretically Schleiermacher repelled aristocratism with all his power. But as his high intellectuality far surpassed the normal understanding, so also the style of his piety rose into the extraordinary. Schleiermacher lived on the high revelations of the Logos, and attached his sense of redemption to the transcendental por-

trait of Christ of the Fourth Gospel. The eagle gazing on the sun is at the same time the symbol of his piety. He remains the great virtuoso of religion. The Christianity of the *Glaubenslehre* is, with all its limitations, the high Gospel of Spirituality, not the religion of the poor in spirit. This aristocratic trait must be reckoned with if we are to make friends with Schleiermacher" (p. 204).

The author in his preface raises the question whether his style is altogether consonant with the nature of his work. "I have often spoken with warmth," says he, "but I hope that the temperature of the exposition has never affected its clearness. Is it ever possible to speak of Schleiermacher without interest in his person?" (p. iv).

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRO-  
RUM: The Latin text with an English  
Rendering, Notes, and an Historical Introduction. By FRANCIS  
GRIFFIN STOKES. London: Chatto and Windus, MCMIX. Royal  
8vo.; p. xxiii, 560.

Mr. Stokes hints in the opening words of his preface that the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* are—at least in England—more often talked about than read. He has certainly done his part to take away this reproach from his native land: he who does not read the *Epistolæ* under the incitement of this beautiful—and readable—volume must be beyond alluring. The tall pages, wide margins, clear and well-leaded type provide a fit vehicle for the attractive matter which is presented in them. The volume consists of four elements, each of which calls for some brief remark: the text of the *Epistolæ*; the annotations which accompany the text; the historical introduction which precedes it; and the English rendering which follows it.

The text is that of the first edition of each of the successively issued portions of the *Epistolæ*. The editor remarks that attempts at emendation of this text are forbidden by the consideration that "a text that contains intentional blunders, and in which the grammar is a law to itself, seems to call for exceptional treatment."—This appears to us undoubtedly the right point of view.

The annotations seem to be adequate. They are taken in many instances over from Böcking, but have been adjusted to the needs of readers somewhat less well-equipped than those whom Böcking addressed. In this adjustment references have been added to "more recent and accessible sources" of information, whether of persons or things; and sometimes, it must be added, to somewhat secondary sources. That Mr. Stokes sends his readers to McClintock & Strong's Cyclopaedia to learn of the forms of crosses (p. 278) and to Hare's *Walks in Rome* to be taught something of the Campo dei Fiori at Rome, can be accounted for only by his wish to send them somewhere where they will go. An appeal to Rosa Dartle in *David Copperfield* (p. 20) to illustrate the simple remark: "But do not think me troublesome for disturbing your mightiness with these questions, for I do it for the sake of information," seems just a little far-



fetched. And surely there is something wrong with a reference like this: "Wetzer und Welte, *Dict. Encycl. de la Théologie Cath.* tom. V., Paris, 1859" (p. 10), and something wronger with one like this: "Wetzer and Welt, *Dict. Cath.*, s. v. 'Curia Romana'" (p. 135). Would not one language be enough? And would not that best be German? And would not the reference be better to the second German edition of 1882 *sq.*?

The Historical Introduction is brightly written and covers the ground in an interesting fashion, but scarcely adds to our knowledge of the subject and seems indeed, more than the notes, to be adjusted to the needs of those who have no special knowledge "of the period involved." It is based on good authorities, however, and will leave such readers very fairly informed of the matters they need to know in order to enjoy the *Letters*.

It is in the English rendering that the volume finds its real justification. Here an impossible task has been triumphantly accomplished. We do not get, of course, precisely the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* over again in the English rendering: but we get a very fair equivalent for them. The English is much more jaunty, sophisticated, literary than the Latin; the plain, slouchy dog-Latin is entirely gone: there has been a transposition into an entirely new note, in which artifice takes the place of pure nature. But in the tones of the new note the old values have been marvellously preserved. We read the English without any sense of its being a translation, and find in it a piece of genuine literature, reflecting, if not precisely transmitting, to us the manners and minds of its reputed authors, and full of humor and satiric force. Mr. Stokes speaks of his translation as intended to be "close rather than literal." We should not so describe it. It seems to us quite free but also faithful, conveying the sense and atmosphere, rather than the exact expression of the original. Its least successful portions are naturally the rhyming portions. No effort is made to reproduce the characteristic rhythm. Indeed the rhyming heading of one of the letters (II.16) is incontinently turned into plain prose. The greatest success is registered in the rendering of the coarse passages. Their coarseness is not eliminated to be sure; but it is curtailed and made tolerable by a system of compression, combined with a judicious substitution of allusive or somewhat out-of-the-way expressions for the plain downrightness of the Latin.

Pehaps the best way to convey an idea of the quality of the rendering is to present a specimen of it. Take this very characteristic one, in which the solemn trifling of the "theologians" over artificial sins is neatly taken off:—

"I now write to ask your reverence what opinion you hold concerning one who, on a Friday, that is the sixth day of the week—or on any other fast day—should eat an egg with a chicken in it?"

"For you must know that we were lately sitting in an inn in the *Campo dei Fiori*, having our supper, and were eating eggs, when on opening one I saw that there was a young chicken within.

"This I showed to a comrade, whereupon quoth he to me, 'Eat

it up speedily, before the taverner sees it, for if he mark it, you will have to pay a Carline or a Julius for a fowl. For it is a rule of the house that once the landlord has put anything on the table you must pay for it—he won't take it back. And if he sees that there is a young fowl in that egg, he will say: "Pay me for that fowl!" Little or big, 'tis all one."

"In a trice I gulped down the egg, chicken and all.

"And then I remembered that it was Friday!

"Whereupon I said to my crony, 'You have made me commit a mortal sin in eating flesh on the sixth day of the week!'

"But he averred that it was not a mortal sin—not even a venial one, seeing that such a chickling is accounted merely as an egg, until it is born.

"He told me, too, that it is just the same in the case of cheese, in which there are sometimes grubs, as there are in cherries, peas, and new beans; yet all these may be eaten on Friday, and even on Apostolic Vigils. But taverners are such rascals that they call them flesh, to get the money.

"Then I departed and thought the matter over.

"And by the Lord, Master *Ortwin*, I am in a mighty quandary, and know not what to do. . . .

"Most earnestly do I entreat you to resolve the question that I have propounded. For if you hold that the sin is mortal, then, I would fain get shrift here, ere I return to *Germany*" (pp. 446-447).

The meaning of the last clause is that so heinous a sin would fall into the class of "reserved cases" which only the pope could shrive,—as is fully set out in another letter (p. 295).

The quaint and somewhat artificial diction which Mr. Stokes has adopted for his rendering may be fairly observed in this selection. "A comrade," as also "my crony," lower down stand for *socio meo*; "whereupon" for the simple *tunc*; "quothe he" and "he averred" for the mere *dixit*; "taverner" varied at once to "landlord" for *hospes*; "mark it" for *videt*. The telling colloquialisms: "He won't take it back"; "Little or big, 'tis all one" are wholly the translator's; and so is the picturesque phrase, "In a trice I gulped down the egg," the plain Latin reading merely, *et ego statim bibi ovum*—*bibi* being used, as the editor remarks, because the egg was raw, a fact not made evident by the English "gulped". There is evident preciousness here; and that is precisely what is lacking in the Latin. But, as Mr. Stokes truly remarks, the Latin could not be rendered literally: "a word for word translation would frequently have the effect of converting phrases of medieval naïveté into quite modern vulgarisms". Mr. Stokes has chosen rather to transmute the medieval naïveté into a varied modern English, as flexible as it is picturesque. We think he did well so to determine, and we know he has done well in his undertaking.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

## SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

CHRISTOLOGIES ANCIENT AND MODERN. By WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret Professor and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Hon. Fellow of Exeter College; Fellow of the



British Academy; Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. Oxford University Press, American Branch, [1910]. 8vo, pp. viii, 246.

Publicity is one of the striking characteristics of our times. Our Village Improvement Societies, demanding the removal of all fences, are but a symbol of a universal temper. Perhaps Dr. Sanday is the first scholar, however, who has deliberately elected to do his studying in the public view. He has, as it were, knocked down the walls of his study, and, taking his seat in the open, invited all that pass by to observe him writing his great book on the Life of Christ. It is pleasant to be taken thus into a great scholar's confidence; and we have all profited by the series of charmingly written volumes in which Dr. Sanday has laid before us the processes of his preliminary studies for his great task. The volume now before us, he tells us, is probably the last of these, and it does not yield in interest to either of its predecessors. We confess, however, to a certain decrease in the interest with which we look forward to the work to which they lead up, as we have read one after the other of these preliminary studies. They pass in review a great mass of modern research, and whatever they touch upon they illuminate. It would be difficult to find a more sympathetic survey of the recent literature of Gospel criticism or a more useful guide to the intricacies of modern constructions of the person of Christ. But it is possible for width of sympathy itself to become a snare; there are other qualities than breadth of importance to a teacher of fundamental religious truth; and it is not strange that the term "latitudinarianism" has even acquired an evil connotation. As we have re-read, one after the other, Dr. Sanday's preliminary studies, while our admiration of the extent of his learning and the clearness of his comprehension of the currents of recent thought has steadily grown, misgivings have grown with it of the firmness of his grasp on the fundamental problems which must underlie and give its body to a Life of Christ which would do justice to the deposit of faith. It was distinctly not reassuring to observe the nature of the hospitality which he accorded in the earliest of these volumes to certain very wire-drawn hypotheses as to the personality of the author of the Fourth Gospel. It was not more reassuring to observe the nature of the commendation which he gave in the second of them to Albert Schweitzer's brilliant, in some respects surely epoch-making, but sadly negative history of what Schweitzer's translators call, not unfairly from their point of view, "the quest of the historical Jesus". Nor does reassurance come with the present volume, with the feebleness of its hold upon the Biblical and Historical Christologies, its readiness to fly for refuge to doubtful modern speculations as supplying the key to the mystery of our Lord's person, its determination to have a Jesus who in all His earthly manifestations was, phenomenally, "strictly human". If the outline given on pp. 179 sq. of what Dr. Sanday calls "the working of our Lord's consciousness", in which is briefly traced His career from the cradle to the grave, is to furnish, as seems likely, the schematization of the coming Life of Christ, the

mould which is to determine the lines of its structure, then, we may as well say frankly at once, we shall have no interest in the new Life of Christ whatever. For then it will be nothing but one more of those "reduced" Lives of Christ, of which the world has already too many, the writers of which, deserting the testimony of the sources, have as Renan puts it "imputed themselves to their victim", and, creating a Jesus after their own image, permitted Him to function only within the limits of their own consciousness. It will be a matter of sincere regret if, after the warnings of even a Wrede and a Schweitzer, Dr. Sanday should only again "psychologize" the Life of Christ.

The title of the present volume—*Christologies, Ancient and Modern*—might lead one to expect to find it a historical sketch of Christological thought in the Church, or perhaps a critical discussion of the chief Christological theories which have been current in the Church. It is not quite either of these. Its leading motive is rather the suggestion of a new Christological theory, the Christological theory which is to underlie the forthcoming Life of Christ. Even so, however, the general drift of ancient Christological thought up to Chalcedon, and the chief forms of German Christological construction of the last century are lightly sketched, to form a background against which the new suggestion may be thrown out. These sketches are drawn, of course, by the hand of a master, although only leading principles are brought out, with no attempt to enter into details. In these circumstances probably we ought not to scrutinize with too much care the occasional details which are rapidly alluded to. Otherwise we might question the description of Tertullian's Trinity, without qualification, as "what is called an 'economic Trinity'" (p. 26), and we should certainly demur to the rendering of his *οικονομία* *sacramentum* by "the mystery of the divine appointment" (p. 25). Dr. Sanday himself at a later point uses the term "economy" in Tertullian's sense, when (p. 45) he speaks of projecting "our ideas of Personality into the internal economy of the Godhead,"—which, by the way, is precisely what Tertullian was in the act of doing, when he wrote the passage which Dr. Sanday quotes. The language which is used in speaking of the Chalcedonian formula (pp. 54-57) again does not seem to us to retain perfect exactness. The Chalcedonian fathers would seem to have done all they could to save themselves from the charge of conceiving the Two Natures as "separable and separate", when they solemnly declared that they were united *ἀδιασπέρως*; Leo's "*agit utraque natura quod proprium est cum alterius communicatione*" would seem to preclude the supposition that these two natures were conceived as "operating distinctly"; and the emphatic "without confusion, without conversion" of the decree, would certainly appear to render it impossible to describe it as allowing "by a system of mutual give-and-take" "for the transference of the attributes from one nature to the other",—which is a characteristic feature not of the Chalcedonian but of the Old-Lutheran Christology. Nor do we think it happy (p. 104) to take over Paul's words in 2 Cor. v. 19 in the form,



"God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself", without remark, as a fair expression of the Ritschlian view of Christ's person. We suppose it to be unquestionable that these words, as they stand in Paul's epistle, have a Soteriological rather than Christological content, and should be read, "God was, in Christ, reconciling the world with Himself", or to put its full point upon it, "It was God who was reconciling the world with Himself in Christ"; and it is hardly desirable to perpetuate a perversion of an Apostolical phrase by making it in its perverted use the vehicle of a special Christological hypothesis. Small incidental matters of this kind, however, are scarcely more worth adverting to than the incapacity the American publishers show (pp. 27, 40, 51, 121) to print a Greek phrase correctly, a matter which must be especially mortifying to Dr. Sanday and his British publishers alike, to whom such things are unwonted.

The center of interest in the volume lies not in its historical but in its constructive aspect, in "the tentative modern Christology" which it outlines. This is dominated by a gently expressed but perfectly firm refusal of the doctrine of the Two Natures on the one side, and a fixed determination, on the other, to have a Jesus who, phenomenally at least, shall be "strictly human". It will go without saying, of course, that if there be not Two Natures in the person of Christ, then there can be but one; and He must be conceived, therefore, either as a purely divine Nature as Person, or as a purely human Nature as Person. In the former case we shall be landed inevitably, of course, in some form of Docetism; in the latter as inevitably in some form of Humanitarianism. Dr. Sanday, as is his gracious wont, speaks kindly of the Docetists, and seeks and finds the element of truth which they saw and endeavored to conserve. But he does not cast in his lot with them. Neither (very properly) will he consort with the Kenotists who think to have in a one-natured Jesus both God and man, on the theory that a shriveled God is a man, and that Jesus, who was nothing but a man, may be thought to have been God before He shrunk into human limits,—thus losing really both Natures in the attempt to make one two. There is nothing left for Dr. Sanday, therefore, but a pure Humanitarianism. His historical sense, however, and his Christian heart will not permit him to think of Christ "merely as man". He feels compelled to recognize Deity in Him as well as humanity. But not Deity alongside of the humanity. Why not, rather, he suggests, Deity underlying and sustaining the humanity—as Deity underlies and sustains all humanity? Then we may think of Christ as "strictly human"; but, as man differs from man in the richness and fulness with which the Divine that underlies his being surges up in him and enters into his consciousness, and Jesus stands in this incomparably above all other men, we may think of Him as incomparably the Divine man. Thus Dr. Sanday would cut the knot of the Christological problem. Obviously, what he gives us is at best, only a new Nestorianism, a Nestorianism stated in terms of modern speculation; Jesus Christ is a man in whom God dwells in a fulness in which He does

not dwell in other men. At worst, what he gives us is a devout Humanitarianism, a Humanitarianism stated in terms of mystical contemplation: the doctrine of the Incarnation gives place to a theory of Divine Immanence, and Jesus Christ is just the God-filled man.

The basis of Dr. Sanday's suggested Christology, we perceive, is a mystical doctrine of human nature. Support for this mystical doctrine of human nature he seeks, we must now note, in recent speculations as to the subliminal self. Nobody doubts, or has ever doubted, that mental processes take place below the threshold of consciousness. And nobody doubts that God operates on the human soul, as we say, "beneath consciousness". The peculiarity of Mr. Myers' doctrine of the "subliminal consciousness"—as it is misleadingly called, for how can we speak of unconscious consciousness?—to which Dr. Sanday attaches himself, is that this "subliminal consciousness" is supposed to be not merely the larger but the nobler part of the self. "The wonderful thing is", writes Dr. Sanday (p. 145), "that while the unconscious and subconscious processes are (generally speaking) similar in kind to the conscious, they surpass them in degree. They are subtler, intenser, further-reaching, more penetrating. It is something more than a metaphor when we describe the sub- and un-conscious states as more 'profound'. It is in these states, and through them, that miracles are wrought . . ." Our sub-conscious states and operations are not sub-normal, or even normal, but super-normal. Nay, they are even divine; for beneath our subliminal selves lies the ocean of the Infinite, and, as we are open at the bottom, the tides of the Infinite wash in. If we pass down deep enough into our subliminal being, then, we shall find God; or, if the tides of the Infinite wash in high enough, they will emerge in our consciousness. Dr. Sanday pictures our human consciousness "as a kind of 'narrow neck' through which everything which comes up from the depths of human nature has to pass" (p. 176). This "narrow-necked vessel", he tells us, has an opening at the bottom. "Through it there are incomings and outgoings, which stretch away out infinitely, and in fact proceed from, *and are*, God Himself" (p. 178, italics ours). "That", he adds most naturally, "is the ultimate and most important point . . . Whatever there may be of divine in man, it is in these deep, dim regions that it has its abiding-place and home." Accordingly he refuses to follow Sir Oliver Lodge when that scholar speaks of this "larger and dominant entity" and greater self which is "still behind the veil", as "not anything divine but greater than humanity". "I should not like to put upon it this limitation", says Dr. Sanday (p. 193). Dr. Sanday apparently supposes that the conception of human nature thus enunciated will homologate with the Biblical doctrines of Divine influence, of the indwelling Spirit, of the framing of Christ in us. It will not. Its affiliations are rather with pantheising Mysticism, if we ought not to say outright, with Pantheism—that is if, as we suppose, the distinction of Pantheism from Mysticism lies in its postulating as an ontological fact what Mysticism proposes as an attainment of effort.



On the basis of this mystical view of humanity, Dr. Sanday suggests that we may frame our conception of the Person of Christ. With Him, too, as with us, whatever there is of divine must be looked for in the subliminal regions. As "the proper seat or *locus* of all divine indwelling, or divine action upon the human soul, is the subliminal consciousness", so "the same, or the corresponding, subliminal consciousness is the proper seat or *locus* of the Deity of the Incarnate Christ" (p. 159). It is safe to transfer the analogy of our human selves to Him so far at least as to understand that whatever there was of divine in Him it was in "these deep, dim regions" that it had "its abiding-place and home" (p. 178) and in coming up into consciousness "must needs pass through a strictly human medium" (p. 165). "We have seen", writes Dr. Sanday (p. 165), "what difficulties are involved in the attempt to draw as it were a vertical line between the human nature and the divine nature of Christ, and to say that certain actions of His fall on this side of this line and certain other actions on the other. But these difficulties disappear if, instead of drawing a vertical line, we draw rather a horizontal line between the upper human medium, which is the proper and natural field of all active expression, and those lower deeps which are no less the proper and natural home of whatever is divine. This line is inevitably drawn in the region of the subconscious. That which was divine in Christ was not nakedly exposed to the public gaze; neither was it so entirely withdrawn from outward view as to be wholly sunk and submerged in the darkness of the unconscious; but there was a sort of Jacob's ladder by which the divine sources stored up below found a outlet, as it were, to the upper air and the common theatre in which the life of mankind is enacted." The precise meaning of this is perhaps not altogether clear. What it seems to say is that the difference between our Lord and us lies fundamentally here,—that the Infinite washes into His subliminal self more constantly and more freely than into ours; and so, though His life "so far as it was visible was a strictly human life", yet "this human life was, in its deepest roots, directly continuous with the life of God Himself" (p. 168). "If St. Paul could quote and endorse the words of a pagan poet claiming for the children of men that they are also God's offspring", Dr. Sanday goes on to expound; "and if they are this notwithstanding that they are confined in a body as creatures of perishable clay; if in spite of these limitations it may still be said of them that in God they 'live and move and have their being', might not the same be said in a yet more searching and essential sense of Him who was Son in a more transcendent and ineffable mode of being than they?" Dr. Sanday assures us that there is ample room left here for the Homousion, "whatever the Homousion means." We suppose he means that we may understand, if we will, that the whole of that "self-determination of the Godhead" which we call "the Son" may have invaded the subliminal recesses of the being of Jesus, as the Infinite washes in varying measures into all of us. But even

so, does the man Christ Jesus differ from us, into the subliminal being of all of whom the Infinite washes in varying measures, otherwise than in degree? And how does this conception of Jesus separate itself essentially from that, say, of Ernest Renan who writes as follows (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 78)? "The men who have most highly understood God, have felt the Divine in themselves. In the first rank of this great family of true sons of God, Jesus must be placed. Jesus had no visions; God does not speak to Him from without; God is in Him; He feels Himself with God, and He draws out of His own heart what He says of His Father. He lives in the bosom of God and enjoys constant intercourse with Him; He does not see Him but He hears Him . . . He believes Himself in immediate relation with God, He believes Himself God's Son. The highest consciousness of God which has ever existed among men, was that of Jesus". Surely this is as eloquently said as that: does it not also present as lofty a conception of Jesus' relation to the Divine Being?

We are not endeavoring to convey the impression that Dr. Sanday's attitude towards our Lord's Person is the same as Renan's. He tells us expressly that it is not. It would be monstrous to doubt Dr. Sanday's complete loyalty of heart to the true Deity of Christ, which he constantly asserts in the face of all gainsayers. But it is quite another question whether the mode of conceiving the Person of our Lord which he tentatively puts forward for our consideration conserves the true Deity of Christ. We cannot think it does. Dr. Sanday very properly discriminates contemporary Christian thought into two main types which he calls "full Christianity" and "reduced Christianity", each of which has a Christology of its own. The Christology which he has worked out here in outline only, distinctly belongs to the type which he calls "reduced Christianity". How could it help doing so when it is insisted that the humanity of our Lord must be taken in such real earnest that His life "so far as it was visible" must be conceived as "a strictly human life" and His consciousness (Dr. Sanday says His "human consciousness" but in the circumstances the adjective seems decidedly otiose) as "entirely human", and yet the application to Him of the Chalcedonian conception of the Two Natures is firmly declined? No adherent of the doctrine of the Two Natures will fall a whit behind Dr. Sanday in the seriousness with which he takes the humanity of our Lord: the true and perfect humanity of the Lord is as real and as precious a part of the doctrine of the Two Natures as is His true and perfect Deity. To the adherent of the doctrine of Two Natures as truly as to Dr. Sanday "the human consciousness of the Lord" is "entirely human". But to him "the human consciousness of the Lord" is not the entirety of His consciousness, and he will not say that "whatever there was of divine in Him, on its way to outward expression whether in speech or act" (why not say "in thought" too?) "passed through and could not but pass through the restricting and restraining medium of human consciousness." For the adherent of the doctrine of the Two Natures is de-



terminated to take the Deity of the Lord in real earnest also; and this is not taking the Deity of the Lord in real earnest but is subjecting it to the yoke of the humanity. When Dr. Sanday says therefore, "If whatever we have of divine must needs pass through a strictly human medium, the same law would hold good for Him", the adherent of the doctrine of the Two Natures draws back. This could be only if our Lord were not only human as we are, but divine also only as we are. We may indeed say this of His human nature, in which the Spirit dwells as He dwells in us, only without measure while He dwells in each of us according to his measure. But we must not leave Christ's Divine nature (which we have not) wholly out of account! He is not merely the most perfectly God-indwelt man who ever was,—though He is that. He is God as well. And He is God first and man only second. Why should He who is God and the Living God, infinitely full of the incomparable activities which we call divine, on assuming a human nature into personal union with Himself forthwith become incapable of life-expression save through "the restricting and restraining medium of human consciousness"? If we begin with the categories of purely human activities and proceed by confining the activities of our Lord to these, whatever else we include or exclude in our conception of Christ, we exclude the idea of God *manifest* in the flesh. The adherent of the Two Natures has this advantage over all such constructions of the Person of Christ as this which Dr. Sanday proposes,—that in doing justice to the humanity of Christ, (and none can surpass him in the earnestness with which he takes the humanity of Christ), he does justice also to His Deity.

The doctrine of the Two Natures, it must be confessed, is not very much in favor in the circles of modern scientific theology. Dr. Sanday, though himself turning away from it, finds himself impelled by his mere sense of justice to say a good word for it as not, after all, so black as it is painted. There are many causes which concur to produce this wide-spread indifference or rejection of it. Among them there should not be permitted to fall out of sight this very potent one,—the change in men's attitude to the Bible. For the doctrine of the Two Natures is a synthesis of the entire body of Biblical data on the person of Christ, and a synthesis which has been worked out in the crucible of life, not in that of mere intellectual inquiry. Work so done is done for all time. The principle of the Chalcedonian formulation is full justice to the entire body of the Biblical data: but men are no longer seeking to do full justice to the entire body of the Biblical data. The Bible has fallen to pieces in their hands, and they are impatient of an effort to synthesize all its points of view, as an artificial attempt to induce a fictitious unity in a variegated array of unrelated notions. What each successive investigator is endeavoring to accomplish is to penetrate behind the superincumbent mass of Biblical ideas to discover, if he may, not the common truth which binds them all together and finds trustworthy if partial expression in each, but the lost truth which has been covered

up and hidden under them all and can be recovered only by tearing them away and laying bare the forgotten reality beneath. The Bible having been lost the Christ of the Bible has naturally been lost also; and each thinker is left very much to his own imagination to picture how it were fitting that God should become man. Meanwhile it is certain that we know absolutely nothing of the facts of Christ's life or its manifestations except what the New Testament writers tell us, and on many grounds their account of it and of its *rationale* is far more apt to be true to the reality than any we can invent for ourselves to-day. If we are searching for the real Jesus we shall find Him nowhere else than in the New Testament writings, and we can have few better proofs that we have found Him than is furnished by this fact,—that all the representations of the New Testament writings are capable of so simple and so complete a synthesis as is provided in the doctrine of the Two Natures. In it all the Biblical data are brought together in a harmonious unity in which each finds recognition and from which each receives its complete exposition. The key which unlocks so complicated a lock can scarcely fail to be the true key; and when the key is once in our hands we may turn the argument around and from the details of the key authenticate the wards of the lock into which it fits. That all the data of the New Testament synthesize in the doctrine of the Two Natures authenticates these data as component elements of the Great Reality, because it were inconceivable that so large a body of varying and sometimes apparently opposite data could synthesize in so simple a unifying conception were they not each a fragment of a real whole.

*Princeton.*

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

THE LIVING ATONEMENT. By JOHN B. CHAMPION, M.A., B.D. The Griffith and Rowland Press: Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis. 1910. Pp. 346.

More ground is covered in this volume than is indicated by the title. The nature of theology, the doctrine of the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, and Sin, are all discussed preparatory to the chapters on the Atonement.

The author uses the term 'Atonement' in a wide sense to include all that Christ does in saving men from sin. Hence the Atonement is defined broadly as "the righting of wrong." When, however, we ask exactly how this is done, no clear and definite answer is given. Christ is said to have been "identified with sin" so that when He died, "sin died, both actually and potentially." Thus the wrong of sin is said to have been "righted" by its "destruction," since sin's greatest wrong, the author declares to be "the fact of its existence." Furthermore, Christ is supposed to have been identified with sin, not by having its guilt laid upon Him, nor by sharing with men a sinful nature, "nor by sympathy and repentance;" but "chiefly by giving His sinless assent" to the sin of those who put Him to death. In other words, He allowed Himself to be killed. This so called "identifica-



tion with sin" is said to have "spread" in some wholly unexplained and inexplicable way to all human sin. But in what way this made atonement for sin is not explained, though the author does attempt to unfold the "experience" of God, of Christ, and of man, in the Atonement in which apparently they all share an active part.

In point of fact no definite view of the nature of the Atonement is given; or at least we have been able to discover no such idea. The author's view does not appear to be subsumable under any one theory that has ever been put forth. The entire discussion is lacking in clearness and definiteness, and the following sentences are not merely occasional or simply by way of illustration, but are fair samples of the kind of theological definition and discussion which marks the whole volume. Thus, for example, sin is said to be "the organic spirit of systematic piracy which preys upon the dominion of God," and "the total aggregate of evil spiritual energy, bound together by its own inherent affinity." The Atonement is said to be "the instatement of the life of God by sacrifice in the death of the Redeemer."

When it is born in mind that such sentences as the above are not sporadic utterances or given simply as expansions or illustrations of the author's definitions, but constitute the theological definitions themselves, perhaps we may be excused for not having been able to form a clear idea of his theory of the Atonement.

*Princeton.*

C. W. HODGE.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A., Archdeacon of Ely; Fellow of Trinity College and Hon. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and formerly Lecturer in Harvard University. 8vo; pp. xv, 232. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

It is no new question which this attractive volume discusses, but it treats its subject with so much penetration and with so much sanity as to be quite novel and almost unique. It is "an attempt to set forth, from a Christian standpoint, the relative importance of all the forces which make for human welfare, or militate against it." First, our author takes up "world wide influences," such as "physical conditions," "racial differences," and "civil authority." Next, he deals with "national economic life," discussing under this head "the functions of government," "the reward of services" and "half-truths." Thirdly, he treats of "personal duty," under this considering "Christian character," "secularized Christianity" and "the Christianity of Christ." A valuable bibliography and a full index complete the book. In reading it one is at a loss which to admire the more, the author's mastery of his social and economic material or his profound understanding of Christian ethics and of its application to social questions. In this respect, as intimated, he stands alone and his discussion is in a class by itself. We may be pardoned, therefore, if we call attention to a few of its peculiar excellencies.

1. Its conception of civil authority as grounded only in and existing only to "enforce right and justice." Hence, arbitration, if it is to be effective in avoiding the horrors of war, must proceed, not by diplomacy, but by giving such full information as will issue in what is "right and fair."

2. Its impartial treatment of the trust problem. "It is not clear," he says, "that in minor matters the public interests are better attended to by public than by private monopolists. So long as the conduct of an enterprise is in private hands, the weight of authority is brought to bear in the interest of the public and to obtain redress; when the conduct of an enterprise is in the hands of municipal or other public bodies, authority is more likely to be used to conceal abuses and to evade criticism, even when the aggrieved party goes so far as to have a question asked in the House of Commons."

3. Its opposition to state intervention. "The whole trend of thought, in recent times, has been so much in favor of relying on state regulation that it seems that the worship of the State may exercise a baleful influence in the modern world; it rests on a sentiment similar to that which found expression in the worship of the Emperor. There is a danger lest personal initiative should be repressed, and that the importance of personal intelligence and character, both for maintaining and for improving the conditions of human welfare, may be obscured."

4. Its vigorous insistence on the Godward trend of Christ's teaching. "His discourses do inculcate brotherliness, and contain teaching on many of the duties of ordinary life. But a very little consideration will enable us to see that our Lord's teaching is not merely humanitarian. It takes all its force and effectiveness from the manner in which the thought of the Eternal God, the Father of all, is brought to bear upon every-day conduct."

5. Its conception of the office of the Christian minister in relation to social reforms. "The terms of their commission lay down the limits of what they are to do by Christ's authority; they have no commission to put the affairs of society right, or to eradicate the evils in this present naughty world. In the gospel of the grace of God, they have committed to them the supreme means of touching men personally, and inspiring them with high but practicable ideals. This is the grandest work to which any man can give himself; and it is a miserable thing if he fails to put his best energies into this task, and prefers instead to compete with journalists and politicians in guiding some project for social reform. It is to forsake the fountain of life, and to strain at accomplishing some apparent improvement by taking up implements that are less certain and less effective, even for securing human welfare, than the means of grace instituted by Christ himself. In his official capacity, as called to preach the Gospel of Christ, the minister is bound to set forth that which is good and to strive to attract men personally. The Old Testament prophetic office, with its denunciations of evil-doers, survived in Saint John the Baptist's time, and his bold rebuking of vice; but it is at all events a very subordinate



part of the Christian minister's duty, and one which is not to be discharged in a wholesale fashion without serious risk of alienating those whom it might have been possible to win. It is needful to look to the terms of Christ's commission, both as to the duties that are to be done and the manner of doing them. He sent his apostles on evangelistic work, and bade them administer the sacraments and exercise pastoral care; but he did not enjoin them to agitate for social reforms.

Since the task which is given us to do is spiritual, it can only be accomplished by spiritual strength and through spiritual means. We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers. There is need of divine courage and divine wisdom; the strange bustle and confusion of modern life is a constant call to cease from bandying half-truths, and to seek for the help of that Divine Spirit who can clear our eyes from passion and greed, and by helping us to see the various elements in due proportion, can lead us into all truth."

The reviewer has quoted this passage in full because it is peculiarly representative of the tone and trend of the whole discussion, because it is the best summary within his knowledge of what should be the relation of Christianity to social questions, and specially because the position which it illustrates and commends is commonly, if not overlooked, yet misunderstood by the Church even more than by the world. One chief reason why the Church is shorn of her strength is that she so often substitutes the programme of social reform for the gospel of the grace of God.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

DE SYSTEMATE MORALI DISSERTATIO AD USUM SCHOLARUM COMPOSITA.  
Ab LUDOVICO WOUTERS, C.S.S.R. 8vo, pp. 38. Galopiae (Gulpen-Holland). M. Alberts. 1909.

To many this dissertation will be interesting as an exhibition of mediæval methods and of Romish casuistry. To us it seems likely to develop anything else than a vigorous moral life.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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## GENERAL LITERATURE.

THE SCIENCE OF POETRY AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE. By HUDSON MAXIM. Funk & Wagnalls Co.: New York and London.

The Introduction to the volume tells us that its main object is "to provide a practical method for literary criticism and analysis . . . and a more practical and efficient means than we have had heretofore for the standardization of poetry." We are not at all sure that this object has been realized. The title of the book is not a fortunate one, for although there is, of course, a valid connection between literature

and language, poetry as a science and language as a philosophy are not strictly related subjects of investigation. They represent different provinces. The author discusses his topic under several successive chapters. In the first, "Foundation Principles", it is questionable whether the average reader would see the relation of "nerve stimuli" to the subject in hand, while far too much emphasis is laid on what is called "The Properties of Sound" or the vocal expression of poetry, as distinct from the written.

In chapters third and fourth, "What is Poetry", and "What Poetry is Not", the author goes over what he calls "the multitudinous indefinite definitions" of poetry, from Aristotle to Stedman, without being able to find one that is even approximately correct, while his misleading distinction between poetry and verse, that the one "is based on the meanings of words" and the other "on the sounds of words" cannot for a moment be accepted, and vitiates the entire volume. His own definition of poetry as "the expression of insensuous thought in sensuous terms by artistic trope" covers but a part of the area and aim of poetry. The author's own enlargement of this definition, as given on p. 43, too long to quote here, is a sufficient proof of the defect of the definition. In the remaining chapters, although the author's publishers have given us "The Standard Dictionary" with its three hundred thousand words, he finds no English vocables in that copious collection with which to explain his meaning, but prefers to introduce us to such terms as "Potentry", the "tonal property of speech"; "Tropetry", "a branch of arbitrary symbolism"; "Tro-Potentry", "the combination of these two"; "Tem-Potentry" and "Tro-Tempotentry", and even "Literatry" or "non-figurative" language. This is a nomenclature, we submit, that cannot be condoned, and we sympathize with the author as on through the volume he aims to carry the heavy weight of these cumbrous terms, by which the whole subject of poetry is hopelessly mystified. Some of the substantive merits of the book are beclouded and nullified by these terms, so that we finally lose sight of them. The diction and general style of the volume are thus very much impaired as to clearness, directness and simplicity by this needless phraseology, so that the author is really unjust to himself. If the reader will glance at the illustrations of the volume, he will find a series of pictorial representations that are nothing less than terrific and startling, forcing the question upon him whether he is indeed reading a book on such an aesthetic subject as poetry, or a book dealing with the mysteries of a Dantean Inferno. Among the fifteen illustrations following the frontispiece, there is but one, that of "Youth" that a man can examine with equanimity. Surely poetry is not such a spectacular and abnormal product as this with which to frighten children and older people, but what the author himself calls, "a natural phenomenon", and demanding, therefore, we submit, a more normal and natural method of interpretation. In a word, the author has given us a book, indicative of a wide range of reading and study and a good degree of thorough thinking, and yet greatly impaired as to its value to the literary world by faulty defini-



tion, totally wrong conceptions, and a terminology that would invalidate the currency and usefulness of any volume that was burdened with it. Simplicity is the first law of life and literature.

*Princeton University.*

T. W. HUNT.

ADDRESS ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. An Address of the Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. Issued Twelfth Month 18, 1908. 8vo, pp. 15. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street. 1909.

This is a terse and forcible presentation of the argument against capital punishment from the well-known standpoint of the Society of Friends. To us this standpoint seems radically wrong in at least these two respects: first it overlooks entirely the fact that the requirement of capital punishment for murder is as binding as ever, having been given to Noah the second head of the race, being based on a reason as permanent as man, and being reaffirmed in the New Testament, as in Romans xiii. 4; and, secondly, it ignores the fact that the protection of society and the reformation of the criminal are not the only ends of civil punishment, but that the first and chief end is the vindication of justice.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. Series xxvi. Nos. 9-10. A STUDY OF THE TOPOGRAPHY AND MUNICIPAL HISTORY OF PRAENESTE. By Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, A.B., Fellow in Latin. 8vo, pp. 101. Also Nos. 11-12. BENEFICIARY FEATURES OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS. By JAMES B. KENNEDY, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy in Wells College. 8vo, pp. 128. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1908.

These studies are original and valuable contributions in their respective departments; and their presentation, whether as regards the author or the publisher, leaves nothing to be desired. Happy is the university that numbers such scholars among its graduates students, and happy are the students whose university so appreciates their researches!

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

INTERNATIONALISM. A Primer of Internationalism, with special reference to University Debates. By WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph.D., Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, Author of "Successful Men of To-Day", etc. 8vo, pp. 92. International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E. Washington, D. C.

"This is the first effort, so far as the author knows, towards formulating in a science all the official relations of nations to each other. It is hoped the little book may lead university men everywhere to increased study of international philanthropy and social ethics as

matters of which no educated man has a right to be uninformed." With Dr. Craft's statement of fact and expression of hope in the above quotation from his preface we find ourselves in hearty accord. While a few of the questions which he raises we should like to hold in suspense for the present, we agree unqualifiedly with his position that next to theology is the highest branch of the science of man, "that which deals with man in his widest relation, the hitherto unclassified science of *internationalism*".

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE FOR THE YEAR 1906-1907. Part I. Department of Instruction. Part II. Agricultural Experiment Station. 8vo, pp. 236. Harrisburg, Pa.: Harrisburg Publishing Company., State Printer. 1908.

These are very full and interesting reports of what would seem to be a most useful institution. This is specially true of the Report of the Agricultural Experiment Station. In connection with the departments of instruction we notice with regret the neglect of the culture studies, particularly of the Greek and Latin Classics; but we are glad to see that the head of the Department of Greek and Latin is sounding a very timely note of warning.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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### PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, October: CARL E. SEASHORE, Play Impulse and Attitude in Religion; GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Greek Element in the Epistle to the Hebrews; IRVING KING, Religious Significance of the Psycho-Therapeutic Movement; WILLIAM HENRY ALLISON, Was Newman a Modernist?; JAMES BISSETT PRATT, A Mistake in Strategy; CLYDE WEBER VOTAW, Four Principles Underlying Religious Education; G. MALLOWS YOUNGMAN, Manuscripts of the Vulgate in the British Museum.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, October: ARNOLD V. C. P. HUIZINGA, Authority; JAMES LINDSAY, Theory and Practice of Moral Virtue; ARCHIBALD EUGENE THOMSON, The Gethsemane Agony; THEODORE W. HUNT, The English Sonnet—The Sonnets of Shakespeare; M. O. SMITH, *Res Gestae Exitus Israel*; STEPHEN G. BARNES, The Christian Religion and Christian Miracles; HAROLD M. WIENER, The Swan-Song of the Wellhausen School; PARKE P. FLOURNOY, The Fourth Gospel at Yale and Chicago.

*Church Quarterly Review*, London, October: H. L. GOUDGE, Jewish View of the Synoptic Gospels; DARWELL STONE, Dr. Sanday's 'Christologies Ancient and Modern,' Mrs. CREIGHTON, The World Missionary Conference; C. R. DAVEY BIGGS and W. C. BISHOP, Prospects and Principles of Prayer-Book Revision; A. C. HEADLAM, Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders; W. A. WIGRAM, The Assyrian Church;



E. W. WATSON, *The Church and the World; The Church Congress After Fifty Years.*

*The East and the West*, London, October: DR. BRENT, *The World Missionary Conference: an Interpretation*; ROBERT SPEER, *The Edinburgh Missionary Conference—II*; "Unspiritual Work?" in the Mission Field; MISS J. L. LATHAM, *Women's Education in India*; K. SREENIVASA RAO, *Christian Missions and Social Reform in India*; GEORGE WESTCOTT, *The Proposed College of Study in North India*; LESLIE JOHNSTON, *Modern Missionary Methods*; a Scene in a Missionary Bazaar; J. JOHNSTON, *Missionary Contributions to Science and Exploration*; A. WELLS, *the Development of Christianity*; STEPHEN S. THOMAS, *Coöperation for the Promotion of Unity*; A Problem in Form of a Parable.

*The Expositor*, London, December: F. W. MOZLEY, *Justification by Faith in St. James and St. Paul*; KIRSOPP LAKE, *Shorter Form of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*; J. DE ZWAAN, *Psalm XLV*; ARTHUR CARR, *Further Notes on the Synoptic Problem*; I. GREGORY SMITH, *The Promises of Reward*; JAMES MOFFATT, *Materials for the Preacher.*

*The Expository Times*, Edinburgh, December: Notes on Recent Exposition; O. C. WHITEHOUSE, *Eberhard Schrader*; JAMES RUTHERFORD, *In the Study—Watching, Virginibus Puerisque, The Chivalry of Moses*; W. K. L. CLARKE, *Allegorical Element in the Fourth Gospel*; KIRSOPP LAKE, *2 Thessalonians and Professor Harnack*; JOHN KELMAN, *Pilgrim's Progress.*

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*The Hibbert Journal*, Boston and London, October: PAUL SABATIER, *De la situation religieuse de l'église Catholique Romaine, en France, à l'heure actuelle*; GILBERT MURRAY, *Hellenistic Philosophy*; P. E. MATHESON, *Ideals in Education*; AMBROSE W. VERNON, *Present Crisis of the Christian Religion*; A Vision of Unity; A. M. F. COLE, *Fragments of a Dual Consciousness*; JAMES H. HYSLOP, *Philosophical Theories and Psychical Research*; THOMAS HOLMES, *Prisons and Prisoners*; M. A. R. TUKER, *Words of Institution at the Last Supper*; G. C. FIELD, *Fallacy of the Social Psychologist*; FRANCES H. LOW, *Principal Childs on Woman Suffrage*; HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER, *Belief in God and Immortality as Factors in Race Progress.*

*International Journal of Ethics*, Philadelphia, October: B. BOSANQUET, *Prediction of Human Conduct: a study of Bergson*; S. H. MELLONE, *Idealism of Rudolph Eucken*; J. A. LEIGHTON, *Personality and a Metaphysics of Value*; HELEN WODEHOUSE, *On Thinking about*

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*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, October: J. H. BERNARD, Odes of Solomon; M. R. JAMES, New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter; A. SOUTER, Another Fragment of Pelagius; M. R. JAMES, The 'Epistola Apostolorum' in a New Text; W. V. HAGUE, Eschatology of the Apocryphal Scriptures; C. H. TURNER, Early Greek Commentators on the Gospel According to St. Matthew; H. STJ. THACKERAY, 'A New Name': Isaiah 65:15; R. H. KENNETT, Prophecy in Isaiah 9:1-7; C. F. BURNEY, Four and Seven as Divine Titles; J. K. FOTHERINGHAM, Astronomical Evidence for the Date of the Crucifixion.

*London Quarterly Review*, London, October: W. T. DAVISON, Church and the World in the Twentieth Century; J. AGAR BEET, Saving Faith; W. H. FINDLAY, Sight, Sound and Silence in Edinburgh; W. B. BRASH, The Teaching of Jesus—A Study of Method; CHARLES BONE, Windows in Chinese Minds; CLEMENT HARRIS, Music as Influenced by the Reformation.

*Lutheran Church Review*, Philadelphia, October: C. M. JACOBS, Augsburg Confession; H. OFFERMANN, Son of Man and Son of God; THEODORE E. SCHMAUK, Philosophy of the Unromantic; JOSEPH STUMP, Catechization: its Aim, Method and Apparatus; HENRY E. JACOBS, For the Work of the Ministry; M. S. WATERS, Modern, with Some Application to Christian, Education; LUTHER D. REED, Church Art; HENRY E. JACOBS, Examen Concilii Tridentini of Martin Chemnitz; ADOLPH HULT, Music Ideals of the Church; HUGO WENDEL, Convenient Arbitration; GEORGE DRACH and CALVIN F. KUDER, Beginning of Foreign Mission Work in the Lutheran Church in America.

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*Methodist Review*, New York and Cincinnati, November-December: BORDEN P. BOWNE, Supremacy of Christ; E. R. HENDRIX, Literature of Saints; or, the Realism of Good; A. C. ARMSTRONG, Three Border Towns; H. R. CALKINS, Genius of Methodism and Doctrine of Imminent Appearing of Christ; WILLIAM BURT, Lest We Forget; H. K. CARROLL, Oratory in the World Missionary Conference; W. W. KING, Redemption of the Prayer-Meeting; A. H. GOODENOUGH, The Church to Meet the Need.

*Methodist Review Quarterly*, Nashville, October: A. W. WILSON, The



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*Modern Puritan*, London, October: A. H. DRYSDALE, Hussite Wars of Religion; A. A. COOPER, At the Parting of the Ways; The Political Claims of the Papacy; D. M. MCINTYRE, Revival: Its Origin and Principles; P. C. AINSWORTH, "A Stranger in the Earth"; J. NISBET WALLACE, Breakfast Table-talk of Our Lord; Words of Wisdom; The Narrow Way—The Heavenly Measuring Reed.

*Monist*, Chicago, October: PAUL CARUS, Truth; WILLIAM B. SMITH, Silence of Josephus and Tacitus; LUCIEN ARREAT, Philosophy in France during the Last Decade; GEORGE B. HALSTED, Unverifiable Hypotheses of Science; PAUL CARUS, Formal Thought the Basis of Kenlore; HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER, Truth and Nature; C. PLANCK, Four-fold Magics; PAUL CARUS, Historicity of Jesus.

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*Theological Quarterly*, St. Louis, October: Uniformity of Liturgy for Our English Churches; The Rise of Antichrist; Status of the English Work of the Missouri Synod.

*Union Seminary Magazine*, Richmond, October-November: RUSSELL CECIL, Power of Christian Character; THORNTON WHALING, Dr. Girardeau as a Philosopher; D. J. WOODS, Bible in Our Public Schools and Universities; SAMUEL A. KING, Grace of Adoption; D. N. YARBRO, The New Apologetics; E. C. GORDON, The Messianic Kingdom; J. ERNEST THACKER, Evangelism.

*Revue Bénédictine*, Paris, Octobre: D. D. DEBRUYNE, Quelques documents nouveaux pour l'histoire du texte africain des Évangiles

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*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Louvain, Octobre: J. FLAMION, Les actes apocryphes de Pierre (suite, à suivre); FRÉDÉGAND CALLAËY, Les idées mystico-politiques d'un franciscain spirituel. Etude sur l'Arbor vitae d'Ubertain de Casale (suite et fin); P. RICHARD, Origines et développement de la Secrétairerie d'Etat apostolique (1417-1823) (suite et fin).

*Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses*, Montauban, Septembre: CH. BRUSTON, Les origines de l'Eucharistie; A. WABNITZ, Le paradis du Hadès; JEAN FRIEDEL, Un argument tiré de l'Evolution; CH. BRUSTON, La conclusion de premier discours du prophète Esaïe; GUSTAVE BELOT, Les origines de l'idée de Dieu; HENRI BOIS, Réponse a M. Belot; L. PERRIER, L'Evolution, doctrine de liberté; P. FAREL, De titulo epistolae vulgo ad Hebraeos inscriptae.—Le problème de Dieu et la théologie chrétienne depuis la Réforme; PAUL VALLOTTON, Une vie de Jésus selon la foi et selon la science historique.

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APRIL, 1911

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# The Princeton Theological Review

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# THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME IX

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NUMBER 2

## THE CHURCH, HER COLLEGES AND THE CAR- NEGIE FOUNDATION.

The history of Education in America is inwrought with the history of the Christian Church. The early annals of the Church record the narratives of the state of Religion, the missionary journeys among the Indians, the opening of new preaching stations in the settlements of the West, and, along with these as of equal claim upon the interest of the Church, the progress made in the establishment of academies and colleges. The preacher and the teacher were one in aim and often one also in person. The fear of the Lord was recognized to be the beginning of wisdom. Intelligence, integrity and piety in happy combination were the end that was sought. Perhaps the strongest motive in establishing the earlier academies and colleges was the need of an able and competent ministry. The records show that the ministry led the way to the establishment of what are now our oldest institutions and they were seconded by the most devoted members of the churches. This support was by earnest prayer, by self-denying effort and by gifts which in their day were as notable as the great gifts of to-day.

### I.

#### THE STRUGGLES OF THE COLLEGES

From the beginning, the problems of support pressed upon the fathers of the Church. They were braver men than some of their sons, for they launched their movements with resources which in our day would be wholly inade-

quate. Harvard University was founded on the bequest of the Rev. John Harvard, amounting to less than £400, and Yale received from Gov. Yale £500.<sup>1</sup> As late as 1768, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in response to a request of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey voted £50 to aid in the support of a professor of divinity and promised a collection from the churches. In presenting the cause to the churches, the Presbytery of New Brunswick was obliged to state that the permanent funds of the College had been reduced to £1300.<sup>2</sup> In 1797 the funds of Princeton consisted of \$17,733.31 in Government stocks, two shares of bank stock, sundry bonds amounting to \$3,862.33, and \$305.74 in cash. In 1800 the actual income from the funds of the College was \$252.67, in 1808 \$174.50.<sup>3</sup>

In 1830, the available funds of Yale, exclusive of land, were \$17,856.26. The net receipts including \$11,735.00 from tuition were \$19,471.47 and there was a deficit of \$837.59. In the seventeenth century, the cash donations to the colleges were about £7000 O. T., two-sevenths of which came from England. Between 1719 and 1726, Mr. Thomas Hollis gave to Harvard £4840, the largest sum received during the first hundred years of its existence. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the productive funds of all colleges amounted to less than \$500,000.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Thwing sums up the situation as follows:

"Their history is a story of small beginnings made in poverty; of hard struggles to procure funds for either endowment or immediate expenditure; of a success usually moderate in such endeavors; of expenses frequently exceeding income; of economies at times foolish in method, at times wise, but usually necessary; of constant anxieties borne by officers— anxieties at times which crush; of inability to keep covenants, either expressed or implied; and

<sup>1</sup> Birdseye: *Individual Training in Our Colleges*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Hodge: *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, ii. 298.

<sup>3</sup> Maclean: *History of the College of New Jersey*, ii. 27, 31, quoted by Birdseye.

<sup>4</sup> Birdseye, *ibid.*



of consequent suffering of teachers—sufferings under which teachers find the support in the value of the high commissions entrusted to them. Such is the outline of the financial history of the American college.”<sup>5</sup>

These facts are enough to show both the place which the Church had in the founding of our historic institutions and also the struggles which were made to maintain them. Faith exercised itself in the great doctrines of Scripture and also in reliance upon God for money. Prayer went up for spiritual blessings, but also for bread and butter for both professors and their students. Synods and associations gave hours of their time to the question of ways and means for their institutions. It is therefore no new thing that in these latter days the Church should feel the burden of her new and struggling institutions. Conditions have changed, but the struggle is the same.

How greatly conditions have changed appears from the latest figures on Education in America. A total school and college population of 19,776,694, a working income of colleges and universities for men and for both sexes (exclusive of that of public schools and other institutions) amounting to \$65,792,045,<sup>6</sup> show the revolution which has

<sup>5</sup> Thwing: *History of Higher Education in America*, p. 323.

<sup>6</sup> The statistics of education in the United States show a total enrollment as follows:

Teachers in Public Schools.....	496,612
Pupils in Public Schools.....	17,061,962
Public High Schools (professors and students) .	1,098,764
Private High Schools (professors and students)	102,360
Universities and colleges for men and both sexes:	
Professors and instructors.....	21,960
Students, Preparatory.....	65,026
Collegiate .....	134,386
Graduate.....	9,449
Colleges for Women A and B.....	30,396
Theological Schools, professors and students..	11,568
Law Schools, professors and students.....	19,896
Medicine Schools, professors and students....	30,115
Special schools such as evening, business, reform, deaf, blind and feeble-minded.....	793,652

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Total for United States..... 19,776,694  
(*The Chicago Daily News Almanac* 1911, pp. 405ff.)

come in the educational world. The college president of one hundred years ago would be staggered by these figures. They present problems to our modern administrators which the fathers never knew and, to that extent, impair the value of educational precedents.

## II.

### THE SACRIFICES OF THE TEACHING FORCE

It is coming to be recognized now that the weakest spot in our modern educational system is its meagre support of professors and instructors while they are teaching and its want of provision for them when they have ceased to be efficient. Our institutions have grown enormously in the number and splendor of their buildings, in the variety of courses they offer, in the departments they have organized, in their athletic facilities and in the endowments by which all of these great improvements are supported. Living salaries, are, in most institutions, provided for the president but the ordinary professor or teacher is overworked and underpaid. Dr. Pritchett has calculated that, in our older and now independent universities and colleges, the average salary of the professors is \$2,441, in State institutions \$2,167, in Church institutions \$1,534, but in more than one hundred Church institutions the average salary is less than \$1,000.<sup>7</sup> The teacher and the preacher fare alike. The recent report of the Department of Commerce and Labor of the U. S. Government covers the statistics of 186 denominations in the United States, which include 32,936,445 members, 61.7 per cent Protestants, 36.7 per cent Roman Catholics. The average salary of ministers in all these denominations is \$663. The highest average is the Unitarian \$1,653, then the Protestant Episcopal \$1,242, the Universalist \$1,238, the New Jerusalem \$1,233, the Jewish \$1,222, the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. \$1,177, the Congregational \$1,042. Presbyterian and Congregational pastors receive, therefore, about the same

<sup>7</sup> *The Relation of Christian Denominations to Colleges*, p. 24.



average salary as the professors "in more than one hundred Church institutions".

These salaries of professors and ministers to be estimated aright must be compared with the salaries in secular life. Taking as an example, the municipal service of the City of Chicago, we find that the higher salary paid to professors in Church institutions, \$1,500, is the salary of the paying teller in the office of the Comptroller, of the deputy clerk of the Municipal Court, of the sergeants of the Police Department, the engineers of the Fire Department, the chief dairy inspector and sundry clerks. The second figure paid to professors in Church colleges, \$1,000, is the salary of the coal-passers, the chief matron of the Police Department and the meat inspectors.<sup>8</sup> Allowing for the extra cost of living in the city, these figures mean that professors in our Church colleges, after their long training and with the demands of continuous intellectual service, are on the same financial level with the humbler grades of city employees, who enter upon their duties with scarcely any preparation. In one college town where wealthy citizens make their abode, the social relations between the wealthy citizens and the college professors are so cordial that the professors are often invited to dine with the wealthy citizens. As the professor sits at the table, he is tempted to reflect that the butler and the doorman of his host have a larger income than he. In one instance, a professor distinguished for learning, eked out his living by renting his house, during the summer, to the second chauffeur of one of his wealthy friends. The social equality which he enjoyed with the wealthy citizen could not hide his financial inferiority to the wealthy citizen's second chauffeur. An assistant professor in a large eastern university, writing anonymously, says:

"For a dozen years I have watched tragedies. I have seen brilliant young men, full of promise, full of life, unselfish and highminded simply ground down by overwork,

<sup>8</sup>*The Chicago Daily News Almanac*, 1907, pp. 418ff. [Figures unchanged since 1902].

underpay and high prices, with the result that they have grown narrow and hard and embittered. . . . We don't get the best men in college teaching, and we don't make the best of the men we do get. We collect in our colleges great masses of dead wood; men who can't hold a better position, men with their ambitions ground out of them; men who draw small salaries and do not earn them, no matter how hard they work. They are conscientious—I know no body of more conscientious men. But . . . it is true of many college professors that they would leave if they were any longer capable of more remunerative work".<sup>9</sup>

And a recent report of the Carnegie Foundation says:

"About a third of the American colleges and universities report an average salary to a full professor of less than \$1000, and not quite half report an average of more than \$1000 but less than \$2000. . . . Heretofore little has been done to fix salaries in respect to any fair or even possible line of comfort. And it has, therefore, happened that, at the same time, when small economies have lowered an entire faculty into discontent and inefficiency, an amount sufficient to raise the teaching body into an atmosphere of content and cheerful work has been spent on facing the campus buildings with marble, and in giving the athletic field the appearance of a Roman amphitheatre".<sup>10</sup>

The efficiency of our colleges, therefore, requires as the very next reform, such a revision of the annual budget as will make adequate provision for the men and women who are the vital forces in these institutions. Brick and stone and iron and green lawns must wait till the living material is adequately provided for. The straits to which scholarly and devoted men are reduced and the mortifying expedients which they must employ to maintain the proprieties of their position make up a life-long sacrifice. The call for relief is the louder because the sufferers are themselves estopped from the ordinary methods of agitation. Locomotive engineers, policemen, firemen, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, etc., may move when they feel inclined to enjoy

<sup>9</sup> *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 11, 1910.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



higher wages, but men and women of academic life, surrounded with academic restraints, must be dumb until a sentiment yet to be educated recognizes the sore injustice of their situation. If the echo of these words were vocal, the ears of the friends of Education in America would suffer from the detonation.

### III.

#### THE VETERANS AND MR. CARNEGIE'S BENEFACTION

Leaving, however, the large question of adequate compensation for professors in active service, the case of the veteran who has outlived his period of efficiency, presents a distinct and a pressing problem. On such salaries as those just indicated, he has, of course, made no provision for his old age. He is a veteran in name but without a veteran's reward. The Government has for a long time recognized the claim of its veteran soldiers and sailors and the Church, in a modest way, has provided for the relief of her aged and infirm ministers and for their widows and orphans. Of late, progressive corporations have begun to pension worthy employees who have reached the age of retirement and to adopt profit-sharing schemes. The principle is making headway, albeit slowly. The claims of men in the Classified Civil Service of the Government are only now coming to be recognized. While Government employees in other branches of the service, numbering 147,547, have, within the last five years received increase of salaries amounting to \$12,655,736.66, the 185,874 persons employed in the Classified Civil Service have been passed by with the exception of 680 of their number.<sup>11</sup> In the matter of civil service retirement, our Government is as backward as Venezuela and Haiti, these three being the only civilized countries on the face of the globe which are not providing systems of retirement for aged and disabled civil servants.<sup>12</sup> The question is now before Con-

<sup>11</sup> *The Civil Service Advocate*, ii. 2, p. 210.

<sup>12</sup> Hon. R. W. Austen, *Congressional Record*, 55,428-9385, p. 8.

gress. President Taft,<sup>13</sup> Mr. Secretary MacVeagh,<sup>14</sup> and men eminent in the business life of the country,<sup>15</sup> are all outspoken in their support of the movement, and some solution will doubtless be reached soon.<sup>16</sup>

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has placed our modern educational system under many obligations. His gifts to colleges, including many Church colleges, are royal in their amount.<sup>17</sup> Apart from these, and supplementing many of them, he has brought into being The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and has given \$10,000,000, the income of which is to be used in providing retiring allowances for professors who have reached a proper age, in institutions which comply with certain requirements, primarily of an educational and financial character. This Foundation is "not a charitable institution, but an educational agency."<sup>18</sup> It affords relief to the professor who has reached the age of retirement; it frees the institution from providing for him in retirement or of re-

<sup>13</sup> "It is impossible to proceed far in such an investigation without perceiving the need of a suitable means of eliminating from the service the superannuated." *Annual Message to Congress*.

<sup>14</sup> There is no practicable way to put the government service properly on its feet without a fair and just method of civil-service retirement. This is not only a requisite; it is a prerequisite; and unless Congress shall give the Executive this necessary method of improving the service, the country must accept the service that is not fully satisfactory and which cannot be made fully satisfactory." *Annual Report*.

<sup>15</sup> "Like the tenets of religion, such a principle is primarily a matter of the heart, and the discussion of it from the standpoint of political economy, like the discussion of religion from the standpoint of theology, is of quite secondary importance in the establishing of it." Mr. James B. Forgan, President First National Bank, Chicago, *Congressional Record*, 55,428-9385, p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> The bill is based on the contributory plan as against the straight pension.

<sup>17</sup> The latest information at hand shows a total of 317 academies, colleges and universities, to which he has given \$3,695,753 for library buildings, \$1,185,459 for science buildings, \$5,210,595 for other buildings, \$9,395,861 for endowment, \$878,285 for other purposes, making a total of \$20,365,953. Included within this list there are many institutions related in different ways to the Christian Church.

<sup>18</sup> *Christian Denominations and the Colleges*.



taining him in service after his usefulness has been impaired; it affords assurance to all professors in such institutions that, on reaching the age of retirement, they will be adequately provided for; and it gives an opportunity to enforce certain standards of educational policy. At the outset, the trustees of the Foundation believed that, if they could establish the principle of retiring allowances in one hundred institutions of learning, the effect would be to bring all other institutions to the same basis through means provided by their friends. Since then, they have widened the scope of their undertaking to almost the limits of our American system of education.<sup>19</sup>

This Foundation has been subjected to serious criticism. So much of this as questions the right of the founder to define the scope of his benefactions is manifestly out of place. The Foundation, in the eyes of the law, is a private corporation. It bears the name and executes the purpose of its founder and represents no one but himself. Its sole business is to ascertain and carry out his purpose in the disposal of his fund. The only difference between Mr. Carnegie's gift and that of the benefactor who establishes a scholarship for the support of a college student is in the amount. If under advanced sociological conceptions it be denied that Mr. Carnegie has the right to dispose of so great a fortune, it must be admitted that there is, as yet, no recognized authority to restrain him. The maxim of law holds: *Cujus est dare ejus est disponere*.

The Foundation was limited by the founder in two directions. In his letter of April 16th, 1905, in which he handed over the fund to the trustees he had appointed, Mr. Carnegie excluded from its benefits the professors and

<sup>19</sup> *The Independent* in an editorial dated June 17, 1909, in full appreciation of the benefits of the Foundation asks: "Who anticipated that in less than five years it would effect profound changes in the constitution and management of our colleges, severing venerable denominational ties, tightening up requirements for admission, differentiating the college from the university, systematizing finances, raising salaries, and in many more subtle ways modifying the life and work of thousands of educators?"

officers of tax-supported educational institutions on the ground that State governments might prefer that the relations of their professors and officers should remain exclusively with the State. After two years of administration, it appeared to the trustees that "from the standpoint of educational unity and coherence it would manifestly be a misfortune to divide the colleges and universities of the country into two groups separated by the line of State support. All colleges and universities, whether supported by taxation or endowment, or by tuitions, are public institutions. . . . There are no private colleges." Upon this conclusion, and on the express desire of the National Association of State Universities, Mr. Carnegie, on March 31, 1908, authorized an extension of the scope of the Foundation, so that State institutions could receive the benefits when their governing boards apply and the governors and legislatures of the States approve. He did this with the understanding that if all the State universities applied, five million dollars more would be required.<sup>20</sup>

#### IV.

##### THE BAN ON THE CHURCH COLLEGE

In establishing the Foundation Mr. Carnegie also excluded from its benefits another class. In his letter he says:

"There is another class which States do not aid, their constitution in some cases even forbidding it, viz. sectarian institutions. Many of these, established long ago, were truly sectarian, but to-day are free to all men, of all creeds, or of none—such are not to be considered sectarian now. Only such as are under the control of a sect or require trustees (or a majority thereof), officers, faculty or students, to belong to any specified sect, or which impose any theological tests, are to be excluded."<sup>21</sup>

No reason has ever been assigned by the founder for this exclusion of institutions belonging to what he calls

<sup>20</sup> *Third Annual Report*, pp. 61-63.

<sup>21</sup> *First Annual Report*, p. 8.



"sects". Many explanations have been given by the beneficiaries or the would-be beneficiaries of the Foundation, but they require no attention as they are entirely without authority. Mr. Carnegie has exercised not only his right of giving as it pleased him, but his right also of withholding his reasons for not giving. Christian men, representing Christian institutions, should be the last to quarrel with him.

How far reaching this exclusion is appears from the analysis of Church institutions made by the Foundation. The various methods of legal connection between the Christian denominations and their institutions of higher learning are described as follows:

I. Colleges with theological tests for entrance and residence.

II. Colleges where specified religious membership is required of trustees or faculty. Such requirements as are:

A. Provided by the charter of the college upon 1. the boards of trustees; 2. the faculty; 3. the corporate body of the college.

B. Not in the charter but 1. by by-law; 2. by acceptance of an endowment for a chair; 3. by agreement with an outside corporation.

C. Subject to change by 1. the vote of the trustees; 2. the amendment of the charter; 3. legal penalty of forfeiting gifts.

III. Colleges under the control of sects.

A. The property owned outright.

B. Property owned in equity.

C. The institutions owned by a religious order.

D. Controlled through the board of trustees.

The right to 1. elect trustees; 2. nominate trustees; 3. confirm trustees.

E. Colleges that formally report at specified intervals 1. by law; 2. by voluntary action.

F. Authorized statements at specified intervals in the college catalogue.

G. Students required to attend services of a specified non-academic congregation.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Second Annual Report*, pp. 40-42.

It would be difficult to discover any method of legal connection between the Church and her colleges which is not included in this exhaustive analysis. Apart from the purpose of excluding Church institutions, with which it was framed, it has a value in its very suggestiveness.

In the hope of securing some relaxation of the rule excluding Church institutions, a memorial was presented to the president and executive committee of the Foundation by a group of representative college presidents, including President Faunce of Brown University, President Hunt of Denison, President Boatwright of Richmond, Baptists; President Jones of Haverford, Society of Friends; President Welch of Ohio Wesleyan, Methodist; President Miller of Heidelberg, Reformed Church U. S.; President McMichael of Monmouth, United Presbyterian; President Hechert of Wittenberg, President Hefelbower of Pennsylvania, Lutheran; and Presidents Nollen, of Lake Forest, Parsons of Parsons, and Holden of Wooster, Presbyterians. This memorial gives the following weighty reasons against the changes in the charters necessary to bring their institutions within the requirements of the Foundation:

1. The severance of the historic relation between the college and the religious body that founded and nurtured it, is in some instances, open to serious ethical objections.
2. The severance of this relation would inevitably be misconstrued by many of the alumni and patrons of these colleges as a sacrifice of principle for monetary gain. Controversy would thus be provoked and the college constituency weakened.
3. The formal relation between the college and the denomination makes it easy to arouse the interest and enlist the support of a constituency which would otherwise be lost to the cause of education. The severance of the relation would sacrifice this advantage.<sup>25</sup>

It would be difficult to state in better words the objections to changing the charters of our colleges, and the able men who presented the memorial voiced the sentiment of the churches with great accuracy. They expressed the

<sup>25</sup> *The Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 4-6.



opinion that these changes would result in "serious injury to the College concerned and to the cause of education in general" and urged that their colleges

"are not now maintained for sectarian ends, but represent the contribution of the denomination to the general educational work of the country. In view of these considerations, we respectfully petition the President and the Executive Committee of the Foundation to present these facts to Mr. Carnegie, with their recommendation that he make provision by which the benefits of the Foundation may be extended to those institutions:

1. Which meet the academic and financial standards of the Foundation.

2. Whose property is not specifically held for a denomination by an ecclesiastical officer or a religious order.

3. Which do not prescribe denominational tests for administration officers, faculty or students, and,

4. Which do not require the teaching of denominational tenets."<sup>28</sup>

This petition so respectfully presented by this representative body of men proposed to yield everything demanded by the Foundation save the right of the Church in the selection of the trustees, which is expressly reserved by the charters of many institutions. It is amazing to learn from the Report that the only reply vouchsafed to this petition was a letter addressed by the President of the Foundation, Dr. Pritchett to each of the presidents which says:

"The committee at once proceeded to lay before Mr. Carnegie a copy of the memorial presented by you at that time. The committee sent this to Mr. Carnegie without recommendation, as it did not feel itself justified, after careful examination of the subject, in recommending the removal of all denominational restrictions in the use of this endowment. Mr. Carnegie has carefully considered the communication, and, while the committee has received from him no formal communication, it has, unofficially, (*sic*) been led to believe that it is not his intention to change at the present time the present situation of the Foundation by making a gift free from the restrictions of the original gift."

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

The request of the petitioners could hardly have encountered more summary treatment, although no complaint, so far as known, has escaped their lips. Possibly they are themselves responsible for presuming to present such a petition, or at least for not ascertaining in advance that an official communication would meet with so unofficial a reply. Certainly no circumstances are conceivable which would impose upon them the duty of subjecting themselves again to this experience.

## V.

### THE CHANGES IN COLLEGE CONTROL

The reports of the Foundation recite in great detail the history of the negotiations which, from year to year, were entered into with various Church colleges with a view of making them eligible to its benefits. In each of them, the chief concern has been the elimination of every trace of organic relationship to the Christian Church. The action of the executive committee, as presented in the reports of the Foundation, suggests that delicate process of engraving, which, by the use of an acid or mordant, produces the incised lines that appear in the printing. The result of this concentrated acid, skillfully applied to the Church college, is the complete disappearance of the control of the Church and a picture which, whatever else it has in it, lacks that control.

Various examples may be mentioned. The charter of the *University of Denver* provided that "no test of religious faith shall ever be applied as a condition of admission" and on this ground the chancellor sought to place the institution upon the Foundation; but the application was refused on the ground that the trustees were elected by the Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and that "when the majority of a college's governing board is designated by a denomination through a power of election residing in one of its constituent councils, the college is, in the language of the Foundation's charter 'under the control' of the denomi-



nation, although the utmost freedom may be exercised at present in the election of College trustees."<sup>27</sup> A trustee of *Wesleyan University* seeking the decision of the Foundation as to colleges, a majority of whose trustees are elected by the trustees themselves or the alumni but with a minority selected by a religious body, was informed that, while such colleges came within its discretion, the committee felt that the time had not arrived when they should be presented.<sup>28</sup>

*Drury College*, Missouri, in its articles of association provided that a majority of the trustees should be "connected with the family of Christian churches commonly known as the Congregational churches of the United States". In a later section, its articles explain that no religious test for study and instruction shall ever be established and the foregoing restriction is "intended only to guard the interests of the college from the unseemly and dangerous rivalry of other sects, and to place the college so closely in sympathy with some one religious denomination that it shall always have a constituency and a home". This provision, mild as it is, was enough to exclude the college from the Carnegie Foundation, and accordingly, the articles of incorporation have been amended "so as to eliminate from them all reference to any denominational restriction upon the board of trustees".<sup>29</sup>

*Drake University*, at Des Moines, Iowa, in its charter provided that two-thirds of the board of trustees should be elected by the Iowa Christian Missionary Convention and that two-thirds of the trustees must be members of churches of the Disciples of Christ. In order to make the institution thoroughly representative, the charter was amended, the churches consenting thereto, and any requirement as to the religious beliefs of the trustees was eliminated, and it was provided that only twelve trustees must be elected by the convention. The Foundation, however, required that even

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> *Third Annual Report*, p. 28.

the right to elect these twelve be surrendered by the Church which had founded the institution and that a resolution be passed certifying that, in the choice of trustees, officers and teachers no denominational tests will be imposed. And this was done.<sup>30</sup>

*Central University* of Kentucky, as it now is, is the result of an amalgamation of two institutions in 1901. The administration of the united University was to be in the hands of a board of trustees, one-half elected by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, North, and one-half by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, South. In the first approach to the Carnegie Foundation, it was represented that the original charter of one of the colleges contained provisions against any teaching "of doctrines peculiar to any one sect of Christians", and that the two Synods were under no obligation to elect Presbyterians as trustees of the University. Later, the Foundation was informed that the trustees were willing to certify that no denominational considerations entered into the choice of trustees. This approach having been unsuccessful, it was proposed that the board of trustees be made self-perpetuating, the election of the new members to be reported to the Synods each year, and the Synods to retain the power of veto but to agree that this veto power should never be exercised on sectarian grounds. Even this proposed self-effacement on the part of the Synods was insufficient and only when they were induced to resign their power of electing the board of trustees was the University "admitted to a full participation in the privileges of the Carnegie Foundation".<sup>31</sup>

*Coe College*, Iowa, at the time of its application, was so related to the Synod of Iowa, that the election of members to its board of trustees must be reported to the Synod and be subject to its approval. To meet the demands of the Foundation, it was agreed that the election of trustees should not be submitted to Synod for approval but it was hoped

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-26.



that their names might possibly "be reported" as they were elected. It appears, however, that even a report to an ecclesiastical body, carrying with it no power of approval or disapproval, was too much, and, at last, even this was surrendered and Coe College was "admitted to the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation".<sup>32</sup>

In the case of a college legally connected with a denomination by a charter which required that the names of newly elected trustees be submitted to an ecclesiastical body for confirmation, the authorities, feeling that it would not be wise to submit the charter to the State Legislature for revision, in view of the fact that the charter as it now is releases the college from all taxation, asked if, in lieu of the elision from the charter of the right of confirmation by the ecclesiastical body, a waiver by that body of its exercise of this power would be acceptable. This, of course, assumed that the ecclesiastical body would consent to the waiver. The executive committee, however, felt that it could not admit the college on this extra-legal basis, as, in view of the legislative and representative character of the ecclesiastical body, it is doubtful if a waiver executed at one session would be legally binding on future sessions.<sup>33</sup>

## VI

### TWO COLLEGES WHICH DECLINE THE BENEFACATION

Two other institutions require attention in view of the fact that, having fully considered the conditions imposed, they have declined the benefactions of the Foundation. One of them, the *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, is briefly mentioned in the reports of the Foundation,<sup>34</sup> but the full statement of the facts is shown by the official publications of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and of the board of trustees of the Randolph-Macon College. The Randolph-Macon System of Colleges and Preparatory Schools had, through many years,

<sup>32</sup> *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

grown up under the fostering care of the Methodist Episcopal Church, especially the Baltimore and Virginia Conferences. In 1870, the board declared to the Legislature of Virginia that "the creator of the college is the Virginia Conference" and that "the college is in moral law and justice the property of the Conference".<sup>35</sup> The controversy, which has stirred so deeply the Methodist Church in Virginia, began in 1907 when the trustees of the Woman's College, which is a part of the Randolph-Macon System, applied for admission to the benefits of the Foundation, stating that, while the college was in sympathetic relation to the Conference, it was independent of it in government and they passed the resolution required by the Foundation certifying that, in the election of trustees and officers, no denominational tests would be applied. The question came up at the annual Conference in 1907 and has appeared at each annual meeting ever since. The Conference demanded that action be taken, recognizing the legal and the moral right of the Church in the college, and calling on the trustees to secure an amendment to the charter which would guarantee to the Conferences the right to participate in the selection of persons to fill all vacancies, or, as an alternative, that a clause be inserted setting forth that the property is held in trust for the Conferences and that three-fourths of the trustees shall be either clerical or lay members residing within these Conferences. The trustees stated in reply, that they had neither the legal nor the moral right to transfer the power of electing trustees to any other person or body,<sup>36</sup> adding that they have always recognized that the college is one of the agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the education of youth and that, next after their duty to God, comes their duty to the Church. They expressed the belief that they were an integral part of the Church, charged with specific duties just as other agencies are charged with

<sup>35</sup> *Virginia Conference Annual*, 1909, p. 74.

<sup>36</sup> *The Randolph-Macon System: Its relation to the Church and the Carnegie Foundation*. Published by direction of the Board of Trustees, p. 38.



specific duties, so that, while declining to seek changes in the charter, they would show their respect for the wishes of the Conference by adopting the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, that when a vacancy occurs in the board of trustees, such vacancy shall be filled by the election of this board, but, before such election, the name of the person proposed to fill such vacancy shall be submitted for approval to the Conference within whose bounds such vacancy shall occur, and upon approval he shall be elected to the board.

"Inasmuch as misunderstanding has arisen, and misrepresentation has been made of our relation to the Church, in view of the fact that Randolph-Macon has been accepted as a beneficiary of the Carnegie Foundation, and being intent upon retaining the closest possible relations to the Church and Conference to which we owe our existence (*sic*), we hereby decline any benefits from said Foundation so long as it requires any severance or weakening of the tie by which we are bound to the Church."<sup>37</sup>

The effect of this action was to exclude the Woman's College from the Foundation, but it was not sufficient to satisfy the Conference. At Richmond in November, 1910, the question again occupied the closest attention.<sup>38</sup> A series of six resolutions was proposed and, after prolonged consideration it was agreed that committees representing the two Conferences should again meet with the trustees. The case is interesting as illustrating the deep convictions of a representative Christian Church as to its rights and duties in the institutions under its care. Whether or not the charter changes are made, the benefits of the Foundation have been renounced and the institution has been acknowledged to be an integral part of the Church. More, perhaps than in any other instance reported, was the voice of the Church heard in this case. In other cases, the action effecting the release of the college from the control of the Church has been taken before the Church was fully aware of its significance. It is to be expected that hereafter a full understanding will be had before so serious a step is sanctioned

<sup>37</sup> *Virginia Conference Annual*, 1909, p. 73.

<sup>38</sup> *Times Dispatch*, Richmond, Va., Nov. 10, 1910.

by any representative body of the Christian Church. As intimated by the petitioners mentioned hereinbefore, (p. 196) such an agitation as this is more damaging to an institution than any return in money can make good. Confidence is worth more than money. Indeed, it is worth money too.

*Brown University* at Providence, Rhode Island, was not mentioned in the reports of the Foundation, probably because no application had been made. Its president, Dr. Faunce, is a trustee of the Foundation but the University is under a charter which prescribes that its trustees shall be taken chiefly from the Baptist churches and, in smaller numbers, from the Congregational, Quaker and Episcopal churches. This inclusion of other denominations, was, in its day, a mark of the breadth of view prevailing among the Baptists who founded the institution. Since then, other denominations of Christians have come in and church ties are viewed differently, so that the trustees have been embarrassed in filling vacancies even from their own alumni. For two years, the question of charter-revision has been before the trustees, and two reports have been submitted by a committee consisting of President Faunce, Mr. Justice Charles E. Hughes of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Thomas S. Barbour, Dr. George E. Horr, Mr. Henry K. Porter and others. The reports are models of clearness, of lofty regard for principle and of delicate consideration for all the interests involved. The Preliminary Report, submitted in 1909, states the reason why the change in charter is desirable, and, while denying that the motive in seeking the change was merely to secure the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation, frankly adds:

"It is useless for any institution to pretend, in changing its charter as we propose, it has no reference whatever to the standards of the Carnegie Foundation: on the contrary, we freely acknowledge that the desire to secure retiring allowances for our teaching staff is one of the objects that we desire—though by no means the chief one."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Preliminary Report*, p. 10.



The Final Report, submitted June, 1910, notes at the outset that

"Some elements in the situation have undergone decided change. College faculties have begun to fear certain kinds of assistance they formerly sought. The public mind has, during the past year, been unable to disentangle the moral from the financial question. It has been inclined to assume—perhaps naturally—that every college now making any material change in its constitution does so from sordid motives (*sic*).

.....Your committee is therefore of opinion that measures should be taken to separate the question of financial aid from charter revision. To this end it recommends that the University consider the advisability of securing from its alumni and friends an addition to the common fund of sufficient size to enable the corporation to provide pensions for the faculty on the same scale as the pensions offered to college teachers by any other organization. The time for securing such a fund is now at hand."<sup>40</sup>

On the question of the changes, the committee divided, a majority recommending that membership in a religious denomination should not be required to make one eligible to election to the office of trustee, fellow, president, professor, tutor or other office.<sup>41</sup> With this Dr. Horr, Mr. Barbour and Mr. Porter do not agree. The greatest concession made was that the president and three-fourths of the trustees shall forever be elected from the communicant members of the Christian churches,<sup>42</sup> and this seems now to be withdrawn. In response to the charge that Brown University, founded in 1764, is "hopelessly archaic, in its charter," Dr. Horr cites the fact that it is "not more antiquated" than the charter provision of the University of Chicago,<sup>43</sup> which every-

<sup>40</sup> *Final Report*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>43</sup> "At all times two-thirds of the trustees and also the President of the University and of the said college, shall be members of regular Baptist churches, that is to say, members of churches of that denomination known and recognized under the name of the regular Baptist denomination; and, as contributions of money and property have been and are being solicited, and have been and are being made, upon the condition

one will admit is a very modern institution. Other modern instances might be cited. This Final Report has not been acted on as yet, but "Notes on College Charters" prepared by Mr. Barbour, approved by Dr. Horr, and submitted to the trustees, states that to attempt to secure radical changes in the charter would be to invite "ultimate defeat."<sup>44</sup>

From these instances, it must be clear that no organic connection with the Christian Church, no connection by which the Church can control or direct the policy of the institution, will be permitted in any college receiving the benefactions of the Carnegie Foundation. Their charter forbids it. Only by release from all control of the Church, however indirect, may a college be admitted to the list of "accepted institutions". That some of the trustees have not relished this task we may well believe; that they have been willing to continue to discharge it shows, on their part, a high appreciation of the Foundation.

The Fifth Annual Report of the Foundation for the year ending September 30, 1910, comes to hand just as these pages are finished. It is about one-half the size of the preceding Report. It recognizes the action of Brown University in going forward on its present charter and enlarging its pension system as "most creditable" (p. 34). The Executive Committee has voted that "It is not expedient in the future to grant retiring allowances outside the accepted list, except in cases of special significance" etc. (p. 17), so that individual professors in institutions which do not come up to the requirements will no longer be provided for. The Committee also decided that institutions, a minority of the board of trustees of which were designated by a denominational assembly, were eligible if the institution was conducted "without denominational partisanship" (p. 4). There is nothing in the report that modifies the action taken in any of the cases quoted hereinbefore.

last named, this charter shall not be amended or changed at any time hereafter so as to abrogate or modify the qualifications above mentioned, but in this particular this charter shall be forever unalterable." The date of this charter is June 18, 1890. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Notes on College Charters*, p. 43.



## VII

## THE CHURCH AND THE COLLEGE: "A REAL VITAL RELATION"

The able men who have advocated the acceptance by Christian colleges of the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation in spite of the conditions imposed, have done so upon grounds which in their judgment are sufficient, and their position should be clearly understood. Everyone familiar with the problem of modern college administration will sympathize with the presidents and the members of the boards of control in their desire to avail themselves of every benefaction which is within reach. To have ready at hand a provision for their veteran professors looks to them like a godsend; a practical addition to their endowment; a relief from the burden of continuing a professor merely to afford him a livelihood; an assurance for all younger professors that in their time they shall be provided for; a prestige growing out of enrollment along with notable institutions, in contact with eminent educators and under ideals which in many respects are worthy of praise.<sup>45</sup> The man who is indifferent to these considerations is wholly outside the world of modern Education.

On the other hand, it is needful to know the grounds on which those who are in charge of distinctively Christian institutions have justified their efforts to enroll their colleges under the Carnegie Foundation. We may be sure that, if they believed the interests of their institutions would suffer in any direction, they would have declined the benefactions of the Foundation without hesitation. Their grounds seem, in substance, to be, that admission to the benefits of the Foundation, while requiring the severance of the legal and organic relation to the Christian Church, does not interfere with "the real vital relation in any shape or form", and that such an institution "stands before the

<sup>45</sup>One of these college presidents goes so far as to say: "It is not too much to state that the Foundation in its history thus far has given a greater stimulus to higher education than any other force that has been in operation in the history of Education in the United States." *Christian Observer*, Sept. 16, 1908.

Church and its whole constituency as a Christian college, devoted in its work to the fundamental principles of the Christian religion."<sup>46</sup> We are reminded that "the Foundation is not concerned with the fact that a given college was founded under the auspices of a religious organization or that it continues today its sympathetic relation with it."<sup>46</sup> The presidents of several institutions which have severed their relations with the Church testify that their connection with the Church is practically the same and point out the strong and positive Christian influences which are at work. This testimony is surely cause for rejoicing. At the same time, inquiry starts concerning this "real vital relation" which persists after the organic relation has been severed. How a relation can be vital that is not organic is not clear. Biology recognizes the vital only in the organic, however simple the organism, as, for example, the amoeba. A relation may be close and amicable without being vital, but a vital relation which is not organic is a contradiction in terms.

Passing this by, however, we are told that the Foundation has agreed that its "accepted institutions" may be published in official denominational publications provided the following sentence precede:

"The following institutions are not connected with the Church by any legal ties, nor are they subject to ecclesiastical control. Their history, however, and association with the life and work of our Church, are such as to justify our earnest co-operation with them."

This, of course, is not a vital but a co-operative relation and the co-operation seems to be limited to that of the Church with the college without defining the co-operation of the college with the Church. This, perhaps, may be defined in the language of a college president, who led his institution to seek the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation at the sacrifice of its organic relation with the Church. This co-operation appears in that:

A. We cherish and cultivate every relation of sympathy and co-operation with the Presbyterian Church. . . .

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*



B. In this connection, I visit and address the Synods each year....

C. To keep in touch with our historic constituency, we invite the Synods to send committees of visitation to report to the Synods on the character, work and facilities of the college....

D. I am quite satisfied that the Carnegie Foundation has no objection to such arrangement. The statement so often made that the Foundation is hostile to the denominations is entirely without foundation in fact..... Mr. Carnegie was quoted to me as asserting that, provided the requirements of the charter of the Foundation in the matter of legal denominational connection were complied with, he did not care how Methodist or Presbyterian, etc. the college might be.

These statements should be taken at their full value. On some of them the Church will probably desire more light. If, for example, the Church should exercise the privilege to appoint visitors to the college accorded to it in exchange for the right which it had from the beginning, it would need to understand that the functions of the visitors would be severely limited and that any report which they might make would be in the way of interesting information rather than as a step to authoritative action. Should these visitors learn of irregularities in the institution, such as false teaching on the great facts of religion, and so report to the Church court, the court might plead for but it would be powerless to require a correction of such teaching. It is not likely that our Church courts will continue for many years a visitation which means so little. Again, the addresses which these presidents make in the Church courts must be prepared with unusual care, lest on the one hand they mislead the Church into supposing that she has at least some vestige of control, and, on the other, lest they overstep the bounds set for them by the Foundation. It is easy to see that an earnest Christian man, devoted to his Church, and consenting to the severance of his institution from it only under dire necessity, might very readily trespass upon the requirements of the Foundation. What the penalty would

be, one can hardly say. The dread of it, however, would be sufficient to take all the force and fire out of the address. The address really belongs in the class of those given in behalf of the various benevolent and philanthropic enterprises outside of the Church to which the representative bodies listen when they have time. What a contrast to the days when the educational address stirred the Church to gird herself afresh in behalf of her youth!

The reproachful inquiry is sometimes made whether the institutions, which in times past have done so much for the Church under self-perpetuating boards of trustees, are not a guarantee that Church institutions which now become self-perpetuating in their boards of trustees, will serve the Church as effectively as the others have done. There are such institutions and their place in the Church has been close and greatly blessed. The situation, however, is completely changed by the appearance of the Carnegie Foundation. An institution may have the most self-perpetuating board of trustees imaginable, but, if it be accepted by the Carnegie Foundation, its relation to the academic world and to the Christian Church is radically different from what it was before. Once it looked to the Christian Church for guidance, now it looks elsewhere. Its centre of gravity has shifted from the Church which founded it and nourished it to a body which was not in existence ten years ago, and the attraction of gravitation to this new centre is so strong that the centrifugal force may be said to be practically eliminated. The strict requirements of the Foundation are enough to prove this. The result of a violation of those requirements has probably not been faced by many of those who have accepted its benefits. The very proposal of withdrawal would awaken not only the loud protests of those who are now dependent on the Foundation for a livelihood, but of those who have served for years in the expectation of a pension,<sup>47</sup> and of the larger circle of those who fear

<sup>47</sup>How strong this expectation has already become appears from the stir made by the withdrawal of the service pension first offered by the Foundation. Into the question of good faith raised by some of those who expected to be beneficiaries, we need not enter here.



the loss of prestige if the institution is no longer connected with the Foundation. Is there any doubt that the centripetal force is well-nigh supreme?

We are, however, told that, granting the immense influence of the Foundation in the educational institutions under its care, that influence is exercised only along financial and academic lines. How inaccurate the statement is will appear later on. Mention need be made here only of the frequent references in the Reports to academic honesty, integrity and truthfulness, all of which are ethical qualities. But, granting that, at the present time, the sphere of the Foundation is only financial, academic and ethical, there is no guarantee that in the future the sphere shall be thus restricted. Enlargement has taken place in other directions, why not in this? Nothing in the conditions of admission limits the sphere of influence. The highest interests of the institutions and of education in general are to be promoted by the Foundation. If the trustees were to find a course of study or an atmosphere which, in their judgment, hindered the best interests of the institution, there is nothing in the agreement to restrain them from seeking to change it for a better. And, if a number of them were to believe, as some men always have believed, and as some prominent educators now believe, that the great foundation truths of Christianity are burdens on the human mind, and hindrances of human progress, it would be their duty, and certainly within their right, to object to the teaching of those truths in the institutions receiving their benefactions. It is not enough to say that this has not yet taken place. The Foundation is new and has been feeling its way very cautiously and in many directions very wisely. But prudent men in charge of Christian institutions would require guarantees of the strongest character that, at no time in the future, shall interference be made with the teaching of the great fundamentals of the Christian faith to the youth in Christian colleges. Whatever confidence we may have in the intentions of the present members of the Foundation, the history of educational

corporations points eloquently to the need of adequate guarantees of the place of religious instruction in our Christian institutions. These guarantees, it is needless to say, do not exist. In their place, there are only hopes, and in dealing with sacred funds, as with one's own funds, hopes will not take the place of guarantees.

That these conclusions are fully warranted appears from the authoritative statement of the Foundation. The President, Dr. Pritchett, relieves all uncertainty when he says:

"In order that there be no further misunderstanding on this point, let me add again that, in our understanding, an institution which has agreed to elect its trustees in the manner prescribed in our resolution, could not, consistently with the resolution, go before a conference or other religious body on the plea of being a church school, since the only thing that could make it a distinctive church school would be the indirect control which might come by choosing trustees from the denominations, an act which is contrary to the spirit of the resolution." . . . .

"The resolution committed the board of trustees, in our judgment, to a choice of members on the ground of fitness for the board, neither rejecting a man nor taking him on account of the denominational ties. Under such a policy honestly administered, the board will in the long run contain a considerable proportion of members who are not Methodists."<sup>48</sup>

These quotations ought to be conclusive. Honesty, in the judgment of the Foundation, forbids an institution to accept its benefits and at the same time to call itself "a church school". That is, a school, founded and nourished by the Church and flourishing under her influence, dare not go as a daughter to the Church to ask for a blessing, or to seek guidance in her perplexity. Guidance, she may, indeed she must, have, but it is not the guidance of the Church, the mother which brought her into being. It is a guidance which comes in after the prayers, and the tears, and the sacrifices of the Church have brought to her an endowment, which, to satisfy the requirements of the Found-

<sup>48</sup> *Baltimore and Richmond Advocate*, March 19, 1908, extract from an official letter dated Dec. 14, 1907.



dation, must be at least \$200,000, all of which passes beyond the control of the Church, when the college enters upon this new relation. The daughter is an exile, by her own act.

It must be obvious, therefore, that it is a grave misuse of terms to claim that a Christian college, accepting the benefits of the Foundation, may maintain "a real vital relation" to the Church. The Church, as well as the Foundation, demands honesty and accuracy. The change in the relations of such a college to the Church is fundamental and becomes more and more manifest as the years go by. That the extent of these changes was not apprehended at the outset by those who have advocated them, we may readily believe and modify our judgment accordingly.

It needs to be said in justice to the college presidents and boards of control, who have obtained release for their institutions in order to accept the benefits of the Foundation, that they have, in the case of one denomination, at least, acted within the limits of ecclesiastical authority. The Presbyterian Church U. S. A. has, from its beginning, been recognized as a college-building, rather than a cathedral-building Church. The General Assembly, in harmony with the historic policy of the Church, in 1908 unanimously adopted the following:

"That since experience indicates that the Church is a true friend of the Christian College, the relation of our institutions to the Church should remain in its present form, and should be kept close and prominent, and the urgent attitude of the Board on this subject should be strongly supported."<sup>49</sup>

The very next year, however, the General Assembly adopted the following, as recommended by its Committee on Administrative Agencies. It authorized the College Board

"To secure and receive moneys and other property for the benefit of any needy college or university, which is (1) organically connected with the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. or (2) required by its charter to have at least two-thirds of the board of control members of said church, or (3)

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<sup>49</sup> *Minutes of The General Assembly, 1908, p. 108.*

actually under Presbyterian approval at the time of receiving assistance."<sup>50</sup>

The phrase "Presbyterian approval" is very general. Whatever understanding there may be, this new definition of the scope of the College Board does not make clear whether the approval is that of the Presbyterian Church in one or another of its representative courts, or merely that of a number of Presbyterian individuals. Further, the Presbyterian Church gives apparent sanction to the requirements of the Carnegie Foundation in that for several years past it has permitted institutions now under the Carnegie Foundation to be published on its list of colleges co-operating with, or reporting to, the College Board, with the following prefix in small type:

"The following institutions are not connected with the Presbyterian Church by any legal ties, nor are they subject to ecclesiastical control. Their history, however, and associations are such as to justify our earnest co-operation with them."<sup>51</sup>

With this authority, colleges, once Presbyterian and now under the Carnegie Foundation, are at liberty to enroll themselves under the Presbyterian name. This is in apparent conflict with the original requirements of the Foundation, although as shown above, it is permitted by the Foundation, probably as a concession to churchly sentiment. That the Church is willing to give even a quasi-endorsement to the institutions in the management of which it has no voice, and to which it merely lends its name for whatever good they can secure from it, without any means of protecting that name, is simply incredible. It will not be permitted to continue when it is generally understood. Indeed, it is to be presumed that the action was taken before its significance became apparent, and that the whole question will be reopened shortly and settled on lines consistent with the historic policy of the Church.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 235-236.

<sup>51</sup> *Report of the College Board.* 1908, p. 27.



## VIII

## THE CUMULATIVE ARGUMENT FOR CHURCH CONTROL

Church colleges (and all who are concerned in their welfare), which are considering the advantages offered them by a connection with the Carnegie Foundation, will more and more take into account a number of considerations which need to be weighed against these advantages.

The *legal* questions, of course, concern only such institutions as are related to the Church in one or another of the modes of control enumerated above. They differ in each case, but each case deserves the attention of impartial men well versed in the law. The questions arising are not new, and the precedents of the courts are well-defined and numerous. Of the many, it is enough to cite here the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1819 in the case of Dartmouth College. The Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, at his own expense, and on his own land, founded a school for the religious training of the Indians, which afterwards was enlarged and with a donation of £50, and in view of his services as agent and trustee, was named for the Earl of Dartmouth. A charter was obtained from the King of England, incorporating the trustees with power to erect and conduct a college and control the operation thereof, and to elect their own successors. Afterwards the Legislature of New Hampshire passed a bill enlarging the number of trustees, adding the names of others to the original number, creating also a board of overseers to have perpetual succession to disapprove the votes of the trustees as to the appointment or removal of the president, professors, etc. In the case arising, appeal was taken and finally reached the Supreme Court. The views presented by Mr. Webster were sustained by Chief Justice Marshall, who in an extensive opinion said:

"The founders of the college contracted not merely for the perpetual application of the funds which they gave to the objects for which those funds were given; they contracted also to secure that application by the constitution of the corporation. They contracted for a system which should,

as far as human foresight can provide, retain forever the government of the literary institution they had formed, in the hands of persons approved by themselves. This system is totally changed (by the action of the Legislature). The charter of 1769 exists no longer. It is reorganized; and reorganized in such a manner as to convert a literary institution, moulded according to the will of its founders, and placed under the control of private literary men, into a machine entirely subservient to the will of the government. This may be for the advantage of this college in particular, and may be for the advantage of literature in general, but it is not according to the will of the donors, and is subversive of that contract, on the faith of which their property was given."<sup>52</sup>

Applying this principle to the case of Brown University, Mr. Barbour aptly says:

"It was apparently the inviolability of the right of founders that gave inviolability to the position of trustees, and indications seem to be conclusive, that, with respect to the fundamental organic provisions of charters, and certainly with respect to provisions declared to be unalterable, limitations upon trustees are not less real and inviolable than limitations upon independent legislative action."<sup>53</sup>

These principles apply, not merely to institutions with self-perpetuating boards of trustees, but also to those in which the control of the Church is recognized. In either case, the charter is the basis on which donations have been made, and the rights of donors are as clear in one case as in the other. Kind-hearted legislatures may grant amendments to these charters, but they are not the final authorities, and the courts are open to those whose interests are at stake. Church courts, holding relations of control or substantial interest in educational institutions, have a duty to protect those interests and the rights of donors, rather than to acquiesce in proposals arising out of a temporary situation and an apparent advantage. Neither piety, nor fidelity to a sacred trust will quietly submit to the aliena-

<sup>52</sup> *4 Wheaton*, p. 517ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Notes*, p. 40.



tion of property in which the Church has substantial interest.

On the *economic* questions involved, we are indebted to the Foundation for valuable information. It has gathered this information from sixty-two institutions:

"A college whose faculty included twenty professors of all grades at an average salary of twenty-five hundred dollars, would have an annual pay-roll of fifty thousand dollars and would expend twenty-five hundred dollars in maintaining its retiring allowance systems. Whether this is a fair indication of the expense involved it is difficult to say."<sup>54</sup>

If this estimate is accepted, it brings the retiring allowance system within reach of many colleges which have not thought of establishing it, because of the large expense involved. On this basis, \$50,000 or \$60,000 will provide enough for an institution having twenty professors of all grades. This is no more than the cost of many buildings. It raises the question whether the guidance, if not the actual control of the institution, should be surrendered to an outside corporation in return for a sum of money no larger than this.

An institution which, for over fifty years has sustained corporate relations with the Church, and has acquired in that time grounds and buildings valued at more than \$850,000, a productive endowment of over \$600,000, making a total of about \$1,500,000, has now two professors eligible for retirement and in a few years may have three more. The minimum allowance of the Carnegie Foundation is \$1000, the addition in each case being a matter of adjustment. If all of these five men should live and be retired, the allowances would amount to \$5000, or a little more. A wise economy raises the question whether \$5000 annually would be an adequate return for the surrender by the institution of its historic relation to the Church and for the surrender by the Church of her power to influence the course of education in an institution numbering four hun-

<sup>54</sup> *Third Annual Report*, p. 51.

dred students. An addition of \$100,000 to the endowment would provide all that would be needed as a pension fund for years to come. It is strange that, amid lavish expenditures on the mere externals, faithful professors should be left unprovided for, when a sum like this is given to our colleges every week of the year.

The *ethical* questions involved are the more pressing in view of the growing sensitiveness of public opinion. These underlie nearly all the other questions. The committee of Brown University unitedly recognized the fact that a college seeking material changes in its constitution was liable to a charge of "sordid motives" and found that many of their constituents believed that such a change cannot be made "without grave misunderstanding".<sup>55</sup> And Mr. Barbour, and Dr. Horr, close their "Notes" with the following weighty words:

"We would not, however, wish it to be understood that this necessity, in our judgment, results exclusively from legal considerations. From the outset, we have been persuaded that the legal difficulty inheres in a moral difficulty. Whenever the founders of an institution have been encouraged to believe that the conditions imposed by them would remain inviolate and gifts have been received upon this basis, and by legal presumption with the same intent and understanding, we believe that the governing boards are morally bound to regard the essential terms of the Foundation. For these boards are not simply administrative, they are also custodians and the two forms of obligation are equally inviolable (*sic*). We cannot too earnestly express our conviction that the power of a trustee does not extend to alteration of the fundamental terms of a charter. The question at issue is not what as individuals we would favor, but what as guardians of a trust we are free to do."<sup>56</sup>

For over three years the state of Virginia has been ringing with the protests of those whose fathers before them, as well as they themselves, have prayed, and labored, and given to Randolph-Macon College as an institution of the

<sup>55</sup> *Final Report*, p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> *Notes*, p. 44.



Church, against the proposal to alienate the college in order to secure the pensions of the Foundation. The tender sympathy for the veterans has been none the less real because of the larger ethical questions involved in the proposal. As shown above, the protest has not ceased with the withdrawal of the institution from the Foundation, and a persistent demand continues for the recognition in some unalterable way of the rights of the Church. The Carnegie Foundation advocates educational honesty so strongly that it will surely sympathize with the Methodists of Virginia in this demand. Buildings and endowment may be all that could be asked for, but the buildings will be empty and the endowment will be unemployed if the institution has violated the sense of right in the minds of its constituency.<sup>57</sup> More than one such melancholy instance could be cited.

Moreover, the effect of such changes upon the student body needs to be taken into account. They are not wholly unaware of them. They understand, in general, that their college is no longer connected with their church because it desired the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation. College presidents, in addition to the regular courses in sociology and ethics, will doubtless find it desirable to explain fully the reasons for which these relations were changed.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The first of these courses (severing the legal connection) does not commend itself to the management of the most of our denominational institutions. Some few, it is said, have made a spectacle of themselves in their hurry to change their charters and constitutions to conform to the requirements for admission. This conduct was hardly fair to their founders and must in time bring reflection on themselves in the eyes of all thinking men. If when there was no fund designated for such purpose as that of the Foundation, men were willing to make the sacrifice, they must recognize that their sacrifice is no greater now, and their deprivation no added hardship. An institution bedded in the affection of a devoted constituency, and which has gathered about it a history of achievements that come only with years, cannot afford to tear itself aloof from the trust and confidence of its friends, especially if by such an act it detached itself from the fundamental things that brought it into being. *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1910, p. 506.

<sup>58</sup> Mr. J. P. Cushing, of the High School at New Haven, Conn., asks: "What will these boys say (and they are a pretty keen lot) as

On the broad question of *educational policy*, full importance should be attached to the aims outlined for the Foundation by its President, in view of the many defects of our present educational system. A hearty support is due to every effort to elevate our colleges in honesty and efficiency of administration, and yet a growing number of thoughtful men question the value of a corporation created by the generosity of one man, a private corporation, working simply along the lines laid down by him and responsible neither to Church nor State so long as it keeps within its own broad charter. Its present aim seems to be to compass the whole system of American education. No institution of higher learning is beyond its reach. Even those which are barred from its benefactions receive the inquiries of its industrious executive and feel obliged to respond to the demands. In State institutions, the benefactions are granted only when the applications to this private corporation are approved by the governors and the legislatures. As we have no national university, no need has yet arisen for the President and the Congress of the United States to apply for assistance. President Schurman of Cornell is widely recognized as an educator, and his words derive special significance from the fact that he is a trustee of the Foundation. In his address before the National Association of State Universities in October, 1909, he notes the rise of a new species of corporations by which benefactors have learned to perpetuate themselves:

"The rich philanthropist who objectifies himself in such a benevolent corporation, of course names the trustees; and subsequent vacancies in the Board are filled by coöptation. . . . A corporation of this kind is a distributing agency for wealth set apart for educational purposes. . . . It may do anything and everything that tends to create an efficient system of state or national education. . . .

they discuss the ethical principles involved in a college renouncing its allegiance? Will they not sometimes recall the story of the young man who sold his birthright? Is the cause of teaching advanced when colleges, once strongholds of higher education, are tempted to forsake the faith that has made them what they are?" *The Nation*, March 10, 1910.



"I cannot but think that they create a new and dangerous situation for the independent and privately endowed universities. Just in proportion as these are supported by those benevolent corporations is their centre of gravity thrown outside themselves. It is no longer the case of a rich man giving his money, going his way (eventually dying) and leaving the university free to manage its own affairs. The purse strings are now controlled by an immortal power, which makes it its business to investigate and supervise, and which lays down conditions that the university must accept if it is to receive grants of money. An irresponsible, self-perpetuating board, whose business is to dispense money, necessarily tends to look at every question from the pecuniary point of view; it wants its money's worth; it demands immediate and tangible results. Will not its large powers and enormous influence in relation to the institutions dependent upon it tend to develop in it an attitude of patronage and a habit of meddling? The very ambition of such a corporation to reform educational abuses is itself a source of danger. Men are not constituted educational reformers by having millions to spend. And, indeed, an irresponsible, self-perpetuating board of this sort may become a real menace (*sic*) to the best interests of higher education. . . . I make no exception even of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to which Mr. Carnegie has given such large endowments for the pensioning of the professors in the colleges, technical schools and universities of the United States and Canada, and I certainly speak with no prejudice as I regard that endowment as the best thing any benefactor has ever done for higher education in America, and I have myself the honor of being one of the trustees."<sup>59</sup>

These bold words have created a profound impression. In certain quarters they have been minimized and, as if to provide against this, Dr. Schurman in addressing the same association in November, 1910, broadened his statement as follows:

"The trouble, I fear, about all these organizations, like the Rockefeller Foundation in this country, and for that matter the Carnegie Foundation (of which I am one of the

<sup>59</sup> Address before the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the National Association of State Universities, Oct. 8-9, 1909, pp. 14-16.

trustees), and the similar Carnegie organization in Scotland, is, that I think, they all have the tendency (I do not say it is always actualized) to shift the centre of gravity of universities outside themselves. . . . I had an opportunity not long ago of talking the matter over, first with professors in Scotch universities, and secondly with the officers of the Carnegie organization itself. The professors complained that the independent, autonomous life of the university, was menaced by the institution, for the authorities of the university were no longer the masters of their own life and destiny. The organization which controlled the money-bags controlled them (*sic*). If that organization said: 'We will give money for modern languages', or 'for a commercial course', or some other course which they thought desirable, and the faculty or the governing boards, or the trustees would never have thought of such department, they must either accept it or go without the money which this organization has at its disposal. . . . It is a question in my mind whether . . . you can have organizations with large sums of money at their disposal, chartered with authority to bestow that money upon other institutions which are doing a good work for the community—educational, charitable, religious, or what not, without tending (and in many cases the tendency would be realized) to disarrange and even disorganize the work of those institutions."<sup>60</sup>

Dr. Schurman is entirely free from the odious charge of religious sectarianism, but as yet no one representing the Christian Church has spoken as severely as he has in these two successive years. It is greatly to the credit of the members of the Foundation, and of the founder, Mr. Carnegie, that these utterances of Dr. Schurman do not seem to have impaired the value of his counsels as a trustee. In this broadminded tolerance, there lies great hope. These views are Dr. Schurman's; some publicists and educators go beyond him.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Transactions and Proceedings of the National Association of State Universities*, 1910, pp. 287-288.

<sup>61</sup> *Popular Science Monthly* for April 1910, says editorially, "The Foundation supplies an additional income to a number of colleges and universities, but this appears to be the end of its usefulness. The attempt of an energetic president to lord it over the educational devel-



The experience of the *George Washington University* shows that institutions not connected with the Church are also subject to the general educational policy of the Foundation. The statement of Dr. Pritchett is not complete or even sufficient to an understanding of the case.<sup>62</sup> It appears that the endowment had been reduced below the limit fixed and in that there was ground for inquiry, if not for action, on the part of the Foundation. As to the two professors, perhaps no one outside of the faculty or the board of trustees is competent to speak, the differences being over questions of university efficiency. No mention is made in Dr. Pritchett's statement of the third ground at first assigned for the action, the number of special students.<sup>63</sup> Reserving judgment on the merits of this case, our institutions should take notice that, according to the statement of the president of the University, which stands unchallenged, the agent of the Foundation in his brief visit was shown every courtesy and expressed to the president his appreciation, and when invited to give his views made

opment of the country, has done some temporary harm; but the money by which he can purchase submission will soon be exhausted. It has been a sorry sight to see institutions raising standards which they cannot and should not maintain, freeing themselves nominally from denominational control—one has offered to establish an undenominational holding company—and most of all to watch the great state universities begging the favors of a private corporation. Thirty-two state legislatures have approved the request for money, and the Foundation finds that four of the universities are worthy, while the others—institutions such as California and Illinois—must be further investigated. The President tells the Governor of Ohio how the University of that great state should be administered; he says, that 'in nearly every state' there is 'educational demoralization'. In his last report Dr. Pritchett makes all kinds of recommendations. Some are in themselves good and some bad, but all are bad in so far as they come from that source, for there is an implicit threat everywhere that institutions must do as they are told or they will not receive Carnegie money (*sic*). The best thing that could happen would be for the Foundation to retire its president with a liberal pension, to write about education over his own signature, and then, as the Peabody Fund has wisely done, to dissolve and distribute its funds among our colleges" (p. 414-415).

<sup>62</sup> *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 42.

<sup>63</sup> *The Independent*, July 1909.

a few remarks, in part complimentary, and in part a friendly criticism, but without any intimation that the investigation was being made with a view to terminating the relation of the University to the Foundation. With almost oriental swiftness and severity, the blow fell.<sup>64</sup> If it were intended as a warning to other institutions it could not have been more effective, and yet an institution can hardly do satisfactory work if it lives under the constant dread of such treatment.

The question has been raised in regard to state universities as to how far the tax-payers of the state will be willing that a private corporation, doing business at one end of the country, shall set the standards by which their universities are to be regulated. This is a question of public, as well as of educational, policy. It would be unfortunate if it were to be injected into political debate.<sup>65</sup>

The *ecclesiastical* questions involved are many. Some persons might suppose that denominational institutions, being excluded from the benefactions of the Foundation, would also be deprived of the benefits arising out of the scrutiny of the President of the Foundation. This, however, is a hopelessly narrow view. He seeks to elevate, by his criticisms, institutions which the Foundation declines to assist with its money, and not institutions only, but de-

<sup>64</sup>In his letter to President Pritchett, dated June 11, 1909, the President of the University says: "It is a matter of sincere regret on the part of everyone who has read the letter, that your organization, with its high aims for the advancement of all true efforts in educational work, should have taken this action without any notice to the university, and without giving it any opportunity to be heard upon the real and apparent reason for your action, as shown by your letter. That an institution of learning, with 1500 students, should be struck such a blow without warning, or opportunity to correct any defect in its administration that might be shown, is difficult to comprehend, and as expressed by others than myself, almost impossible to believe." *Statement of President Needham*, p. 11.

<sup>65</sup>"In those states where state universities control educational policies, put this question. What right has a State legislature to allow its State university, and institutions supported for the public by public taxation, to be controlled as to standard or policies by an outside body?" *The Nation*, March 10, 1910.



nominations as well. On the question of the Church's right to continue her historic work of education, he says:

"What is needed to-day is religious leadership. Whether such leadership is more likely to be secured by seeking it within a specified denomination or without regard to denominational lines, and whether the leadership chosen within a given denomination will tend rather to be denominational than religious, are questions on which men are likely, for some time to come, to have different opinions. The experience of the past certainly inclines thoughtful men to question whether those whose primary object is to save men's souls are the best qualified for training their minds. . . . Whether a denominational connection or control tends to improve the organization of a college, the reply almost universally will be that denominational conditions, such as the requirements that trustees shall belong to a given denomination, are serious limitations and the denominational control is a hindrance, not a benefit, to the college organization."<sup>66</sup>

From this it appears that the President has definitely committed himself to the dissolution of the ties which bind the colleges to the Church. In doing so he enters into the intimate life of every denomination whose institutions are inclined to look to the Foundation for assistance. This is a position of tremendous responsibility for one man, however gifted, and however highly educated.

The system of ministerial education, also, comes in for criticism. We learn from the President of the Foundation, Dr. Pritchett, that

"Another disadvantage under which the ministry has labored is the burden of sectarianism, the most common form of devotion to specifics (*sic*), which the world has known. In this respect, the profession of the preacher resembles somewhat that of the medical practitioner, with the difference that the medical sects are fewer in number. . . . Much has been said in recent years of the decay of churches and the weakening of Church ties, particularly among Protestants. Many explanations have been given of this tendency. No doubt many factors have a share in the result which we see. Amongst these one of the most evident is

<sup>66</sup> *Second Annual Report*, pp. 53-54.

inefficiency of the ministry due in the main to low standards of admission.... The old mother Church has pursued a more farsighted policy in this matter than the majority of her daughters. She requires of all her priests a long and severe training. .... To it is due in very large measure the enormous moral power of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, particularly among the great masses of working people in the city, where Protestantism has been so markedly ineffective."<sup>87</sup>

Thus, we have a judgment not only on the wisdom of that policy of the Christian Church which has provided education for her youth, but also on the highest form which that education takes, the education of her ministry. With this question councils, conferences and assemblies, some of them ecumenical, have wrestled, and have reached their conclusions slowly and announced them with many qualifications. Not so, however, with the President of the Foundation. Protestantism is ineffective: Its ministry is inefficient: This inefficiency is due to low standards of admission: The Roman Catholic Church, on the contrary, requires a long and severe training: She has in consequence an enormous moral power. These judgments are given us without qualification. Presumably they are final, at least for all those who either covet or dread the influence of the President of the Foundation. It does not appear where he acquired the information and the experience which warrant such broad statements. They imply a familiarity with theological encyclopedias under either Protestant or Roman Catholic auspices, and with the problems of ecclesiastical administration as wrought out in the various bodies with which he now undertakes to deal. It is not to be supposed that the technical school, from the charge of which he was called to his present position, afforded opportunities for special investigation. Probably we should regard these judgments of his as intuitive. They certainly seem to have been formed prior to experience.

But the ecclesiastical ventures of the President go beyond

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<sup>87</sup> *Third Annual Report*, p. 162.



the principle of denominational education and even beyond the type of theological instruction, to the questions of Church administration. Even the educational boards and the courts of the Church are under surveillance. The Presbyterian Church, through its College Board, and with the approval of the General Assembly, has established and is maintaining Westminster University at Denver, Colorado, which has property valued at \$300,000 and received last year gifts for current expenses amounting to \$22,655.05.<sup>68</sup> We may assume that the College Board acted with its characteristic conservatism in assisting this new institution, and that the General Assembly was within its discretion in recognizing it, but this does not weigh with the President of the Foundation, who says:

"I very much fear that the Westminster College is not a college of the Apostles, and that it crept into the fold at one of those unfortunate moments when denominational ambition and real estate promotion temporarily got the upper hand."<sup>69</sup>

We cannot suppose that the Presbyterian Church occupies a position of peculiar privilege with Dr. Pritchett, but rather that his watchful eye scans the whole field of denominational activity, and that he scrutinizes with equal freedom the administrative acts of Baptist Associations, Methodist Conferences and Episcopal Councils so far as they bear on education. His decisions in the different cases which come to him, *sub judice*, are doubtless rendered as promptly as possible, but as yet no way seems to have been found for communicating these directly to the various Church councils. Something must be done at once; if nothing more, the annual reports which contain these decisions, must be read at these councils, lest the members take action unadvisedly concerning their institutions.

It is unfortunate that such lucubrations should mar the really valuable investigations of Dr. Pritchett along the lines of general education. It is apparently a case of

<sup>68</sup> *Report of the College Board*, 1910, pp. 19-25.

<sup>69</sup> *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 120.

overmuch writing for which no one is responsible but himself. But the plea can no longer be made that the Foundation concerns itself only with "financial and academic" questions.

The purpose underlying this wide range of criticism of ecclesiastical proceedings, is to protect educational institutions from the evils of sectarianism. It was the "sects" which were excluded when the Foundation was created, and the spirit they foster is to be fought to the end. Just what is to be understood by this odious phrase in its present use it is hard to say. Very early in its history, Christianity was known as "the sect of the Nazarenes",<sup>70</sup> "a sect which everywhere was spoken against".<sup>71</sup> If it be said that it is not Christianity, but Christianity in its denominational form that is objected to, we must ask for a definition, intensive as well as extensive, of undenominational Christianity. The most ardent denominationalists among us would accept, as the basis of definition, one or another of the great creeds or confessions held in common by the universal Church, but the impression has been made that these creeds are themselves open to suspicion as being the embodiments of sectarianism, in that their teachings are standing athwart the pathway of educational progress as understood by some modern educators. Negatively, it is easy to say what this undenominational Christianity is not, but the authorities upon it have not yet been able to agree as to its positive form. Instead they refer to what they call the "spirit" which they find in men who repudiate every distinctive tenet of the historic faith quite as often as in those who receive this faith and live to exemplify it. Earnest Christian men will quietly endure the opprobrium of "sectarianism" as a part of "the reproach of Christ", with an increasing sense of their oneness in Him, and of the priceless value of the truth He has given to them in common.

The chief consideration affecting the Christian Church

<sup>70</sup> Acts xxiv. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Acts xxviii. 22.



is, of course, the *religious* one. The Church has no quarrel with men who oppose her faith or her methods, or who seek to neutralize her influence, so long as their course is open and straightforward. The only sinister influence in such a movement arises out of a formal profession of the Christian faith and an acceptance of the solemn ordination vows as affording a position for assailing that faith the more effectively. Men of the world are often more severe in their judgment of this course than is the Church itself, and sooner or later the offenders are detected and exposed. All Christians, worthy of the name, are united in the purpose to maintain the historic faith, though they may differ as to their mode of doing so. They find in it the only tenable solution of the problems of the universe, the only satisfactory answer to the cravings of the human spirit, the only promise of a future that is at once worthy of the dignity of man and within the reach of sinful man. Modern investigation, which has thrown such a flood of light on religious as on other questions, has not abated the needs of men, nor has it dissolved the historic faith. The attack, which at the moment seems severe, is merely the repetition of that which the Faith has met in every age. The waves dash high, and seem to overwhelm the rock, but the rock abides long after the wave has receded. If much of our current so-called religious literature appears to contradict this, it is because that literature is itself only a part of the wave. In the face of the abiding value of God's revelation to man, the Church founded her colleges and is now maintaining them, for the sake of our youth, who, like ourselves, need to come into the presence of things unseen and eternal. Under this view, education means something beyond cultural and technical courses, something beyond a merely scientific Bible study. Education in the highest sense is had only when the soul rests on God, and, thus resting, lives a life transformed within and without. If this end be reached, Christian Education has not failed, though it may be incomplete. If this end be missed, no academic qualities can atone for the fail-

ure. The scrutiny which the Church makes of movements which bear upon the religious life is therefore close. At the risk of being misunderstood, she must require of these movements that they declare themselves.

Approaching the Carnegie Foundation with this inquiry, we find that its generous founder "has no hostility to any denomination, least of all does he wish to hamper in any way the cause of religion".<sup>72</sup> We find also that the trustees are men of high character, and of large influence in the modern world, and that a number of them are members of Christian churches and some of them are in the Christian ministry. How far their personal attitude towards the Christian faith will mould the policy of the Foundation is not clear. Though most of the institutions upon their roll are in some sense Christian, they have given no expression to their common faith. The only information available is in their public writings. Of the trustees, the President, of course, occupies the foremost place. His views on religion differ probably from those of many of his associates, but it is safe to say that the attitude of the Foundation will not be very different from that of its President, as long as he is President. After assuring us that Mr. Carnegie would not "hamper the cause of religion", the President goes on to say,

"The essentials of religion are the same whether men belong to one religious organization or another. Religion is a life springing up in the human soul which blossoms into forgetfulness of self, in service to God and men."<sup>73</sup>

This definition of religion was given in a formal address before the Educational Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It may, therefore, be taken as expressing the mature judgment of the President of the Foundation. It is in accord with his views as given in his book, in which he says:

"That this (scientific) conception of religion and of God is inconsistent with the idea of a divine, omnipotent person,

<sup>72</sup> *Christian Denominations and The Colleges*, p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.



interfering directly in the affairs of our lives and of our world, seems to me clear. The whole conception of the universe, as the man of science sees it, leads him to recognize the presence of God in the working of steadfast and unchanging laws. So far as his observations go, and so far as his researches into the history of mankind throw light upon the question, no instance of such interference has ever been known (*sic*). On the other hand, it is against his whole conception of the orderly and just development of the universe.<sup>74</sup>

"The man who finds that his reason leads him to accept the scientific view of God, does not truly accept a spiritual relationship less rich, less sincere, less helpful, than he who thinks of God as a Father, and as governing directly and arbitrarily the affairs of his own life and of his own world. Do not for one moment let yourself believe that, if you find the traditional, historical conception of religion impossible, you have thereby ceased to be a religious man."<sup>75</sup>

These citations illuminate the conception of religion as held by the President of the Foundation. They deserve the close attention of the guardians of Christian colleges who would conserve Christian truth. If no instance of God's "interference in the affairs of our lives and of our world" "has ever been known", there is of course no place for the Incarnation of our Lord or for His Resurrection and ours or for Regeneration by the Holy Spirit, to say nothing of the many other miracles of Scripture. One such sentence, if true, sweeps away the Christian Faith and makes it the product of purely natural forces. Dr. Pritchett's "man of science" may "see" the Universe thus, but, as Dr. Orr has shown, he is not of the class with Bacon, Newton, Faraday, and Brewster and Kelvin. The late Prof. Tait said "that the truly scientific men and true theologians of the present day have not found themselves under the necessity of quarrelling." And the late Prof. Romanes gave, as one reason for his return to faith, the fact that in his own University of Cambridge the avowed Christians included the men of the highest attainments in science and he names

<sup>74</sup> *What is Religion?* pp. 39-40.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid* p. 41.

among others, Sir George Stokes and Profs. Tait, Adams, Clerk Maxwell, and Bayley. Whatever one may think of these sweeping statements of Dr. Pritchett's, it is within bounds to say that there is scarcely an institution upon the Carnegie Foundation which claims to be in any sense Christian, that would sanction, as an official utterance, this unqualified denial of the essentials of religion. And yet the views just quoted were expressed in a series of chapel addresses to young men in the institution over which Dr. Pritchett presided before he became President of the Foundation.

As if to show that he was dealing, not with the intellectual and philosophical aspects of religion only, but with religion in its personal and devotional aspect, he says:

"It seems, therefore, clear to me that, in the sense in which I have used the words, all serious men, whatever their intellectual training, must pray, not, perhaps, for material help, not in expectation that the laws of the universe shall be changed at their request, nor even primarily for strength to live rightly and justly (*sic*), but as the supreme effort of the human soul to know God. And whether that which we call prayer be a direct communion with Him as our Heavenly Father, or whether it be a communion with our higher consciousness, which is in touch with Him (*sic*), in either case the time can never come when a human soul will not rise from such communion purified and strengthened, with new hope and new patience, and with a more serene view of his own duty and his own future."<sup>76</sup>

This, perhaps, marks the climax of the religious teaching of the President of the Foundation. It was reached several years ago and nothing since then has appeared to indicate any change of view. Prayer which does not ask for help, nor even for strength to live rightly or justly, is the mockery of needy man. Prayer which is simply communion with our higher consciousness is a travesty.

The issues thus raised by the President involve, of course, the fundamentals of the faith. It is not a question of denominational differences. If this be 'sectarianism'

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.



the Christian Church as a whole lies under the charge. Whatever be the form of doctrine, or government, or worship, the God of the Church is One to whom she approaches, saying "Oh, Thou that hearest prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come!" If such views become current in our academic halls by reason of the official visitations of the President of the Foundation, the chapels in which from day to day the voice of prayer has been heard, may be converted into gymnasiums or laboratories. Young men, even under compulsion, will not engage in mockeries and travesties of the faith of their fathers, even if their own faith be not strong. Earnest young men to whom the problems of life are already real, and who have learned to carry them to God, will turn, some of them from the institution, and some of them from God Himself. Like Elijah, the youth of our Christian homes have learned to believe in the prayer-hearing and the prayer-answering God. And, if it be said that the President of the Foundation, when visiting the institutions, refrains from expressing these radical views, is it to be supposed that either professors or students will remain uninfluenced by what they know to be the real belief of the man whose place is the most powerful in the Foundation under which their institution has been brought? In such a case, silence is more eloquent than speech and it is an eloquence which forbodes spiritual death to all who come under its spell. Let us again remind ourselves that these are the views of the President alone, and that we are under obligations to him for his frankness and for his lucidity, and further, that he is entitled to all freedom in holding and propagating them. Let us also remember that the trustees and the founder are entirely within their rights in the selection of a president for the Foundation. The question lies not with the founder, nor the Foundation, nor the president, but with the Christian men in charge of Christian institutions carrying this overwhelming responsibility: If the cause of religion suffers in such an institution, the blame will lie with those who, representing the institution, have

urged and consented to its separation from the Christian Church.

These, the legal, the economic, the ethical, the ecclesiastical, the general educational, and the religious, are some of the considerations which must weigh with Christian institutions looking towards the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation. These considerations vary in their application to each case, but in one form or another they bear upon the life of every one of our colleges. The president or the board of control of a Christian institution making application to the Carnegie Foundation says, virtually, to his own constituency, to the Church in which his institution has been nourished, and to the Christian community at large;

#### NECESSARY ASSURANCES AND GUARANTEES

1. No legal hindrance arising out of the charter or the constitutional relations of our college exists. Not only our lawyers, and our legislature, but the higher courts, justify us in renouncing our relationship to the Christian Church and assure us that the rights of all parties in interest are conserved by this step.

2. A wise economy of the financial resources of our institutions, and a careful forecast of our expectations from the community and the Church alike, commend our application for the benefactions of the Foundation.

3. The moral right of our case is so clear that no reasonable man would misunderstand us or judge that we were exalting unduly the value of money in the life of our institution. Our young men, who are soon to go out into life, will carry with them from our act the highest ideals of character and conduct.

4. The policy we will hereafter pursue under the guidance of the Foundation, makes for the largest results in, not only the intellectual training of our students, but the preparation of them for life as self-reliant, independent thinkers and workers in the complex social organism of the day.

5. Our relations with the Church with which we have



been affiliated, will not be hindered by this new relationship, nor will we be influenced thereby to policies contrary to those which the experience of the Church has approved.

6. The religious life of our faculty and our student-body is so surely, and so fixedly, Christian, that we can without danger bring our institution into personal contact with those who openly deny the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and we cheerfully accept all responsibility for the results of such contact.

These considerations, in one form or another, will of course be duly weighed by those who are now in charge of our Church institutions. If, under the conclusions they reach, they are obliged to decline the benefits of the Foundation, they will feel a sincere regret that advantages so great must be relinquished, and that the generous founder, in the exercise of his discretion, saw fit to fix conditions which are insurmountable obstacles to their acceptance of his benefactions. They will be grateful for the gifts he has made to their institutions without these conditions. They will feel confident that he and every other sane man will recognize the principles by which they are guided, and the trusts which they are called to administer. And they will part, if part they must, as friends and fellow-workers in a large field, though with the aims in view standing out in sharp contrast.

## IX.

### THE CHURCH AND HER VETERANS: AN ADEQUATE PROVISION

Meantime, the needs of the veteran professors press for attention. They are aging, and their service to the college is not what it once was, yet they have no means of livelihood except their salary.

What is to be done is, of course, a large question. President Schurman thinks that "the menace" of such corporations as the Carnegie Foundation would be removed if the trustees were made answerable to the public, or if the money were distributed among the colleges. In some in-

stances, the fine example set by Brown University will be followed. It will appear that, as at Brown: "There would be a keener interest in giving to a pension fund than in giving to any other object whatsoever. The appeal on behalf of our teaching staff would reach the heart of every alumnus".<sup>77</sup> The cost of a new building would give a fund sufficient to provide for the veterans, and although this may be a new appeal, the conscience of the constituency would respond.

In other instances, the resources of the college are so slender, and the material needs are so great, that such a fund is out of the question. Provision must be made from the outside for a pension fund as it is already made in part for salaries. The appeal must be made to the great heart of the Church which brought the college into being and has sustained it thus far. The Church must care for the veteran professor doing the work of God as she has cared for the veteran preacher of the Word of God. The President of the Foundation, Dr. Pritchett, has, with great directness, pointed out the duty of the Church to the institutions which she controls: "It is no part of Christian education to hold control of a college and leave it to starve".<sup>78</sup> It is, of course, easier for the Church to surrender this control and to leave an outside corporation to provide the funds than it is for her to provide them, but the history of the Church is full of instances in which she has risen to the need as it appears and provided for the work entrusted to her hands.<sup>79</sup> In

<sup>77</sup> *Final Report*, p. 5.

<sup>78</sup> *Christian Denominations and The Colleges*, p. 25.

<sup>79</sup> "While there is no hiding from our eyes the fact that there is in this new movement a serious menace to the cause of religious education, there is one possible outcome of it that may result in vast good to our cause. The only real charm in the new movement is the gold there is in it. It becomes, therefore, a terrific challenge to the Church to endow its schools adequately, and to provide a foundation for the sustenance of retired teachers. That the Church is amply able to do this there cannot be the slightest question. If it should decline to make such provision and thus allow the higher educational work to pass from its hands, it would become guilty of selling its most interesting and fruitful field for mere gold. This the Church will never do. It is



this conviction, she has established her colleges and endowed them, she has sent her missionaries throughout the land and through foreign lands, she has provided for the education of young men for the ministry, and for the relief of aged and infirm ministers. She did this in the days of her poverty. Now those days are past and she can no longer say "Silver and gold have I none". She raises today a hundred thousand dollars more readily than she raised a thousand dollars a hundred years ago. In this day of large gifts to Education, the difficulties are not to be thought of in comparison with those which were encountered when the great funds of the Church were first established. The appeal to Christian givers of broad sympathies and of large means would be effective, and this appeal would not interfere with those objects which, in the ordinary channels of Church benevolence, are already established. No conflict, therefore, would arise between this and the great causes which now claim the attention of the Church.

The question is, of course, a large one, but we are accustomed to large things today. The figures are, for the most part, available. A table prepared by the College Board of the Presbyterian Church affords the basis of calculation.<sup>80</sup> The results of the valuable investigations of the Carnegie Foundation into the actuarial and other questions are before

morally capable of the struggle necessary to raise any amount of money, but it is not morally capable of forsaking this supreme obligation to mankind." From an *Address before the Religious Education Association* at Nashville, Tenn., March 19, 1910, by Right Rev. James Atkins, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Waynesville, N. C.

<sup>80</sup> Inst.	Denomination	Faculty	Students	Property	Endowment
11	Baptist	2,310	33,329	\$25,476,000	\$22,058,000
20	Christian	415	6,091	2,170,000	1,131,000
42	Congregational	1,746	21,769	6,662,000	24,394,000
47	Lutheran	557	8,842	3,039,000	767,000
103	Methodist	3,171	41,268	23,206,000	18,780,000
77	Presbyterian	1,578	19,796	14,096,000	8,688,000
10	Prot. Episcopal	667	5,744	17,284,000	18,970,000
61	Roman Catholic	1,649	16,248	25,350,000	1,517,000

us in the Reports.<sup>81</sup> Possibly the Foundation would place at our disposal information more in detail. The rules to be followed would require some modification, but those of the Carnegie Foundation appear to be both just and considerate.<sup>82</sup>

Such a fund should provide not only for the professors in our Church colleges but for all who serve the cause of Christ in the capacity of teachers or instructors in the institutions of the Church. The man or woman whose life has been given to teaching in the missionary schools in foreign lands, or in the missionary schools scattered throughout America, and this on a salary far below that of the average college professor, is as truly worthy of a retiring pension as the college professor. The missionary boards of the Church could confirm this statement, and probably would welcome such a provision for the devoted men and women who are under their direction. The professors in theological seminaries would have to be included if the system were comprehensive. The institutions would have to be classified and each class dealt with according to its grade and its scope.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *Bulletin: Financial Status of Professors in America and Germany.*

<sup>82</sup> The underlying principles of these rules as stated by Dr. Pritchett are:

1. The retiring allowance must come to the teacher as a right and in accordance with fixed rules.
2. It should form a fair proportion of his active pay and a larger proportion of smaller salaries than of large ones.
3. The retiring allowance should be available at some fixed age and after some stated period of service.
4. Some account should be taken of disability.
5. Provision should be made for the widows of teachers who had become eligible.

<sup>83</sup> In the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., steps have already been taken to bring this question before the General Assembly. Overtures from the Synods of Illinois and Ohio, substantially the same, will be presented to the Assembly. The overture from the Synod of Illinois is as follows:

"The Synod of Illinois, having in view the needs of certain institutions of learning which are dependent on, or organically related to the Church, in the way of some provision for professors and teachers who have reached the age of retirement from active duty, and finding



If such a movement be too large for any one ecclesiastical body, it would be entirely in keeping with the trend of Christian sentiment if these bodies were to group themselves together, under their common denominational names, to provide this fund. Their institutions could readily be classified and a comprehensive plan applying to them all wrought out. Whatever the reasons be that keep these bodies apart, there is hardly anything which would prevent co-operation in this direction. The institutions are sufficiently alike, and their standards near enough together, to warrant co-operation. Every principle of efficiency and economy would favor such a combination, and substantial Church unity along the lines of least resistance would be secured, or, if not unity, federation in the best sense of the word. It would be easy to provide safeguards for the protection of the different constituent bodies.

It is entirely reasonable to anticipate that were such provision made, the institutions which in different ways have been related to the Christian Church and have altered their relations that they might be eligible to the Carnegie Foundation, would gladly resume their former relations, or even enter upon closer relations with the churches by which they were founded and in which they grew up. They parted from the Church with great reluctance and under what seemed to be the stress of financial necessity. Their attachment to the Church remains unabated and the interest of the Church in them is as great as ever. Is it too much to hope that, with many of these institutions, the establishment that these institutions are of several different classes, finding also that, in the pressure of other claims, no provision has been made by these institutions for such professors and teachers, and having learned of the ample provisions now being offered to institutions which are without legal or organic relation to the Christian Church, does hereby overture the General Assembly of 1911, to inquire, by a special committee or otherwise, into the number and the classification of institutions of learning dependent on or organically related to our Church, which have no provision for retiring allowances for professors or teachers; to ascertain the equitable basis for such allowances and to propose a plan for a fund which shall provide, year after year, regular allowances to these devoted veterans in the service of Christ and His Church.

of such a fund would mark the glad day of their return to the Church?

Such a plan was, of course, undreamed of by our fathers and lacks the authority of precedent; but the general educational situation also lacks the authority of precedent. As our fathers heroically met the situation which faced them, so ought we to meet the situation which is before us. As they in their day had to make precedents, so must we in ours. This is true conservatism, and at the same time, true progress.

When the Church shall establish this fund, she will give to her educational work a stability which is greatly needed. She will not only provide for her veteran teachers and professors, but she will assure to those who are now in active service a sufficient support for their old age. Meeting thus the new demands, she will be able to maintain her historic place as the friend and guide in Christian education. Acknowledging the services of the generous founder of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, who, by his benefaction, pointed out the need and showed the way to meet it, and availing herself of the valuable results of the work of the Foundation, she will see to it that her colleges and academies are developed according to the highest standards, that they are kept abreast of the times in science and art and philosophy, that their courses meet the new demands of modern life, and, besides, that, more than ever, they surround their students with those influences which make for integrity, purity, courage and fidelity to the tasks of the common life. It is no secret that modern educators, in their efforts to withstand the trend of a purely secular theory, are looking wistfully for the sources of these higher influences. And the Church will serve the cause of education in general, as well as her own institutions, if she will show again that these influences take their rise in supernatural sources, that faith in God is the source of faith with and service to man, that the eternal world holds for men by far the larger part of



life, that the sure guide to the eternal is the Word of God and that true wisdom for man is to sit at the feet of Him Who is the Eternal Wisdom Incarnate.

The Church which girds herself for this task will command the sympathy and support of every man who has discovered the real lack in the present system of education.

W. S. PLUMER BRYAN.

*The Church of the Covenant.*  
*Chicago.*

## ON THE BIBLICAL NOTION OF "RENEWAL"

The terms "renew", "renewing", are not of frequent occurrence in our English Bible. In the New Testament they do not occur at all in the Gospels, but only in the Epistles (Paul and Hebrews), where they stand, respectively, for the Greek terms ἀνακαινόω (II Cor. iv. 16, Col. iii. 10) with its cognates, ἀνακαινίζω (Heb. vi. 6) and ἀνανεόμαι (Eph. iv. 23), and ἀνακαίνωσις (Rom. xii. 2, Tit. iii. 5). If we leave to one side II Cor. iv. 16 and Heb. vi. 6, which are of somewhat doubtful interpretation, it becomes at once evident that a definite theological conception is embodied in these terms. This conception is that salvation in Christ involves a radical and complete transformation wrought in the soul (Rom. xii. 2, Eph. iv. 23) by God the Holy Spirit (Tit. iii. 5, Eph. iv. 24), by virtue of which we become "new men" (Eph. iv. 24, Col. iii. 10), no longer conformed to this world (Rom. xii. 2, Eph. iv. 22, Col. iii. 9), but in knowledge and holiness of the truth created after the image of God (Eph. iv. 24, Col. iii. 10, Rom. xii. 2). The conception, it will be seen, is a wide one, inclusive of all that is comprehended in what we now technically speak of as regeneration, renovation and sanctification. It embraces, in fact, the entire subjective side of salvation, which it represents as a work of God, issuing in a wholly new creation (II Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15, Eph. ii. 10). What is indicated is, therefore, the need of such a subjective salvation by sinful man, and the provision for this need made in Christ (Eph. iv. 20, Col. iii. 11, Tit. iii. 6).

The absence of the terms in question from the Gospels does not in the least argue the absence from the teaching of the Gospels of the thing expressed by them. This thing is so of the essence of the religion of revelation that it could not be absent from any stage of its proclamation. That it should be absent would require that sin should be conceived to have wrought no subjective injury to man,



so that he would need for his recovery from sin only an objective cancelling of his guilt and reinstatement in the favor of God. This is certainly not the conception of the Scriptures in any of their parts. It is uniformly taught in Scripture that by his sin man has not merely incurred the divine condemnation but also corrupted his own heart; that sin, in other words, is not merely guilt but depravity; and that there is needed for man's recovery from sin, therefore, not merely atonement but renewal; that salvation, that is to say, consists not merely in pardon but in purification. Great as is the stress laid in the Scriptures on the forgiveness of sins as the root of salvation, no less stress is laid throughout the Scriptures on the cleansing of the heart as the fruit of salvation. Nowhere is the sinner permitted to rest satisfied with pardon as the end of salvation; everywhere he is made poignantly to feel that salvation is realized only in a clean heart and a right spirit.

In the Old Testament, for example, sin is not set forth in its origin as a purely objective act with no subjective effects, or in its manifestation as a series of purely objective acts out of all relation to the subjective condition. On the contrary, the sin of our first parents is represented as no less corrupting than inculcating; shame is as immediate a fruit of it as fear (Gen. iii. 7). And, on the principle that no clean thing can come out of what is unclean (Job xiv. 4), all that are born of woman are declared "abominable and corrupt," to whose nature iniquity alone is attractive (Job xv. 14-16). Accordingly, to become sinful, men do not wait until the age of accountable action arrives. Rather, they are apostate from the womb, and as soon as they are born go astray, speaking lies (Ps. lviii. 3): they are even shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin (Ps. li. 5). The propensity ( *רָצוֹן* ) of their heart is evil from their youth (Gen. viii. 21), and it is out of the heart that all the issues of life proceed (Prov. iv. 2, xx. 11). Acts of sin are therefore but the expression of the natural heart, which is deceitful above all things and desperately sick

(Jer. xvii. 9). The only hope of an amendment of the life, lies accordingly in a change of heart; and this change of heart is the desire of God for His people (Deut. v. 29) and the passionate longing of the saints for themselves (Ps. li. 10). It is, indeed, wholly beyond man's own power to achieve it. As well might the Ethiopian hope to change his skin and the leopard his spots as he who is wonted to evil to correct his ways (Jer. xiii. 20); and when it is a matter of cleansing not of hands but of heart—who can declare that he has made his heart clean and is pure from sin (Prov. xx. 9)? Men may be exhorted to circumcise their hearts (Deut. x. 10, Jer. iv. 4), and to make themselves new hearts and new spirits (Ezek. xviii. 31); but the background of such appeals is rather the promise of God than the ability of man (Deut. v. 29, Ezek. xi. 19, cf. Keil *in loc.*). It is God alone who can “turn” a man “a new heart” (1 Sam. x. 9), and the cry of the saint who has come to understand what his sin means, and therefore what cleansing from it involves, is ever, “Create ( **בָּרָא** ) in me a new heart, O God, and renew ( **חַדֵּשׁ** ) a steadfast spirit within me” (Ps. li. 10 [12]). The express warrant for so great a prayer is afforded by the promise of God who, knowing the incapacity of the flesh, has Himself engaged to perfect His people. He will circumcise their hearts, that they may love the Lord their God with all their heart and with all their soul; and so may live (Deut. xxx. 6). He will give them a heart to know Him that He is the Lord; that so they may really be His people and He their God (Jer. xxiv. 4). He will put His law in their inward parts and write it in their heart so that all shall know Him (Jer. xxxi. 33, cf. xxxii. 39). He will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in His statutes and keep his ordinances and do them, and so be His people and He their God (Ezek. xi. 19). He will give them a new heart and take away the stony heart out of their flesh; and put His Spirit within them and cause them to walk in His statutes and keep His judg-



ments and do them: that so they may be His people and He their God (Ezek. xxxvi. 26, cf. xxxvii. 29). Thus the expectation of a new heart was made a substantial part of the Messianic promise, in which was embodied the whole hope of Israel.

It does not seem open to doubt that in these great declarations we have the proclamation of man's need of "renewal" and of the divine provision for it as an essential element in salvation.<sup>1</sup> We must not be misled by the emphasis placed in the Old Testament on the forgiveness of sins as the constitutive fact of salvation, into explaining away all allusions to the cleansing of the heart as but figurative expressions for pardon. Pardon is no doubt frequently set forth under the figure or symbol of washing or cleansing: but expressions such as those which have been adduced go beyond this. When, then, it is suggested<sup>2</sup> that Psalm li, for example, "contains only a single prayer, namely for forgiveness"; and that "the cry, 'Create in me a clean heart' is a petition not for what we call renewal" but only for "forgiving grace", we cannot help thinking the contention an extravagance,—an extravagance, moreover, out of keeping with its author's language elsewhere, and indeed in this very context where he speaks quite simply of the pollution as well as the guilt of sin as included in the scope of the confession made in this psalm.<sup>3</sup> The word "create" is a strong one and appears to invoke from God the exertion of

<sup>1</sup>"The necessity of a change of disposition for the reception of salvation is indicated (Jer. xxxi. 33, Ezek. xxxvi. 35)"—König, *Offenbarungsbegriff d. A. T.* II p. 398, note. "Indications are not wholly lacking that some of the prophets, at least, believed man unable to make himself acceptable to God . . . It is God who cleanses the heart by cleansing away the dross (Isa. i. 25, vi. 7, Jer. xxxi. 31-34, xxxii. 8)"—J. M. P. Smith, *Biblical Ideas of Atonement*, 1909, p. 28. "Ezekiel is even so bold as to declare that we amend our lives because God gives us a new heart and a new spirit (xi. 19)"—*Expository Times*, Feb. 1908, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the O. T.*, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup>P. 234; cf. in general p. 244: "There is, therefore, both guilt and pollution to be removed in the realization in Israel of the life of God." Similarly Delitzsch in *loc.*: "the prayer for justification is followed by the prayer for renewing."

His almighty power for the production of a new subjective state of things: and it does not seem easy to confine the word "heart" to the signification "conscience" as if the prayer were merely that the conscience might be relieved from its sense of guilt. Moreover, the parallel clause, "Renew a steadfast spirit within me," does not readily lend itself to the purely objective interpretation.<sup>3</sup> That the transformation of the heart promised in the great prophetic passages must also mean more than the production of a clear conscience, is equally undeniable and indeed is not denied. When Jeremiah (xxx. 31-33), for example, represents God as declaring that what shall characterize the New Covenant which He will make with the House of Israel, is that He will put His law in the inward parts of His people and write it in their hearts, he surely means to say that God promises to work a subjective effect in the hearts of Israel, by virtue of which their very instincts and most intimate impulses shall be on the side of the law, obedience to which shall therefore be but the spontaneous expression of their own natures.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Baethgen's comment on the verse runs: "The singer knows that for the steadfastness of heart sought in verse 8, there is needed a new creation, a rebirth. *בְּרֵא* in the Kal is always used only of the divine production. The heart is the central organ of the whole religious moral life; the parallel *רוּחַ* is its synonym. Steadfast (*נָכוֹן*) the spirit is called so far as it does not hesitate between good and evil."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e. g., A. B. Davidson, *Hastings' BD.*, I pp. 514 sq.: "Jehovah will make a new covenant with Israel, that is, forgive their sins and write His law in their hearts—the one in His free grace and the other by His creative act"; also IV, p. 119a, and the fine exposition of Ezek. xxxvi. 17-38 in the *Theology of the O. T.*, p. 343. On the other hand Giesebrecht, *Handkom. Jer.* p. 171 thinks "Jeremiah has not yet advanced to the 'new heart' (Ezek. xi. 19, xxvi. 26 sq., Ps. li. 12); what he is thinking of is an inner influence on the heart by divine power, so that it attains a new attitude to the contents of the law." But this divine power is certainly conceived as creative. "The prophets," says Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes* 1899, p. 77, "were convinced that God Himself must interfere in order to produce the ideal condition which He demands. The ideal kingdom in which dwell piety and righteousness cannot, therefore, be a result of the natural development of the people, but it can come into existence only by an act of God, by a miracle, by the outpouring of the divine Spirit."



It is equally important to guard against lowering the conception of the Divine holiness in the Old Testament until the demand of God that His people shall be holy as He is holy,<sup>5</sup> and the provisions of His Grace to make them holy by an inner creative act, are robbed of more or less of their deeper ethical meaning. Here, too, some recent writers are at fault, speaking at times almost as if holiness in God were merely a sort of fastidiousness, over against which is set not so much all sin as uncleanness, as all uncleanness, as in this sense sin.<sup>6</sup> The idea is that what this somewhat squeamish God did not find agreeable those who served Him would discover it well to avoid; rather than that all sin is necessarily abominable to the holy God and He will not abide it in His servants. This lowered view is sometimes even pushed to the extreme of suggesting<sup>7</sup> that "it is nowhere intimated that there is any danger to the sinner because of his uncleanness;" if he is "cut off" that is solely on account of his disobedience in not cleansing himself, not on account of the uncleanness itself. The extremity of this contention is its sufficient refutation. When the sage declares that no one can say "I have made my heart clean, I am pure from sin" (Prov. xx. 9), he clearly means to intimate that an unclean heart is itself sinful. The Psalmist in bewailing his inborn sinfulness and expressing his longing for truth in the inward parts and wisdom in the hidden parts, certainly conceived his unclean heart as properly sinful in the sight of God, (Ps. li). The prophet abject before the holy God (Is. vi) beyond question looked upon his uncleanness as itself iniquity requiring to be taken away by expiatory purging. It would seem unquestionable that throughout the Old Testament the uncleanness which is offensive to Jehovah is sin considered as pollution, and that salvation from sin involves therefore a process of purification as well as expiation.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dillmann, *Alttest. Theologie*, pp. 421-2.

<sup>6</sup> E. g., A. B. Davidson, *Theology of O. T.*, pp. 348 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 352-3, against Riehm.

The agent by whom the cleansing of the heart is effected is in the Old Testament uniformly represented as God Himself, or, rarely, more specifically as the Spirit of God, which is the Old Testament name for God in His effective activity. It has, indeed, been denied that the Spirit of God is ever regarded in the Old Testament as the worker of holiness.<sup>8</sup> But this extreme position cannot be maintained.<sup>9</sup> It is true enough that the Spirit of God comes before us in the Old Testament chiefly as the Theocratic Spirit endowing men as servants of the Kingdom, and after that as the Cosmical Spirit, the principle of all world-processes; and only occasionally as the creator of new ethical life in the individual soul.<sup>10</sup> But it can scarcely be doubted that in Ps. li. 11 [13] God's Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God's holiness, is conceived in that precise manner, and the same is true of Psalm cxliii. 10 (cf. Is. lxiii. 10, 11 and see Gen. vi. 3, Neh. ix. 20, 1 Sam. x. 6, 9).<sup>11</sup> It is chiefly, however, in promises of the future that this aspect of the Spirit's work

<sup>8</sup> Cf., e. g., Beversluis, *De heilige Geest in zijne Werkingen*, 1896, p. 38: "Although the spirit of God may, no doubt, be brought into connection with a moral renewing (in Ezek. xxxvi. 27) nevertheless an ethical operation of the Spirit of God is nowhere taught in the Old Testament."

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e. g., Swete, *Hastings' BD.*, II, pp. 403-4; and Davidson, *ibid.*, IV, p. 119a: "Later prophets perceive that man's spirit must be determined by an operation of God who will write His law on it (Jno. iii. 33), or who will put His own Spirit within him as the impulsive principle of his life (Is. xxxii. 15, Ezek. xxxvi. 26ff)."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct. 1895, pp. 669 sq.

<sup>11</sup> As even Gunkel allows, *Die Wirkungen, &c.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 77: "On the other hand the Spirit appears as the principle of religion and morality in Ezek. xxxvi. 27; Is. xxviii. 6; xxxii. 15 sq.; with which Zech. xii. 10 may be compared. To these may be added the passages, not cited by Wendt, Is. xi. 2 and Ps. li. 13; cxliii. 10, the two last of which have far the most significance for our problem, because they present the doctrine of the Spirit in its relation to the life of pious individuals" (cf. pp. 78 and 79). Delitzsch, on Ps. li. 12, 13, thinks it nevertheless a mistake to take "the Holy Spirit" here as "the Spirit of grace" as distinct from the "Spirit of office". David, he says, is thinking of himself as king, as Israelite, and as man, without distinguishing between them: the Spirit in his mind is that with which he was anointed (1 Sam. xvi. 13); and he speaks of His total effects without differentiation.



is dwelt upon.<sup>12</sup> The recreative activity of the Spirit of God is even made the crowning Messianic blessing (Is. xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 16, xlv. 3, on which see Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung*, etc., p. 144, lix. 21, Ezek. x. 29, xviii. 31, xxvi. 26, xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 29, Zech. xii. 10); and this is as much as to say that the promised Messianic salvation included in it provision for the renewal of men's hearts as well as for the expiation of their guilt.<sup>13</sup>

It would be distinctly a retrogression from the Old Testament standpoint, therefore, if our Lord—Himself, in accordance with Old Testament prophecy (e. g., Is. xi. 1, xlii. 1, lxi. 1), endowed with the Spirit (Mt. iii. 16, iv. 1, xii. 18, 28, Mk. i. 10, 12, Lk. iii. 22, iv. 1, 14, 18, x. 21, Jno. i. 32, 33) above measure (Jno. iii. 34)<sup>14</sup>—had neglected the Messianic promise of spiritual renewal. In point of fact, He began His ministry as the dispenser of the Spirit (Mt. iii. 11, Mk. i. 8, Lk. iii. 16, Jno. i. 33). And the purpose for which He dispensed the Spirit is unmistakably represented as the cleansing of the heart. The distinction of Jesus is, indeed, made to lie precisely in this,—that whereas John could baptise only with water, Jesus baptised with the Holy Spirit: the repentance which was symbolized by the one was wrought by the other. And this repentance (*μετάνοια*) was no mere vain regret for an ill-spent past (*μεταμέλεια*), or surface modification of conduct, but a radical transformation of the mind which issues indeed in "fruits worthy of repentance" (Lk. iii. 8, i. e., *ἐπιστροφή*) but itself consists in an inward reversal of mental attitude.

There is little subsequent reference in the Synoptic Gospels, to be sure, to the Holy Spirit as the renovator of hearts. It is made clear, indeed, that He is the best of gifts

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Gunkel, as cited, p. 78, and Delitzsch on Ps. li. 12, 13; also Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 296: "Jeremiah and Ezekiel recognized a miraculous transformation in the heart of the people of the future."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. in general, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct. 1895, art. "The Spirit of God in the O. T." pp. 679ff.

<sup>14</sup> For on the whole it seems best so to understand this verse.

and that the Father will not withhold Him from those that ask Him (Lk. xi. 13), and that He abides in the followers of Jesus and works in and through them (Mt. x. 20, Mk. xiii. 11, Lk. xii. 12); and it is made equally clear that He is the very principle of holiness, so that to confuse His activity with that of unclean spirits argues absolute perversion (Mt. xii. 31, Mk. iii. 29, Lk. xii. 10). But these two things do not happen to be brought together in these Gospels.<sup>15</sup>

In the Gospel of John, on the other hand, the testimony of the Baptist is followed up by the record of the searching conversation of our Lord with Nicodemus, in which Nicodemus is rebuked for not knowing—though “the teacher of Israel”—that the Kingdom of God is not for the children of the flesh but only for the children of the Spirit (cf. Mat. iii. 9). Nicodemus had come to our Lord as to a teacher, widely recognized as having a mission from God. Jesus repels this approach as falling far below recognizing Him for what He really was and for what he had really come to do. As a divinely sent teacher He solemnly assures Nicodemus that something much more effective than teaching is needed: “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born anew he cannot see the Kingdom of God” (iii. 3). And then, when Nicodemus, oppressed by the sense of the profundity of the change which must indeed be wrought in man if he is to be fitted for the Kingdom of God, despairingly inquires “How can this be?” our Lord explains equally solemnly that it is only by a sovereign, recreating work of the Holy Spirit, that so great an effect can be wrought: “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God” (iii. 5). Nor, he adds, ought such a declaration to cause surprise: what is born of the flesh can be nothing but flesh; only what is born of the Spirit is spirit. He closes the discussion with a reference to the sovereignty of the action of the Spirit in regenerating men: as with the

<sup>15</sup> See in general, however, Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, p. 259.



wind which blows where it lists, we know nothing of the Spirit's coming except Lo, it is here! (iii. 8). About the phrase, "Born of water and the Spirit" much debate has been had; and various explanations of it have been offered. The one thing which seems certain is that there can be no reference to an external act, performed by men, of their own will: for in that case the product would not be spirit but flesh, neither would it come without observation. Is it fanciful to see here a reference back to the Baptist's, "I indeed baptise with water; He baptises with the Holy Spirit"? The meaning then would be that entrance into the Kingdom of God requires, if we cannot quite say not only repentance but also regeneration, yet at least we may say both repentance and regeneration. In any event it is very pungently taught here that the precondition of entrance into the Kingdom of God is a radical transformation wrought by the Spirit of God Himself.<sup>16</sup>

Beyond this fundamental passage there is little said in John's Gospel of the renovating activities of the Spirit. The communication of the Spirit of xx. 22 seems to be an official endowment; and although in vii. 39 the allusion appears to be to the gift of the Spirit to believers at large, the stress seems to fall rather on the blessing they bring to others by virtue of this endowment, than on that they receive themselves. There remains only the great promise of the Paraclete. It would probably be impossible to attribute more depth or breadth of meaning than rightfully belongs to them, to the passages which embody this promise (xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 13). But the emphasis appears to be laid in them upon the illuminating (cf. also Lk. i. 15, 41, 67, ii. 25, 26; Mt. xxii. 42, 11) more than upon the sancti-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, E. T., II, 91: "Jesus here at the outset declares, in the only passage in the Fourth Gospel where the conception of the Kingdom of God is directly mentioned, that a complete new birth, taking place from the commencement, and, indeed, a birth from the Spirit of God, is indispensably necessary in order both to seeing (that is, experiencing) and to entering the Kingdom of God (vss. 3 and 5)"

fying influences of the Spirit, although assuredly the latter are not wholly absent (xvi. 7-11).

Elsewhere in John, although apart from any specific reference to the Spirit as the agent, repeated expression is given to the fundamental conception of renewal. Men lie dead in their sins and require to be raised from the dead if they are to live (xi. 25, 26); it is the prerogative of the Son to quicken whom He will (v. 21); it is impossible for men to come to the Son, unless they be drawn by the Father (vi. 44); being in the Son it is only of the Father that they can bear fruit (xv. 1). Similarly in the Synoptics there is lacking nothing to this teaching, except the specific reference of the effects to the Holy Spirit. What is required of men is nothing less than perfection even as the heavenly Father is perfect (Mt. v. 48—the New Testament form of the Old Testament "Ye shall be holy for I am holy, Jehovah your God", Lev. xix. 2). And this perfection is not a matter of external conduct but of internal disposition. One of the objects of the "Sermon on the Mount" is to deepen the conception of righteousness and to carry back both sin and righteousness into the heart itself (Mat. v. 20). Accordingly, the external righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees is pronounced just no righteousness at all; it is the cleansing merely of the outside of the cup and of the platter (Mt. xxiii. 25), and they are therefore but as whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful but inwardly are full of dead men's bones (Mt. xxiii. 27, 28). True cleansing must begin from within; and this inward cleansing will cleanse the outside also (Mt. xxiii. 26, xv. 11). The fundamental principle is that every tree brings forth fruit according to its nature, whether good or bad; and therefore the tree must be made good and its fruit good, or else the tree corrupt and its fruit corrupt (Mat. vii. 17, xii. 33, xv. 11, Mk. vii. 15, Lk. vi. 43, xi. 34). So invariable and all-inclusive is this principle in its working, that it applies even to the idle words which men speak, by which they may therefore be justly judged: none that are evil



can speak good things, "for it is out of the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh" (Mat. xii. 34). Half-measures are therefore unavailing (Mat. vi. 21); a radical change alone will suffice—no mere patching of the new on the old, no pouring of new wine into old bottles (Mat. ix. 16, 17, Mk. ii. 21, 22, Lk. v. 36, 39). He who has not a wedding-garment—the gift of the host—even though he be called shall not be chosen (Mat. xxii. 11, 12).

Accordingly when—in the Synoptic parallel to the conversation with Nicodemus—the rich young ruler came to Jesus with his heart set on purchase (as a rich man's heart is apt to be set), pleading his morality, Jesus repelled him and took occasion to pronounce upon not the difficulty only but the impossibility of entrance into the Kingdom of heaven on such terms (Mat. xix. 23, Mk. x. 23, Lk. xviii. 24). The possibility of salvation, He explains, just because it involves something far deeper than this, rests in the hands of God alone (Mat. xix. 26, Mk. x. 27, Lk. xviii. 27). Man himself brings nothing to it; the Kingdom is received in naked helplessness (Mat. xix. 21 ||). It is not without significance that, in all the Synoptics, the conversation with the rich young ruler is made to follow immediately upon the incident of the blessing of the little children (Mat. xix. 13 ||). When our Lord says, with reference to these children (they were mere babies, Lk. xviii. 15),<sup>17</sup> that, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," he means just to say that the kingdom of heaven is never purchased by any quality whatever, to say nothing now of deeds: whosoever enters it enters it as a child enters the world,—he is born into it by the power of God. In these two incidents, of the child set in the midst and of the rich young ruler, we have, in effect, acted parables of the new birth; they exhibit to us how men enter the kingdom and set the declaration made to Nicodemus (Jno. iii. 1 *sq.*) before us in vivid object-lesson. And if the kingdom can be entered thus only in nakedness as a child comes into the world, all

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hastings' DCG., art. *Children*.

stand before it in like case and it can come only to those selected therefor by God Himself: where none have a claim upon it the law of its bestowment can only be the Divine will (Mat. xi. 27, xx. 15).<sup>18</sup>

The broad treatment characteristic of the Gospels only partly gives way as we pass to the Epistles. Discriminations of aspects and stages, however, begin to become evident; and with the increased material before us we easily perceive lines of demarcation which perhaps we should not have noted with the Gospels only in view. In particular we observe two groups of terms standing over against one another, describing, respectively, from the manward and from the Godward side, the great change experienced by him who is translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of God's love (Col. i. 13). And within the limits of each of these groups, we observe also certain distinctions in the usage of the several terms which make it up. In the one group are such terms as *μετανοεῖν* with its substantive *μετάνοια*, and its cognate *μεταμέλестhai*, and *ἐπιστρέφειν* and its substantive *ἐπιστροφή*. These tell us what part man takes in the change. The other group includes such terms as *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν* or *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* or *ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*, *παλιγγενεσία*, *ἀναγεννᾶν*, *ἀποκνεῖσθαι*, *ἀνανεοῦσθαι*, *ἀνακαινοῦσθαι*, *ἀνακαίνωσις*. These tell what part God takes in the change. Man repents, makes amendment, and turns to God. But it is by God that men are renewed, brought forth, born again into newness of life. The transformation which to human vision manifests itself as a change of life (*ἐπιστροφή*) resting upon a radical change of mind (*μετάνοια*), to Him who searches the heart and understands all the movements of the human soul is known to be a creation (*κτίζειν*) of God, beginning in a new birth from the Spirit (*γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*) and issuing in a new divine product (*ποίημα*), created in Christ Jesus into good works prepared by God beforehand that they may be walked in (Eph. ii. 10).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Wendt, as cited, p. 54-55 note.



There is certainly synergism here; but is it a synergism of such character that not only is the initiative taken by God (for "all things are of God", II Cor. v. 17, cf. Heb. vi. 6), but the Divine action is in the exceeding greatness of God's power, according to the working of the strength of His might which He wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead (Eph. i. 19). The "new man" which is the result of this change is therefore one who can be described no otherwise than as "created" (κτισθέντα) in righteousness and holiness of truth (Eph. iv. 24), after the image of God significantly described as "He who created him" (τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν, Col. iii. 10),—that is not He who made him a man, but He who has made him by an equally creative efflux of power this new man which he has become.<sup>19</sup> The exhortation that we shall "put on" this new man (Eph. iv. 23, cf. iii. 9, 10), therefore does not imply that either the initiation or the completion of the process by which the "new creation" (καινὴ κτίσις; II Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15) is wrought lies in our own power; but only urges us to that diligent coöperation with God in the work of our salvation, to which He calls us in all departments of life (I Cor. iii. 9), and the classical expression of which in this particular department is found in the great exhortation of Phil. ii. 12, 13 where we are encouraged to work out our own salvation thoroughly to the end, with fear and trembling, on the express ground that it is God who works in us both the willing and doing for His good pleasure. The express inclusion of "renewal" in the exhortation (Eph. iv. 23 ἀνανεοῦσθαι; Rom. xii. 2 μεταμορφοῦσθαι τῇ ἀνακαινώσει) is indication enough that this "renewal" is a process wide enough to include in itself the whole synergistic "working out" of salvation (κατεργάζεσθε, Phil. ii. 12). But it has no tendency to throw doubt upon the underlying fact that this "working out" is both set in motion (τὸ θέλειν) and given effect (τὸ ἐνεργεῖν), only by the energizing of God (ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν), so that all (τὰ πάντα) is from God (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, II

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Lightfoot in *loc.*

Cor. v. 17). Its effect is merely to bring "renewal" (ἀνακαίνωσις) into close parallelism with "repentance" (μετάνοια)—which itself is a gift of God (II Tim. ii. 25, cf. Acts v. 31, xi. 18) as well as a work of man—as two names for the same great transaction, viewed now from the Divine, and now from the human point of sight.

It will not be without interest to observe the development of μετανοεῖν, μετάνοια into the technical term to denote the great change by which man passes from death in sin into life in Christ.<sup>20</sup> Among the heathen writers, the two terms μεταμελεσθαι, μεταμέλεια and μετανοεῖν, μετάνοια, although no doubt affected in their coloring by their differing etymological suggestions, and although μετανοεῖν, μετάνοια seems always to have been the nobler term, were practically synonymous. Both were used of the dissatisfaction which is felt in reviewing an unworthy deed; both of the amendment which may grow out of this dissatisfaction. Something of this indiscriminating usage extends into the New Testament. In the only three instances in which μεταμελεσθαι occurs in the Gospels (Mat. xxi. 30, 32, xxvii. 3, cf. Heb. vii. 21 from Old Testament), it is used of a repentance which issued in the amended act; while in Lk. xvii. 3, 4 (but there only) μετανοεῖν may very well be understood of a repentance which expended itself in regret. Elsewhere in the New Testament μεταμελεσθαι is used in a single instance only (except Heb. vii. 21 from Old Testament) and then it is brought into contrast with μετάνοια as the emotion of regret is contrasted with a revolution of mind (II Cor. vii. 8 sq.). The Apostle had grieved the Corinthians with a letter and had regretted it (μετεμελόμην); he had, however, ceased to regret it (μεταμέλομαι), because he had come to perceive that their grief had led

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, § lxix. Also Effie Freeman Thompson, Ph.D., *METANOEO and METAMELEI in Greek Literature until 100 A. D.* 1908, pp. 29 especially the summary of New Testament usage pp. 28-29: μετανοεῖν is not used in the New Testament of the intellect or sensibilities but always of voluntative action; and prevailing not of specific but of generic choice.



the Corinthians to repent of their sin (*μετάνοια*), and certainly the salvation to which such a repentance tends is not to be regretted (*ἀμεταμέλητον*). Here *μεταμέλεσθαι* is the painful review of the past; but so little is *μετάνοια* this, that it is presented as a result of sorrow,—a total revolution of mind traced by the Apostle through the several stages of its formation in a delicate analysis remarkable for its insight into the working of a human soul under the influence of a strong revulsion (verse 11). Its roots were planted in godly sorrow, its issue was amendment of life, its essence consisted in a radical change of mind and heart towards sin. In this particular instance it was a particular sin which was in view; and in heathen writers the word is commonly employed of a specific repentance of a specific fault. In the New Testament this, however, is the rarer usage.<sup>20</sup> Here it prevailingly stands for that fundamental change of mind by which the back is turned not upon one sin or some sins, but upon all sin, and the face definitively turned to God and to His service,—of which therefore a transformed life (*ἐπιστροφή*) is the outworking.<sup>21</sup> It is not itself this transformed life, into which it issues, any more than it is the painful regret out of which it issues. No doubt, it may spread its skirts so widely as to include on this side the sorrow for sin and on that the amendment of life; but what it precisely is, and what in all cases it emphasises, is the inner change of mind which regret induces and which itself induces a reformed life. Godly sorrow works repentance (II Cor. vii. 10): when we "turn" to God we are doing works worthy of repentance (Acts iii. 17, xxvi. 20, cf. Lk. iii. 8).

It is in this, its deepest and broadest sense, that *μετάνοια* corresponds from the human side to what from the divine

<sup>20</sup> Lk. xvii. 3, 4, Acts viii. 22, II Cor. vii. 9, 10, xii. 21, Heb. xii. 17; cf. also Rev. ii. 5, 16, 21, 22, iii. 3, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Mat. iii. 2, iv. 17, xi. 20, 21, xii. 41, Mk. i. 15, vi. 12, Lk. x. 13, xi. 32, xiii. 3, 5, xv. 7, 10, xvi. 30, Acts ii. 38, iii. 19, xvii. 30, xxvi. 20, Mat. iii. 8, 11, Mk. i. 4, Lk. iii. 3, 8, v. 32, xv. 7, xxiv. 47, Acts v. 31, xi. 18, xiii. 24, xix. 4, xxvi. 20, Rom. ii. 4, II Tim. ii. 25, Heb. vi. 1, 6, II Pet. iii. 9, Rev. ix. 20, 21, xvi. 9, 11, cf. ii. 5, 16, 21, 22, iii. 3, 19.

point of sight is called ἀνακαίνωσις; or, rather, to be more precise, that μετάνοια is the psychological manifestation of ἀνακαίνωσις. This "renewal" (ἀνακαινούσθαι, ἀνακαίνωσις, ἀνανεοῦσθαι) is the broad term of its own group. It may be, to be sure, that παλιγγενεσία should take its place by its side in this respect. In one of the only two passages in which it occurs in the New Testament (Mat. xix. 28) it refers to the repristination not of the individual, but of the universe, which is to take place at "the end": and this usage tends to stamp upon the word the broad sense of a complete and thoroughgoing restoration. If in Tit. iii. 5 it is applied to the individual in such a broad sense, it would be closely coextensive in meaning with the ἀνακαίνωσις by the side of which it stands in that passage, and would differ from it only as a highly figurative differs from a more literal expression of the same idea.<sup>22</sup> Our salvation, the Apostle would in that case say, is not an attainment of our own, but is wrought by God in His great mercy, by means of a regenerating washing, to wit, a renewal by the Holy Spirit.

The difficulty we experience in confidently determining the scope of παλιγγενεσία, arising from lack of a sufficiently copious usage to form the basis of our induction, attends us also with the other terms of its class. Nevertheless it seems tolerably clear that over against the broader "renewal" expressed by ἀνακαινούσθαι and its cognates and perhaps also by παλιγγενεσία, ἀναγεννᾶν (1 Pet. 3, 23) and with it, its synonym ἀποκνεύσθαι (James i. 18) are of narrower connotation. We have, says Peter, in God's great mercy been rebegotten, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by means of the Word of the living and abiding God. It is in accordance with His own determination, says James, that we have been brought forth by the Father of Lights, from whom every good gift and every perfect boon comes, by means of the Word of truth. We have here an effect, the efficient agent in working which is God in His unbounded mercy, while the instrument

<sup>22</sup> So e. g., Weiss in loc.



by means of which it is wrought is "the word of good-tidings which has been preached" to us, that is to say, briefly, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The issue is, equally briefly, just salvation. This salvation is characteristically described by Peter as awaiting its consummation in the future, while yet it is entered upon here and now not only (verse 4 *sq.*) as a "living hope" which shall not be put to shame (because it is reserved in heaven for us, and we meanwhile are guarded through faith for it by the power of God), but also in an accordant life of purity as children of obedience who would fain be like their Father and as He is holy be also ourselves holy in all manner of living. James intimates that those who have been thus brought forth by the will of God may justly be called "first fruits of His creatures," where the reference assuredly is not to the first but to the second creation, that is to say, they who have already been brought forth by the word of truth are themselves the product of God's creative energy and are the promise of the completed new creation when all that is shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God (Rom. viii. 19 *sq.*, Mat. xix. 28).

The new birth thus brought before us is related to the broader idea of "renewal" (*ἀνακαίνωσις*) as the initial stage to the whole process. The conception is not far from that embodied by our old Divines in the term "effectual calling" which they explained to be "by the Word and Spirit"; it is nowadays perhaps more commonly but certainly both less Scripturally and less descriptively spoken of as "conversion". It finds its further explanation in the Scriptures accordingly not under the terms *ἐπιστρέφειν*, *ἐπιστροφή*, which describe to us that in which it issues, but under the terms *καλέω*, *κλήσις*<sup>23</sup> which describe to us precisely what it is. By these terms, which are practically confined to Paul and Peter, the follower of Christ is said to owe his introduction into the new life to a "call" from God—a call distinguished from the call of mere invitation (Mat. xxii. 14),

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Hastings' BD.*, IV 57b.

as "the call according to purpose" (Rom. viii. 28), a call which cannot fail of its appropriate effect, because there works in it the very power of God. The notion of the new birth is confined even more closely still to its initial step in our Lord's discourse to Nicodemus, recorded in the opening verses of the third chapter of John's Gospel. Here the whole emphasis is thrown upon the necessity of the new birth and its provision by the Holy Spirit. No one can see the Kingdom of God unless he be born again; and this new birth is wrought by the Spirit. Its advent into the soul is unobserved; its process is inscrutable; its reality is altogether an inference from its effects. There is no question here of means. That the *ἐξ ὕδατος* of verse 5 is to be taken as presenting the external act of baptism as the proper means by which the effect is brought about, is, as we have already pointed out, very unlikely. The axiom announced in verse 7 that all that is born of flesh is flesh and only what is born of the Spirit is spirit seems directly to negative such an interpretation by telling us flatly that we cannot obtain a spiritual effect from a physical action. The explanation of verse 8 that like the wind, the Spirit visits whom He will and we can only observe the effect and say Lo, it is here! seems inconsistent with supposing that it always attends the act of baptism and therefore can always be controlled by the human will. The new birth appears to be brought before us in this discussion in the purity of its conception; and we are made to perceive that at the root of the whole process of "renewal" there lies an immediate act of God the Holy Spirit upon the soul by virtue of which it is that the renewed man bears the great name of son of God. Begotten not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God (Jno. i. 13), his new life will necessarily bear the lineaments of his new parentage (1 Jno. iii. 9, 10; v. 4, 18): kept by Him who was in an even higher sense still begotten of God, he overcomes the world by faith, defies the evil one (who cannot touch him), and manifests in his righteousness and love the heritage which is his (1 Jno. ii.



29, iv. 7, v. 1). Undoubtedly the Spirit is active throughout the whole process of "renewal"; but it is doubtless the peculiarly immediate and radical nature of his operation at this initial point which gives to the product of His renewing activities its best right to be called a new creation (II Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15), a quickening (Jno. v. 21, Eph. ii. 5), a making alive from the dead (Gal. iii. 21).

We perceive, then, that the Scriptural phraseology lays before us, as its account of the great change which the man experiences who is translated from what the Scriptures call darkness to what they call God's marvellous light (Eph. v. 8, Col. i. 13, I Pet. ii. 9, I Jno. ii. 8) a process; and a process which has two sides. It is on the one side a change of the mind and heart, issuing in a new life. It is on the other side a renewing from on high issuing in a new creation. But the initiative is taken by God: man is renewed unto repentance: he does not repent that he may be renewed (*cf.* Heb. vi. 6). He can work out his salvation with fear and trembling only because God works in him both the willing and the doing. At the basis of all there lies an enabling act from God, by virtue of which alone the spiritual activities of man are liberated for their work (Rom. vi. 22, viii. 2). From that moment of the first divine contact the work of the Spirit never ceases: while man is changing his mind and reforming his life, it is ever God who is renewing him in true righteousness. Considered from man's side the new dispositions of mind and heart manifest themselves in a new course of life. Considered from God's side the renewal of the Holy Spirit results in the production of a new creature, God's workmanship, with new activities newly directed. We obtain thus a regular series. At the root of all lies an act seen by God alone, and mediated by nothing, a direct creative act of the Spirit, the new birth. This new birth pushes itself into man's own consciousness through the call of the Word, responded to under the persuasive movements of the Spirit; his conscious possession of it is thus mediated by the Word. It becomes visible to his fellow men

only in a turning to God in external obedience, under the constant leading of the indwelling Spirit (Rom. viii. 14). A man must be born again by the Spirit to become God's son. He must be born again by the Spirit and Word to become consciously God's son. He must manifest his new spiritual life in Spirit-led activities accordant with the new heart which he has received and which is ever renewed afresh by the Spirit, to be recognized by his fellow-men as God's son. It is the entirety of this process, viewed as the work of God on the soul, which the Scriptures designate "renewal."

It must not be supposed that it is only in these semi-technical terms, however, that the process of "renewal" is spoken of in the Epistles of the New Testament any more than in the Gospels. There is, on the contrary, the richest and most varied employment of language, literal and figurative, to describe it in its source, or its nature, or its effects. It is sometimes suggested, for example, under the image of a change of vesture (Eph. iv. 24, Col. iii. 9, 10, *cf.* Gal. iii. 27, Rom. xiii. 14): the old man is laid aside like soiled clothing, and the new man put on like clean raiment. Sometimes it is represented, in accordance with its nature, less figuratively, as a metamorphosis (Rom. xii. 2): by the renewing of our minds we become transformed beings, able to free ourselves from the fashion of this world and prove what is the will of God, good and acceptable and perfect. Sometimes it is more searchingly set forth as to its nature as a reanimation (Jno. v. 21, Eph. ii. 4-6, Col. ii. 12, 13, Rom. vi. 3, 4): we are dead through our trespasses and the uncircumcision of our flesh; God raises us from this death and makes us sit in the heavenly places with Christ. Sometimes with less of figure and with more distinct reference to the method of the divine working, it is spoken of as a recreation (Eph. ii. 10, iv. 26, Col. iii. 10), and its product, therefore, as a new creature (II Cor. v. 1, Gal. vi. 15): we emerge from it as the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.



Sometimes with more particular reference to the nature and effects of the transaction, it is defined rather as a sanctification, a making holy (*ἁγιάζω*, 1 Thes. v. 23, Rom. xv. 1, 6, Rev. xxii. 11; *ἁγνίζω*, 1 Pet. i. 22; *ἁγιασμός*, 1 Thes. iv. 3, 7, Rom. vi. 19, 22, Heb. xii. 14, 11 Thes. ii. 13, 1 Pet. i. 2; cf. Ellicott, on 1 Thes. iv. 3, iii. 13): and those who are the subjects of the change are, therefore, called "saints" (*ἅγιοι*, e. g., Rom. viii. 27, 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, Col. i. 12). Sometimes again, with more distinct reference to its sources, it is spoken of as the "living" (Gal. ii. 20, Rom. vi. 9, 10, Eph. iii. 17) or "forming" (Gal. iv. 19, cf. Eph. iii. 17, 1 Cor. ii. 16, 11 Cor. iii. 8) of Christ in us, or more significantly (Rom. viii. 9, 10, Gal. vi. 6) as the indwelling of Christ or the Spirit in us, or with greater precision as the leading of the Spirit (Rom. viii. 14, Gal. v. 18): and its subjects are accordingly signalized as Spiritual men, that is, Spirit-determined, Spirit-led men (*πνευματικοί*, 1 Cor. ii. 15, iii. 1, Gal. vi. 1, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 5), as distinguished from carnal men, that is, men under the dominance of their own weak, vicious selves (*ψυχικοί* 1 Cor. ii. 4, Jude 19, *σαρκικοί*, 1 Cor. iii. 3). None of these modes of representation more clearly define the action than the last mentioned. For the essence of the New Testament representation certainly is that the renewal which is wrought upon him who is by faith in Christ, is the work of the Spirit of Christ, who dwells within His children as a power not themselves making for righteousness, and gradually but surely transforms after the image of God, not the stream of their activities merely, but themselves in the very centre of their being.

The process by which this great metamorphosis is accomplished is laid bare to our observation with wonderful clearness in Paul's poignant description of it, in the seventh chapter of Romans. We are there permitted to look in upon a heart into which the Spirit of God has intruded with His transforming power. Whatever peace it may have enjoyed is broken up. All its ingrained tenden-

cies to evil are up in arms against the intruded power for good. The force of evil habit is so great that the Apostle, in its revelation to him, is almost tempted to despair. "O wretched man that I am," he cries, "who shall deliver me out of the body of this death"? Certainly not himself. None knows better than he that with man this is impossible. But he bethinks himself that the Spirit of the most high God is more powerful than even ingrained sin; and with a great revulsion of heart he turns at once to cry his thanks to God through Jesus Christ our Lord. This conflict he sees within him, he sees now to bear in it the promise and potency of victory; because it is the result of the Spirit's working within him, and where the Spirit works, there is emancipation from the law of sin and death. The process may be hard—a labor, a struggle, a fight; but the end is assured. No matter how far from perfect we yet may be, we are not in the flesh but in the Spirit if the Spirit of God dwells in us; and we may take heart of faith from that circumstance to mortify the deeds of the body and to enter upon our heritage as children of God. Here in brief compass is the Apostle's whole doctrine of renewal. Without holiness we certainly shall not see the Lord: but he in whom the Holy Spirit dwells, is already potentially holy; and though we see not yet what we shall be, we know that the work that is begun within us shall be completed to the end. The very presence of strife within us is the sign of life and the promise of victory.

The church has retained, on the whole, with very considerable constancy the essential elements of this Biblical doctrine of "renewal". In the main stream of Christian thought, at all events, there has been little tendency to neglect, much less to deny it, at least theoretically. In all accredited types of Christian teaching it is largely insisted upon that salvation consists in its substance of a radical subjective change wrought by the Holy Spirit, by virtue of which the native tendencies to evil are progressively



eradicated and holy dispositions are implanted, nourished and perfected.

The most direct contradiction which this teaching has received in the history of Christian thought was that given it by Pelagius at the opening of the fifth century. Under the stress of a one-sided doctrine of human freedom, in pursuance of which he passionately asserted the inalienable ability of the will to do all righteousness, Pelagius was led to deny the need and therefore the reality of subjective operations of God on the soul ("grace" in the inner sense) to secure its perfection; and this carried with it as its necessary presupposition the denial also of all subjective injury wrought on man by sin. The vigorous reassertion of the necessity of subjective grace by Augustine put pure Pelagianism once for all outside the pale of recognized Christian teaching; although in more or less modified or attenuated forms, it has remained as a widely spread tendency in the churches, conditioning the purity of the supernaturalism of salvation which is confessed.

The strong emphasis laid by the Reformers upon the objective side of salvation, in the enthusiasm of their rediscovery of the fundamental doctrine of justification, left its subjective side, which was not in dispute between them and their nearest opponents, in danger of falling temporarily somewhat out of sight. From the comparative infrequency with which it was in the first stress of conflict insisted on, occasion, if not given, was at least taken, to represent that it was neglected if not denied. Already in the first generation of the Reformation movement, men of mystical tendencies like Osiander arraigned the Protestant teaching as providing only for a purely external salvation. The reproach was eminently unjust, and although it continues to be repeated up to to-day, it remains eminently unjust. Only among a few Moravian enthusiasts, and still fewer Antinomians, and, in recent times, in the case of certain of the Neo-Kohlbrüggian party, can a genuine tendency to neglect the subjective side of salvation be detected. With

all the emphasis which Protestant theology lays on justification by faith as the root of salvation, it has never failed to lay equal emphasis on sanctification by the Spirit as its substance. Least of all can the Reformed theology with its distinctive insistence upon "irresistible grace"—which is the very heart of the doctrine of "renewal"—be justly charged with failure to accord its rights to the great truth of supernatural sanctification. The debate at this point does not turn on the reality or necessity of sanctification, but on the relation of sanctification to justification. In clear accord with the teaching of Scripture, Protestant theology insists that justification underlies sanctification, and not *vice versa*. But it has never imagined that the sinner could get along with justification alone. It has rather ever insisted that sanctification is so involved in justification that the justification can not be real unless it be followed by sanctification. There has never been a time when it could not recognize the truth in and (when taken out of its somewhat compromising context) make heartily its own such an admirable statement of the state of the case as the following:<sup>24</sup>—"However far off it may be from us or we from it, we cannot and ought not to think of our salvation as anything less than our perfected and completed sinlessness and holiness. We may be, to the depths of our souls, grateful and happy to be sinners pardoned and forgiven by divine grace. But surely God would not have us satisfied with that as the end and substance of the salvation He gives us in His Son. Jesus Christ is the power of God in us unto salvation. It does not require an exercise of divine power to extend pardon; it does require it to endow and enable us with all the qualities, energies and activities that make for, and that make holiness of life. See how St. Paul speaks of it when he prays, That we may know the exceeding greatness of God's power to usward who believe, according to that working in Christ when He raised Him from the dead".

<sup>24</sup> W. P. Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, p. 175.



LITERATURE:—The literature of the subject is copious but also rather fragmentary. The best aid is afforded by the discussions of the terms employed in the Lexicons and of the passages which fall in review in the Commentaries: after that the appropriate sections in the larger treatises in Biblical Theology, and in the fuller Dogmatic treatises are most valuable. The articles of J. V. Bartlet in Hastings' BD. on *Regeneration* and *Sanctification* should be consulted,—they also offer a suggestion of literature; as do also the articles, *Bekehrung*, *Gnade*, *Wiedergeburt* in the several editions of Herzog. There are three of the prize publications of the Hague Society which have a general bearing on the subject: G. W. Semler's and S. K. Theoden van Velzen's *Over de voortdurende Werking des H. G.*, (1842) and E. I. Issel's *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im N. T.* (1887). Augustine's Anti-Pelagian treatises are fundamental for the dogmatic treatment of the subject; and the Puritan literature is rich in searching discussions,—the most outstanding of which are possibly: Owen, *Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit* (*Works*: Edinburgh, 1852, vol. iii.); T. Goodwin, *The Work of the Holy Ghost in our Salvation* (*Works*: Edinburgh, 1863, vol. vi.); Charnock, *The Doctrine of Regeneration*, Phil. 1840; Marshall, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*, London [1692], Edinburgh, 1815; Edwards, *The Religious Affections*. Cf. also Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade im relig. Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum*, 1905; Vömel, *Der Begriff der Gnade im N. T.*, 1903; J. Kuhn: *Die christl. Lehre der göttlichen Gnade* (Part I) 1868; A. Dieckmann, *Die christl. Lehre von der Gnade* 1901; Storr, *De Spiritus Sancti in mentibus nostris efficientia*, 1779; J. P. Stricker, *Diss. Theol. de Mutatione homini secundum Jesu et App. doct. subeunda*, 1845.—P. Gennrich, *Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt: die christl. Zentrallehre in dogmengeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, 1907; and *Wiedergeburt und Heiligung mit Bezug auf die gegenwärtigen Strömungen des religiösen Lebens*, 1908; H. Bavinck, *Roeping en Wedergeboorte*, 1903.

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE FISH-SYMBOL.

### IV

#### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ABERCIUS AND PECTORIUS

De Rossi described the Epitaph of Abercius as "facile princeps" among Christian inscriptions, and the Pectorius-inscription may be said to occupy a position of scarcely less importance. The interest of the former, however, is vastly increased by the fierce controversy which has raged over the question whether it is Christian at all. In deference to a custom which has been the unfortunate result of this controversy, I shall have first to review as briefly as possible the "Aberciusfrage", and state the reasons which seem to me to prove the Christianity of the inscription.

The Abercius-epitaph appears in the "Life of Abercius", which is incorporated in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists under October 22 and may also be found in the *Patrologia Graeca*.<sup>1</sup> It is a fabulous composition evidently elaborated from the data afforded by the epitaph itself, which the biographer says he copied from the tombstone and inserted in his text, adding that the inscription was somewhat mutilated. This legend of Abercius was probably formed as early as the fifth or sixth century. According to it, Abercius lived in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and was bishop of the city of Hieropolis in Little Phrygia.<sup>2</sup> The emperor sent envoys to bring him to Rome for the purpose of curing his daughter, who was ill with a disease that defied the skill of physicians. The holy bishop, finding her in possession of a devil, exorcised her, and desiring to put to some use the demon thus released, caused him to transport to Hieropolis a large block of stone which he had noticed standing in the circus. Upon this block, some time before

<sup>1</sup> Vol. CXV, col. 1211ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the distinction between this town and Hierapolis (given by the Mss.) of the Maeander valley, see Ramsay, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, 1882, pp. 339ff.



his death, he caused his epitaph to be engraved. He died at the age of seventy-two, after having travelled in Syria and Mesopotamia, where he received the title of *ἱσαπόστολος*.

Up to 1894, while the legend itself was rated worthless by all commentators, the authenticity of the epitaph itself, its Christian character, and the existence of a bishop Abercius were hardly called in question, except by Tillemont, who regarded the epitaph as a fabrication, and by Garrucci, who thought that some of its verses were interpolated. Pitra<sup>3</sup> attempted to reconstruct the text of the epitaph from the manuscripts, but with little success, owing to their divergencies. The uncertainty of the text caused little attention to be paid to the monument thereafter until Ramsay's discovery of the original stone.

In 1881, Ramsay found near Synnada in Phrygia Salutaris, (which he has shown to be the province meant by the "Little Phrygia" of the "Life"), the following epitaph of a certain Alexander:

(Ἐ)κλεκτῆς πό(λε)ως ὁ πολέ(της) (τ)οὔτ' ἐποίη(σα)  
 (Ζῶν ἔ)ν' ἔχω φανε(ρῶς) σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.  
 Οὔνομα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντωνίου μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ.  
 Οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἑτερόν τι(ν)α θήσει,  
 Εἰ δ' οὖν Ῥωμαίων τα(μ)εῖφ θήσε(ι) δισχέιλια (χ)ρυσᾶ  
 Καὶ (χ)ρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει (χ)εῖλια χρυσᾶ.  
 Ἐγράφη ἔτει τ' μηνὶ σ ζόντος.  
 Εἰρήνῃ παράγουσιν κα(ὶ) μνησκομένοις περὶ ἡμῶν.<sup>4</sup>

This may be rendered in English as follows: "I, the citizen of a distinguished city, have caused this to be made in my lifetime, that I may have a visible resting-place here for my body. Alexander am I by name, son of Antonius and disciple of the holy shepherd. No one shall place another in my tomb; otherwise he shall pay to the Roman treasury two thousand pieces of gold, and to my good city of Hieropolis a thousand. Written in the year 300, in the sixth

<sup>3</sup> *Spic. Solesm.* III. 1855, p. 533.

<sup>4</sup> A fac-simile of this inscription is given by Duchesne in *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1895, pl. I.

month, and in my lifetime. Peace to those who pass and who remember me".

The year 300 of the Phrygian era corresponds to 216 A.D. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a replica of the opening and closing verses of the epitaph of Abercius. That is to say, the first three lines of the epitaph of Alexander are equivalent to the first three of that of Abercius with the necessary change of name in the third verse, and the substitution of *φανερῶς* and *ἐνθα* for Abercius' *καιρῶ* and *ἐνθάδε* in the second; the following three are the same as the last three lines of the Abercius-epitaph, except that the latter has *ἐπάνω θήσειε* instead of the *τινα θήσει* in v. 4 of the Alexander-epitaph.

In 1883, Ramsay had the good fortune to discover two contiguous fragments of the original epitaph of Abercius, walled into the remains of the public baths of Hieropolis. One of these was soon afterward presented to the Pope by the Sultan, and Ramsay, who had taken the other piece to Scotland, presented it also to the Pontiff, so that at the present time the two fragments, comprising the central and most important portion of the epitaph, are on view in the Christian Museum of the Lateran.

From the manuscripts, the Alexander-epitaph, and the two original fragments thus recovered, the text of the epitaph has been almost completely restored. The latest critical edition is that of Lüdtke and Nissen, the noteworthy feature of which is the collation of a recently discovered Russian version of the epitaph to which Nissen ascribes considerable authority. In the following text of the inscription, I have followed this new source where it seems imperative to do so, and have given all its other readings of real importance in the subjoined note. Conjectures proposed by the advocates of non-Christian interpretations will be referred to later. The capitals indicate the portions preserved in the Lateran fragments:

ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολεῖτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα  
ζῶν ἔν' ἔχω καιρῶ(?) σώματος ἐνθάδε θέσιν.



- οὔνομ' Ἀβέρκιος ὁ ὢν μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ,  
 δς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσι πεδίοις τε,  
 5 ὀφθαλμοὺς δς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντα καθορόωντας.  
 οὗτος γὰρ μ' ἐδίδαξε . . . . . γράμματα πιστά,  
 ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ δς ἔπεμψεν ΕΜΕΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ἀθρήσαι (?)  
 ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ ἰδεῖν χρυσὸς ΤΟΛΟΝ ΧΡΤ σοπέδιλον  
 ΛΑΟΝ Δ ΕΙΔΟΝ Εκεί λαμπρὰν ΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΔΑΝ ἔχοντα,  
 10 ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΙΨ ΠΕΔΟΝ εἶδον ΚΑΙ ΑΣΤΕΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ διήειν (?)  
 ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΒΑΣ. ΠΑΝΤΗ Δ ΕΣΧΟΝ ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΟΥΣ  
 ΠΑΤΛΟΝ ΕΧΟΝ ΕΠΟ . . . ΠΙΣΤΙΣ πάντῃ δὲ προήγε  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΘΗΚΕ τροφήν ΠΑΝΤΗ ΙΧΘΥΝ Απὸ πηγῆς  
 ΠΑΝΜΕΓΕΘΗ ΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ, δν ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ  
 [ἀγνή]  
 15 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΤΟΝ ΕΠΕΔΩΚΕ ΦΙΛΟΙΣ ΕΣΘΙΕΙΝ (?) διὰ παντὸς  
 οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα κέραςμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου.  
 ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὥδε γραφήναι.  
 ἔβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον εἶχον (?) ἀριθμόν.  
 ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὔξαιτο ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου πᾶς ὁ συνωδός.  
 20 οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἕτερον ἐπάνω θήσει,  
 εἰ δ' οὖν Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχέιλια χρυσᾶ  
 καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει χεῖλια χρυσᾶ.<sup>5</sup>

The translation follows: "I, the citizen of a distinguished city, have caused this to be made in my lifetime, that I may have in season (?) a resting-place here for my body. Aber-

<sup>5</sup> V. 2: *καιρῷ*. Lüdtke reads from the Russian version "sed et". Nissen suggests καὶ ὥς in the original.

V. 7: *ἀθρήσαι*. The Russian translator read *ἀθροῖσαι*. So also the Armenian version published by Conybeare (*Class. Rev.* 1895, pp. 295-297).

V. 10: The Russian version shows that some word like *διήειν* stood in its original. This seems finally to dispose of the strange *Νισίβιν* found here in the Mss., which has vexed commentators so long.

V. 11: Lüdtke's "collocutores" from the Russian confirms Lightfoot's emendation *συνομιλούς* for the unmetrical *συνομηγύρους* of the Mss.

V. 12: The Russian version omits the translation of *Πίστις*. For the discussion of this point, see p. 280.

V. 15: Instead of *ἐσθίειν* Lüdtke gives from the Russian version "in confessionem". For the probable meaning of this, see p. 288.

V. 18: *εἶχον* (?) *ἀριθμόν*. So the Russian version, improving on the *ἦγον ἀληθῶς* of the Mss.

cus am I by name, disciple of the holy shepherd who feeds his flocks on mountains and plains, who has great eyes that see all things. He it was who taught me the faithful scriptures . . . . who sent me to Rome to view (?) her sovereign majesty (?), and to see the queen of the golden robe and the golden sandals. And there I saw the people that have the gleaming seal. And the plain of Syria I saw, and passed through all the cities, having crossed the Euphrates. Everywhere I had companions, Paul . . . . Faith was everywhere my guide and ever laid before me food, the Fish from the Fountain, the very great, the pure, which the holy virgin seized. And this she ever gave to the friends to eat (?), having a goodly wine and giving it mixed with water, and bread also. These things I Abercius in person commanded to be written here; I numbered my seventy-second year. Let every brother who understands these things pray for Abercius. No one shall lay another in my tomb; otherwise he shall pay to the Roman treasury two thousand pieces of gold, and to my good city of Hieropolis a thousand".

It is clear that the author of this epitaph was a lover of the mystic, shrouding his thoughts in vague expressions significant only to the initiated. His point of view is indicated by the phrase "every brother who understands this". But in spite of the intentional obscurity and other difficulties in the way of interpretation, the language of the epitaph at once suggests Christianity. The adjective *ἐκλεκτός* is so rare outside of ecclesiastical or biblical writing as to be almost a characteristically Christian word. The holy Shepherd and the faithful Scripture are Christian images; "seal" is a word fairly frequent with reference to baptism. The companions whom Abercius found everywhere in his travels are evidently co-religionists. Faith was his guide, a "Paul" is mentioned, his food was the fish, in connection with which we hear of the eucharistic bread and wine. Lastly the companions of his mystic faith are asked to pray for him.

Consequently, after its authenticity had been proved by Ramsay's finds, no one thought of questioning the Chris-



tianity of the epitaph and it was re-edited as the most important of Christian inscriptions by Lightfoot, De Rossi, Zahn and others.<sup>6</sup> The first scholar to propose a pagan inspiration for the epitaph was Ficker, whose memoir "*Der heidnische Charakter der Abercius-Inschrift*" was read by Harnack before the Berlin Academy in February, 1894.<sup>7</sup> Ficker's theory consists of an attempt to reconcile the language of the epitaph to the hypothesis that Abercius was a worshipper of Cybele. To him the "holy shepherd" is Attis, the "king" (reading βασιλῆα instead of βασιλείαν in v. 7) is Zeus, the queen the Magna Mater, whom Ficker somewhat laboriously assimilates with Atergatis-Derketo. The fish, which the holy virgin placed before the "friends" as food, is obviously his greatest difficulty, and for this he has recourse to the tale of Attis' rescue by the Mater from the waters of the river Gallus, and another story according to which he was withdrawn by the goddess from the embraces of a water-nymph. These two incidents, and the supposed assimilation of Attis to a putative fish-god figuring in the cult of Atergatis, form a sufficient basis in Ficker's opinion for the qualification of Attis as the "fish".

Ficker's ingenious disposal of the fish aroused the wit of Mgr. Duchesne,<sup>8</sup> who refers to the somewhat similar case of Moses and Pharaoh's daughter, pointing out that Moses nevertheless escaped the title of "fish". "Besides", continues Duchesne, "among the abstinences imposed upon the devotees of Cybele, one of the best attested is the prohibition of fish. This is quite analogous to the abstinence from pork for Jews and Mohammedans. Can one imagine a Jewish epitaph in which the defunct would congratulate himself for having eaten ham in his various travels?"

<sup>6</sup> Lightfoot: *The Apostolical Fathers*, Part II, vol. I, pp. 478-485 (2nd ed., pp. 492-501). De Rossi: *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae*, II, pp. XII-XXIV. Zahn: *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, V, pp. 57-99.

<sup>7</sup> Published in *Sitzungsber. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1894, pp. 87-112.

<sup>8</sup> *Bull. critique*, 1894, p. 117.

On the other hand, Hirschfeld<sup>9</sup> brought to the support of Ficker's theory a new rendering of *λαον* in v. 9, which he interpreted as a metaplastic form of the accusative of *λᾶας* "stone". Hirschfeld identified this "stone" with the famous sacred stone, revered as an image of the Magna Mater, which was brought to Rome from Pessinus in 204 B.C., and thereafter preserved on the Palatine. There next appeared a series of articles in refutation of Ficker's theory by Marucchi, Schultze, and Kraus,<sup>10</sup> and finally Harnack's monograph "Zur Abercius-Inschrift", published in *Texte und Untersuchungen* (XII, 1895). In this Harnack produces a modification of Ficker's theory, arguing that the inconsistencies of the epitaph are at least sufficient to make improbable a purely Christian inspiration for it. He suggests therefore that the inscription is the product of a syncretistic cult, and particularly of the kind which he believes is reflected in the story of the Hera-temple in the *Narratio* (cf. the preceding section in this REVIEW, 1910, pp. 426 ff.).

Harnack argues that the story in the *Narratio* identifies Helios with God the Father, as well as Mary with Hera. Hera, i.e., Heaven, Fountain or Mary, conceives by Helios the Fish which feeds the world with his flesh. The striking parallel to the epitaph is found not only in Hera-Mary and the Fish, but also in the epithet "Fountain" given to Mary, and the "starry stone" in the diadem of Hera, which is presented as a regular attribute of the goddess. So also the Abercius-epitaph commences with an all-seeing god, after which we hear of the King and Queen of heaven. After mentioning the last-named, who may be identified either with Hera or with the Magna Mater confused with her, the inscription tells us of a *λαον* "having a gleaming seal". If now we accept Hirschfeld's conjecture that *λαον* in this case means "stone" (i. e., the cult-image of the god-

<sup>9</sup> *Sitzungsber. der k. preuss. Akad.*, 1894, p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> Marucchi in *N. Bull. d'arch. crist.*, 1895, pp. 1-41. Schultze in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1894, (May 11 and July 27). Kraus in *Christliche Archäologie* 1893-1894 (Reprinted from *Rep. f. Kunstwiss.*, XVIII Bd., 1 Heft, p. 19).



dess), the "starry stone" of the diadem of Hera in the *Narratio* finds a parallel in the "stone with the gleaming seal" of the epitaph, considered as a statue of the *Magna Mater* (= Hera), adorned with some kind of a jewel. Lastly we have in both cases the "Fish from the Fountain", and by comparison with the *Narratio* Harnack concludes that by "fountain" Abercius meant the "holy virgin" of the following line, *i. e.*, the virgin Mother, in the sense of the "virgin Spirit" (as the Holy Ghost is conceived in some gnostic systems), the true heavenly Mary.

Harnack's article called forth a reply from Duchesne which is perhaps the strongest argument for the Christianity of the epitaph that has yet appeared.<sup>11</sup> Duchesne emphasizes the fact that the author of the "Life" believed the tomb to be that of a Christian, and of a Christian bishop, which shows that the Christian interpretation at least has the support of tradition. The anonymous letter quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* V. 16) proves that in the latter part of the second century, the traditional lifetime of Abercius, there lived in the neighborhood of Hieropolis three Christian priests or bishops, one of whom was named Avircius or Abercius and seems to have been superior in rank to the other two. The rest of Duchesne's article, aside from a résumé of the obvious signs of Christianity in the inscription, is a detailed reply to the arguments advanced by Harnack against a purely Christian inspiration for the epitaph. The form of the tombstone, which Harnack regards as pagan, can be duplicated, Duchesne shows, among Christian monuments. Abercius' qualification of himself as "citizen of a distinguished city", a sentiment which Harnack thinks too worldly for a Christian, is held by Duchesne to be not inconsistent with Christian usage and indeed can hardly be considered a serious argument. The penalty threatened for violation of the tomb may be found on other Christian epitaphs. The epithet *ἀγνός* and the "mountains and plains" on which the shep-

<sup>11</sup> L'Építaphe d'Abercius, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, 1895, pp. 154-182.

herd pastures his sheep are hardly proofs that the deity referred to is pagan, for they are applicable to the Christian Good Shepherd, and at all events easily explained as poetic phrases or chosen for merely metrical reasons. Harnack's "King and Queen" is an unjustifiable assumption, for the stone gives only βασιλ . . . , not βασιλη . . . and our only guide to the correct restoration of the word is the manuscript reading βασιλειαν.<sup>12</sup> Λαος = stone is dismissed by Duchesne as bad philology, and the suggestion that the "gleaming seal" may refer to a jewel which ornamented the "stone", i.e., the idol of the Magna Mater, is characterized as a mere guess. Duchesne defends the reading Πίστις, questioned by Harnack, on the ground that . . ΣΤΙΣ is certain, and the two vertical strokes in front of these letters admit of no other restoration than ΠΙ. The Christianity of the rest of the inscription scarcely needs demonstration. If "Paul" is not the Christian apostle it is hard to see who he may be. The fish-symbolism is clear. Ἀπὸ πηγῆς offers no more difficulty in interpretation than any other picturesque epithet. With reference to the *Narratio*, Duchesne points out that the single certain parallel to the imagery of the Abercius-epitaph that can be found in this text is the "Fountain", and that after all the "holy virgin" is *not* identified with the "Fountain" in the epitaph, as in the story.

Wilpert, in his chapter on the Abercius-inscription in *Fractio Panis*, repeats for the most part the arguments of Duchesne. But he also shows that the pasturing shepherd of the epitaph would be readily understood by the Christian as the secondary, or "pasturing type" of the Good Shepherd which often occurs in early Christian art. Wilpert also,

<sup>12</sup> Here may be mentioned Wehofer's attempt (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1896, pp. 61 and 351) to show that the first part of the epitaph is to be understood literally in the sense in which it was taken by the author of the "Life", i. e., that Abercius went to Rome to see the emperor and empress, or the empress and "princess". This notion has found no favor because the language of the epitaph is so evidently symbolic throughout, and not in the latter part only, as Wehofer maintains.



after a very careful examination of the stone, regards the reading  $\Pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  as certain, giving as his reason that one of the two vertical strokes before the letters  $\Sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  must be an I and the other corresponds exactly to the second leg of the  $\Pi$  directly above it in the preceding line.

The last attack on the Christianity of the inscription was made by Dieterich, in his monograph *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* (Leipzig, 1896). Dieterich undertakes to show that the epitaph of Alexander is earlier in date than that of Abercius. Robert<sup>13</sup> had already pointed out that the central portion of the Abercius-inscription, being inscribed on the side of the stone, must be an addition to the epitaph proper (*i.e.*, the opening and closing lines corresponding to the Alexander-epitaph) which is inscribed in the customary fashion on the front and back of the stone. Even supposing therefore that Alexander copied the original Abercius-epitaph on his own tombstone, the central portion of the former might still be considerably later than 216, the date of the Alexander-inscription. But Dieterich maintains, contrary to the usual assumption, that Abercius copied from Alexander. He bases this conclusion on certain violations of metre in vv. 1-3 and 20-22 in the Abercius-inscription, *e.g.*, the  $\xi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\ \theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$  of v. 20, an unmetrical phrase which he regards as an awkward innovation on Alexander's  $\xi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\nu\alpha\ \theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ .

Dieterich thus arrives at a date subsequent to 216 for the Abercius-epitaph. This is important for his thesis, for he next proceeds to connect the inscription with an event in the reign of the Emperor Elagabalus, which lasted from 218 to 222. This event is the mystic marriage of the sun-god Elagabal with the Dea Caelestis of Carthage, celebrated with great pomp by the Emperor above mentioned, as part of his programme for assimilating the old religions to the cult of the Sun. It was this ceremony, according to Dieterich, that Abercius was "sent to Rome to see". Accepting Ficker's identification of the shepherd of verses 3-6 with

<sup>13</sup> *Hermes*, 1894, pp. 427ff.

Attis, Dieterich explains that Abercius was a priest or devotee of this divinity, and went to Rome as a kind of delegate from the Attis-worshippers of Hieropolis to the divine marriage. The *λαον* of v. 9 is the stone idol which represented the god on this occasion and the "gleaming seal" refers to the jewelled decorations of the image. Instead of *Πίστις* in v.8, Dieterich reads *Νήστις* i.e., Nestis, goddess of water and patroness of fasting, under whose guidance Abercius fasted on his journey, eating only fish and bread and wine. But he ate particularly the "great and pure" fish, i.e., the fish sacred to a divinity (Attis in this case), which could only be caught by a priestess (the "holy virgin" of v. 13). This in the main is Dieterich's interpretation of the epitaph, divested of the impressive mass of evidence which he brings to the support of his curious theory.

Dieterich's interpretation was enthusiastically accepted by Salomon Reinach,<sup>14</sup> and rejected by Duchesne<sup>15</sup> and Cumont.<sup>16</sup> The controversy, however, has had little further development, and no new arguments have been advanced by either side. The general impression that has been left upon the learned world is, I think, that the "pagan" case has not been proved. But here and there one finds the contrary opinion,<sup>17</sup> and it may be said that the discussion has at least had the effect of somewhat impairing the credit of the epitaph as a Christian monument. There is no good reason for this suspicion, as I think can be made clear by an analysis of the essential evidence on which the attacks of Ficker, Harnack and Dieterich are based.

In the first place, Dieterich's premise that the epitaph must be later than that of Alexander is unjustified. It is true that such phrases as *ἕτερον ἐπάνω θήσκει* in v.20 of

<sup>14</sup> *Rev. critique*, 1896, p. 447.

<sup>15</sup> *Rev. critique*, 1897, p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> *Rev. de l'instruction publ. en Belgique*, 1897, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> Compare for example Domaszewski in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XI, 1905, pp. 226ff. and 236ff., and Hending's *Attis* (*Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, herausg. v. A. Dieterich & R. Wunsch, I Bd., Giessen, 1903) p. 188.



the Abercius-epitaph have the aspect of distortions of an earlier model which was metrically correct. But the same may be said of v.3 in the Alexander-epitaph, where the insertion of the filiation *Ἀντωνίου* spoils the metre in similar fashion. It is quite possible that neither was copied from the other but that both are adaptations of a common model, *viz.*, a stereotyped set of sepulchral verses current among the members of the cult to which Alexander and Abercius both belonged.<sup>18</sup> It is consequently useless, in view of this possibility, to attempt by such means to date the epitaph of Abercius very closely. Considering its similarity to the epitaph of Alexander, it is safe to say that it was not composed later than the middle of the third century. But there is no reason on the other hand why it should not belong to the end of the second. In other words, so far as surface indications show, the epitaph of Abercius may be dated between 150 and 250, *circa*.<sup>19</sup> We shall see later that when considered in its relation to the development of the fish-symbolism, the date of the inscription is capable of closer definition.

Second, all three of the writers above-mentioned have taken unwarranted liberties with the text of the inscription. For instance, they read *βασιλη*... in v.7 and translate "king". Ficker uses the reading to bring Zeus (the "king") into connection with the Magna Mater (the "queen" of the next verse), a combination, by the way, which is pronounced improbable both by Robert and Dieterich.<sup>20</sup> Harnack uses the same reading in support of his parallel between the *Narratio* and the epitaph, the "king" in this case being Helios. Dieterich uses it again to mean the sun-god Elagabal. All

<sup>18</sup> This is suggested by Dieterich himself, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 1: "That the formula was not used for the first time in the inscription of Alexander appears to be shown by the fact that in this also the name does not fit the verse".

<sup>19</sup> The palaeography of Greek inscriptions is an unsafe guide to date in the imperial period. This should be noted with reference to Leclercq's argument (s. v. *Abercius* in Cabrol's *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de la liturgie*, col. 77) that the "antique" form of some of the letters in the Abercius-epitaph shows that it is earlier than that of Alexander.

<sup>20</sup> Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 428. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 27, note 2.

three writers refer to Ramsay's copy,<sup>21</sup> where in fact one reads ΒΑΣ. ΑΗ.. But it has been pointed out again and again that Ramsay made a mistake in his copy, for there is not a trace of the Η on the stone, and the fracture at this point is an ancient one, so that the piece supposed to have contained the Η cannot have been broken off since Ramsay saw the inscription. In restoring the word, therefore, we have no other course than to follow the manuscripts. These are unanimous in giving βασιλειαν, of which "sovereign majesty" seems to be the only possible rendering.

Another stumbling-block has been the Πίστις of v.12, with its peculiarly Christian connection. The stone gives .. ΣΤΙΣ preceded by two vertical strokes. Ficker suggested that the fragmentary word concealed "some name of Cybele". Harnack exerted himself to show that the restoration Πίστις was inconceivable. Dieterich read ΝΗΣΤΙΣ, which is quite impossible, for the diagonal of the Ν does not appear on the stone, and enough of the original surface is left to show it if it existed. My own examination of the stone has convinced me that Duchesne and Wilpert are right in regarding ΠΙΣΤΙΣ as the only reasonable restoration. Lastly, we have again the testimony of the manuscripts in favor of the reading, unanimous with the single exception of the Russian version, which after all only omits the word and reads nothing in its place.

It was Hirschfeld's rendering of λαον in v. 9 as "stone" that furnished the real foundation for the theories of Harnack and Dieterich and gave a new lease of life to Ficker's. Yet this rendering rests on the slenderest of philological grounds. Hirschfeld could only cite Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 196, where the manuscripts give the genitive λάου used in this sense, and only one later writer, namely Hyginus, *Fab.*, 153: "ob eam rem laos dictus. laos enim graece lapis dicitur". In both cases the form is disputed, some editors emending to λᾶος in the Sophocles passage, and to "laas" in Hyginus. Dieterich, it is true, adds another

<sup>21</sup> *Jour. Hell. Studies*, 1883, p. 424.



citation from Apollodorus (I. 7. 2.), in which, however, he finds it necessary to emend  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\varsigma$  to  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ !!

Lastly the Fish of vv. 13 and 14 has defied reconciliation with the "pagan" interpretations. Ficker's attempt to connect it with the Attis-Cybele cult is such an inconsequent chain of conjectures that it deserves no further comment than the witticisms of Duchesne. Dieterich's parallels of the eating of sacred fish in pagan cults is a more serious argument and his citations amount to a valuable bibliography on the sacred fish of antiquity. But the fatal weakness of such parallels lies in the fact that one of the few things that we know for certain concerning the eating of fish in cults like that of Attis and Derketo is that, while in some cases permitted to priests, it was strictly forbidden to the ordinary worshipper. This is in striking contrast to the case in the Abercius-epitaph, where the fish is given "to the friends".

Moreover, between the sacred fish of paganism, consecrated to a divinity, and *the* "very great and pure" Fish of the Abercius-epitaph, there is an appreciable difference. We can do no better than to quote Harnack on this point.<sup>22</sup> "The purely pagan character of the Abercius-inscription would be certain if we had  $\text{Ἰχθύς}$  without the additional  $\text{πανμεγέθους}$  and  $\text{ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἀγνή}$ . In this case one would necessarily think of pagan sacral feasts (fish, wine, bread). But the above mentioned qualification makes it very improbable that these are a sufficient explanation. The *one* ( $\text{εἰς μόνος}$  is the epithet in Philippus Sidetes) *very great* pure fish, which the holy virgin caught and with which the  $\text{φίλοι}$  are ever fed, can hardly be a real fish, but must be understood as a symbol. So far as I know, however, in the accounts of sacred fish in antiquity there is never mention of "*the* fish", at least as holy food, while "the one pure fish", as (spiritual) food, can be paralleled by dozens of Christian examples. It is still possible that this fish will yet be discovered in paganism, but for

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27, 6

the time being we cannot otherwise conclude than that in all probability it is the Christ-mystery that is contained in the *Ἰχθύς*."

The burden of proof has always been and will always be upon the opponents of the Christian interpretation. The latter, as Wehofer says, is the only one that is half-way consistent with the text. The objections to it were put in their strongest form by Harnack, and I think that all were fairly met and disposed of by Duchesne. There are difficulties, indeed, such as the *βασιλειαν* of v. 7, whose translation "sovereign majesty" does not sound too convincing. But the text of the epitaph as it stands is consistent as a whole with Christianity, and is not consistent with any other cult hitherto suggested. The general feeling among scholars with reference to the inscription is I think expressed by Paton, when he says<sup>23</sup> that the attempts to disprove its Christianity have "conspicuously failed".

In the Pectorius-inscription we at least have a monument whose Christianity has never been seriously questioned.<sup>24</sup> This epitaph was found near Autun in 1839 and is now in the museum of that city. A photogravure may be found in Leclercq's article "Autun" in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes*. The text reproduced below is taken from the edition of O. Pohl, whose monograph, *Das Ichthys-Monument von Autun* (Berlin, 1880) is generally recognized as having settled the questions of reading, so far as this is possible.

- Ἰ χθύς ο[ὐρανό]υ θε[ῶ]ν γένος, ἡτορι σεμνῶ  
 Χ ρῆσε, λαβὼ[ν (sic) πηγῇ]ν ἄμβροτον ἐν βροτέοις  
 Θ εσπεσίω[ν] ὑδάτ[ω]ν. τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θάλπεο ψυχ[ῇ]ν  
 "Τ δασιν ἀεδαίοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης.  
 5 Σ ωτήρος ἀγίων μελιθεά λάμβαν[ε βρώσιν],  
 ἔσθιε πινάων, ἰχθὺν ἔχων παλάμαις.

<sup>23</sup> *Rev. arch.*, VIII, 1906, 2, pp. 93-96.

<sup>24</sup> The attempt of G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1906, pp. 210-212 to relate the inscription to a pagan or syncretistic cult is refuted by Dölger, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1910, pp. 76ff.



ἰχθύϊ χό[ρταζ'] ἄρα, λιλαίω, δέσποτα σῶτερ.  
 εὖ εὔδοι μ[ή]τηρ, σὲ λιτάζομε, φῶς τὸ θανόντων.  
 Ἀσχάνδιε [πάτ]ερ, τῶμῳ κε[χα]ρισμένη θυμῷ,  
 σὺν μ[ητρί] γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφεί] οἷσιν ἐμοῖσιν,  
 ἰ[χθύος εἰρήν]η σέο] μνήσσο Πεκτορίου.

The translation follows: "Divine race of the heavenly fish, keep thy heart holy, since thou hast received among mortals the immortal fountain of divine water. Cheer thy soul, O friend, with the everflowing water of wisdom, dispenser of riches. Take the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints, eat it with desire, holding the Fish in thy hands.

Fill thou (me) with the Fish,—this is my longing, O my Lord and Saviour! Soft may my mother sleep, I beseech thee, O light of the dead! Aschandius, my father, beloved of my heart, together with the dear mother and my brothers, in the peace of the Fish remember thy Pectorius".

The inscription has been variously dated from the second to the sixth century. The letters bear some resemblance to the bilingual epitaph of Sextus Varius Marcellus, the father of Elagabalus (*C. I. L. X.* 6569), but conclusions based on the palaeography of Greek inscriptions of the empire are notoriously unsafe. The word ἀγίων "saints" in v. 5 savors of the apostolic age. On the other hand λιλαίω (v. 6, for λιλαίομαι), and the forms μνήσσο and Πεκτορίου are abnormalities betraying an age of decadence. Pohl cites Irenaeus' use of the eucharist in connection with his doctrine of the resurrection as an indication of the date of the epitaph, seeing in the eucharistic imagery of the poem a reflection of Irenaeus' teachings. An objection to this lies in the absence of any allusion to resurrection alongside of the eucharistic symbolism, which we would expect if the verses were inspired by Irenaeus. It is not an answer to this to say that the mere use of the verses on a tombstone in itself introduces the complementary reference to the resurrection, for it is not certain that the first part of the inscription, which contains the

major portion of the eucharistic imagery, was originally composed for an epitaph.

It has long been noticed, in fact, that the inscription naturally divides into two parts, *vis.*, vv. 1-6, and vv. 7-11. The first part is made up of distichs, the second of hexameters. The language and versification of Part I is good, while Part II contains the abnormal forms noted before. The content, too, is different, the first part being addressed to Christians in general, the second having particular reference to Pectorius and his family.

Part I, being obviously extraneous to the epitaph proper, must be derived from some other source, and many conjectures have been made as to its nature. Pohl<sup>25</sup> thinks that it is an old liturgical formula. V. Schultze<sup>26</sup> suggests an early hymn. Achelis<sup>27</sup> classifies the piece with the Sibylline Oracles.

The date of this earlier portion of the epitaph is also a matter of conjecture. Pohl's comparison with the eucharistic resurrection-teaching of Irenaeus is not decisive for the reason given above. The mystic expressions which make one think of the early *disciplina arcana* are of little use in point of date, for the same sort of expressions, as Dölger points out,<sup>28</sup> is used in the fourth century as well as in the second. An indication of early origin is indeed given by the word *ἀγλῶν* of v. 5. But evidence on which to base a decisive judgment has hitherto been lacking. To date the first part of the Pectorius-inscription, as well as the Abercius-epitaph, we must define the position of each monument in the development of the fish-symbolism.

The fish-symbolism of the Pectorius-inscription is of course mainly eucharistic. This is recognized even by the advocates of "baptismal" theories, as Dölger and Achelis. The latter says:<sup>29</sup> "Only baptism can be understood in

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> *Die Katakomben*, p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> *Symbol des Fisches*, p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1909, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 29.



πηγή ἄμβροτος θεσπεσίων ὑδάτων . . . . . The same fountain has also the significance of the *πλουτόδοτος σοφία*, i. e., the Word of God or the like; it flows not once only for the Christian, but has *ὑδατα ἀέναα*. The fish, however, is the *μελιηδὺς βρώσις* of the Christians in the Eucharist, as in the Abercius-epitaph. We have therefore in the image of water and fish not only an epitome of both sacraments, baptism and eucharist, but all the divine influences in the Christian faith are included by the secondary allusion of the water to the *πλουτόδοτος σοφία* . . . . It is a question whether the treatment of the water which obtains here is to be understood as a transformation of the original symbolism, which recognized therein the baptism of Christ, or as an independent addition on the part of the poet, who was apparently acquainted with the significance of the acrostic, and certainly with the eucharistic meaning (of the fish). I am inclined to the latter alternative".

We need add little to this analysis of the symbolism of Part I, save to emphasize the fact that the only traditional meaning indicated by the text is the eucharistic one. The baptismal imagery is entirely separate from the fish, which is characterized solely by expressions significant of the Lord's Supper, e. g., "the honey-sweet food . . . eat . . . holding the Fish in thy hands". The secondary allusion to the acrostic is introduced by the selection of the letters I. X. Θ. Τ. Σ. as the initials of the first five verses, and the fifth word of the acrostic formula is actually used in verse 5: *Σωτήρως*. We may also detect a tendency to use the fish as an independent symbol in the opening phrase: "Divine race of the heavenly Fish". This fact and the allusion to the acrostic show that Part I of the Pectorius-inscription is later than the invention of the *Ἰχθύς*-formula, which seems to have been devised towards the end of the second century. On the other hand, it is not likely that the distichs were composed later than the third century. It is true that the eucharistic fish-symbolism is in itself no proof of this, for we have seen that it survives in Augustine and

the *Narratio* (see preceding section in this *Review*, 1910, p. 431), and we shall have occasion to remark upon still later instances of its use. But the acrostic is here used as in Tertullian, *i. e.*, with no explanation, assuming the reader's knowledge of its meaning. This points to the period of its early diffusion and popularity, before its significance had been so obscured as to necessitate explanation, as is the case in its use by the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. It seems necessary therefore to accept the third century as the approximate date of the first part of the Pectorius-inscription.

In the Abercius-epitaph the fish-symbolism is contained in vv. 12-16: "Faith was everywhere my guide and ever laid before me food, the Fish from the fountain, the very great, the pure, which the holy virgin seized. And this she ever gave to the friends to eat (?), having a goodly wine and giving it mixed with water, and bread also".

There are two obscure points in the passage, namely the phrases ἀπὸ πηγῆς "from the fountain" and ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἁγνή "which the holy virgin seized". The first phrase is of course given a baptismal allusion by Achelis: "the expression ἰχθὺς ἀπὸ πηγῆς, which contains a clear allusion to the baptism of Christ in Jordan, and again shows us what interest was taken in this phase of the symbolism". Dölger also<sup>30</sup> interprets the "fountain" in the sense of baptism, but with reference to the sacrament and not to the baptism of Christ. Duchesne says: "πηγή est ici pour la même raison que, plus haut, ἁγνός est joint à ποιμήν, parce qu' il fait mieux le vers".

Dölger explains the passage as a whole as follows: "Christ is the Fish from the fountain, which is seized by the παρθένος ἁγνή, the Church, in the baptism of Christ in Jordan and in the baptism of the individual believers, that she may thereafter offer Him to her members (φίλοις) as food and drink". From this one sees that he regards the baptismal significance as primitive and the eucharistic

<sup>30</sup> *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1909, pp. 87ff.



meaning as a later addition. The doctrine of the presence of the Logos in baptism, with whom the believer was endowed by the rite, was according to Dölger the source of the characterization of Christ as the Fish (see preceding section in this *Review*, 1910, p. 405). The language of Abercius' epitaph is adduced in proof of this: "the Fish (the Logos) from the fountain (baptism), which the holy Virgin (*i. e.*, the Church, generalized from the individual believer) seized (was endowed with)".

This explanation offers considerable difficulty, and chiefly from the doubtful character of the equation  $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$  = baptism. The examples which Dölger cites to show that  $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$  "meant baptism already in the second century" demonstrate indeed such a figurative use of the word, but it is always in such case accompanied by explanatory phrases, *e. g.*, "waters of the immortal fountain", "the everlasting fountain of repentance", the "fountain of living flowing water" etc. It is to be questioned if even the mysticism of Abercius would have employed the word in the sense of baptism without some such qualification.

As regards the "holy virgin", I think that Dölger has succeeded in showing that by this phrase we are to understand the Church, rather than Mary, as Wilpert takes it.<sup>31</sup> But to make probable Dölger's interpretation of the rest of the image, *i. e.*, that the Church receives the Logos from baptism, there should be a closer connection of  $\epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\tau\omicron$  with  $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , assuming for the purposes of argument that  $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$  can mean "baptism". The Church should "seize the Fish *from* the fountain". As a matter of fact, the phrase "from the fountain" appears disconnected from the verb, being separated not only textually by the adjectives  $\pi\alpha\nu\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  "the very great, the pure", but also by the general sense of the passage. "From the fountain" therefore qualifies the fish, not the verb, and may well be,

<sup>31</sup> *Prinzipienfragen der chr. Archäologie*, p. 59. Paton's (*Rev. arch.*, 1906, 2, pp. 93-96) explanation of the phrase as referring to the  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  of v. 12 is not really in conflict with Dölger's, as he assumes the sense of "Church" in  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ .

as Duchesne says, a poetic phrase introduced to serve the metre.

Dölger's interpretation thus rests on a doubtful meaning ascribed to *πηγή*, and a connection between this word and "seized" which the text does not bear out. Moreover, even if his explanation be accepted, the eucharistic symbolism can hardly be regarded as secondary. The reverse is rather the case, for the eucharistic notion is stamped on the fish at its very introduction by the *τροφήν* "food" of v. 13, while the baptismal symbolism supposed by Dölger would have the appearance of a secondary meaning suggested by the fish itself. Certainly the eucharistic symbolism is the prominent note.

The symbolism of the Abercius-epitaph presents the fish in a more primitive aspect than the Pectorius-inscription. For here the allusion to the acrostic is lacking and we have only the early eucharistic meaning attached to the symbol. It is to be noted also that the fish is brought into connection with the bread and wine: "and this (the Fish) she gave to the friends (to eat ?) without ceasing, having a goodly wine, and giving it mixed with water, and bread also". This curious addition has the effect of explaining what the fish stands for. It is not unlikely that in the original inscription a phrase stood in place of *ἐσθίειν* "to eat" in v. 15 which emphasized this relation. For the Russian translator found no *ἐσθίειν* in the recension from which he drew, but a phrase beginning with the preposition *ἐς* which Lüdtke renders from the Russian with "in confessionem". The Armenian version published by Conybeare<sup>32</sup> confirms the existence of the phrase and clarifies its meaning. His translation reads: "gave to the loved ones to eat as a symbol (or parable)". It would seem therefore that in this phrase of the Abercius-epitaph we get a glimpse of the primitive point of attachment of the fish to the Eucharist, in that it was originally connected, not so much with

<sup>32</sup> *Class Rev.*, 1895, pp. 295-297.



Christ, even in His eucharistic aspect, as with the material elements of the sacrament, the bread and wine.

The symbol in Abercius' time was already near to being used as an independent type of Christ, as is shown by the adjectives "very great" and "pure" which are applied to the Fish. But the primitive character of the eucharistic symbolism points still to an early period of its evolution, and combined with the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any allusion to the acrostic, makes it altogether probable that the Abercius-epitaph antedates 200. There is therefore no reason to doubt the identification of our Abercius with the Avircius Marcellus mentioned in Eusebius.

The Pectorius-inscription represents a stage in the development of the fish-symbolism in which the fish had become, with the help of the acrostic, an independent symbol of Christ, retaining however the strong imprint of its original eucharistic meaning. The Abercius-epitaph carries us back to an earlier stage, when the use of the symbolic equation fish = Christ was not thought of except in connection with the Eucharist, and gives us a clew to the original connection of the fish with the Lord's Supper, in that it seems to have been associated in some way with the material elements of the sacrament. To follow up this clew with the help of the archaeological evidence will be the task of future papers.

(To be continued)

*Rome, November, 1910.*

C. R. MOREY.

## EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE

### JALABERT'S "ÉPIGRAPHIE" AND THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO.<sup>1</sup>

The kindness of Dr. R. E. Brünnow has made it possible for me to give an account of an article on "Épigraphie" by Père L. Jalabert, S. J. in the *Dict. apol. de la Foi catholique* now in course of publication. The article possesses the lucidity so uniformly characteristic of French writers. It is concise in form, broad in conception, and rich in content and bibliographical information. Its historical method and the treatment of its theme with especial reference to the New Testament and the early Church make it unusually interesting and valuable to Biblical students. The discussion and bibliography alike disclose the author's mastery of his subject and its Biblical relations; they reveal also his command of the literature, his insight into current Biblical questions and his skill in presenting the more important epigraphical data which bear on their solution.

The first part of the article discusses Christian inscriptions. In comparison with pagan inscriptions, which are estimated at 300,000, the Christian amount only to about 45,000 or 50,000, of which about 30,000 come from Rome alone. The pagan texts cover a period of from 8 to 9 centuries; the Christian (neglecting the Byzantine) a period of from 4 to 5 centuries (2nd to 7th). The explanation of this is found in the persecutions of the Christians, in their poverty and humble station, and in their spiritual conceptions; but account must be taken also of the probability that early Christian inscriptions were frequently cryptic in form and scarcely distinguishable from those of pagan origin. The explicit mention of Christian faith on tombs ( *χρηστιανός* ) appears relatively late (end of the 3rd century; cf. col. 1408), and the presence of designations such as *πρεσβύτεροι*, *ἐπίσκοποι* or *ἀδελφοί* is not always indicative of Christian origin.

<sup>1</sup> *Épigraphie*. Par L. Jalabert. Extrait du *Dictionnaire apolo-gétique de la Foi catholique*. Publié sous la direction de M. Adhémar d'Alès. Tome 1er, col. 1404-1457. Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. 1910.



The Christian inscriptions come from an extensive area including the world about the Mediterranean,—from Mesopotamia and the Arabian desert to the cataracts of the Nile and the African boundary on the west, and from the Euphrates through Armenia and southern Russia, passing around the Black Sea and along the Danube to the Rhine, and extending to Britain, Gaul and Spain (col. 1409). Early inscriptions are few,—at Rome for instance, a fragment from the 1st century, two inscriptions from the 2nd century, 23 from the 3rd, and 206 from the first three quarters of the 4th century (col. 1410). The method of dating the inscriptions, where this is not fixed by reference to some era or other system of reckoning, is determined by considerations based upon the form of engraving, the style and contents, and especially the presence of Christian symbols such as the "anchor", "monogram", "dove", "vase", "fish", or "cross" in different forms. It is known for instance that the "anchor" is one of the most ancient Christian symbols in Gaul; the "dove" appears in 378 and disappears about 631;<sup>2</sup> the "fish" is used from 474 to 631; the "cross" in epitaphs from 448 till shortly after 585 (col. 1411). Some of the early crypto-Christian inscriptions reveal the influence of pagan formulas either unchanged as in *Dis Manibus*,<sup>3</sup> or with some modification as in the addition of *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ* to *οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* (col. 1412).<sup>4</sup>

The second part of the article treats of the apologetical value of the inscriptions in relation to the New Testament and the Church. Here, as is natural, the discussion is not confined to the Christian inscriptions but includes epigraphical evidence from any source whatever that contributes to the elucidation of the textual, linguistic and historical phenomena of the New

<sup>2</sup>Le Blant, *Épigr. chrét. en Gaule, etc.*, p. 22 gives 612.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. also *Spic. Solesm.* iii. pp. 551f; N. Müller, *Herzog-Realencyklopädie*,<sup>8</sup> ix. p. 177; K. Künstle, *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1885, p. 446 where seven instances of this usage in the inscriptions of North Africa from the 3rd to the 5th century are cited (*CIL.* viii. 9815, 181, 674, 673, 5191, 5193, 5394) and also the following forms which are interesting in this connection,—all from *CIL.* viii.—*fecerunt domum eternalem*, pp. 77, 444, nos. 9896, 9869, 10927, 10930; *sacerdotales*, p. 88 no. 8348; *flamen perpetuus*, no. 450.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. also Prentice, *AAES.* iii. pp. 206f, for the similar addition of *ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ[τῶ]* and Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 88 citing *CIL.* viii. 10516 where *christianus* is added to *flamen perpetuus*.

Testament or to a better knowledge of the history of the early Church both in its external relations and in its internal development.

The contribution of inscriptions to the restoration of the original text of the New Testament is important, if somewhat scanty. Its value lies in its freedom from the corruption which is involved in the process of repeated copying. When dated and localized this evidence is useful in the work of reconstructing the history of the text. Here, however, Père Jalabert—usually so careful in his conclusions—seems to go beyond the reasonable inference from the facts. From the existence of three inscriptions of Northern Syria having *εὐδοκία* instead of *εὐδοκίας* he concludes that *εὐδοκία* is the original reading in the *Gloria in Excelsis* of Lk. ii. 14 (col. 1419).<sup>4</sup> No references and no dates are given for these inscriptions. Of the four inscriptions from Syria containing the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in whole or in part, published by W. K. Prentice none is earlier than the 4th century (*AAES.* iii. pp. 3f). Two contain the reading *εὐδοκία* (*AAES.* iii, 196; *PAES.* iii, 1064) and two, which are fragmentary, do not (*AAES.* iii, 197a, 213). As in the case of the inscriptions from North Africa having *in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*, in agreement with the Vulgate but manifesting also the influence of the Old Latin,<sup>5</sup> the epigraphical evidence does not decide the question of the original text of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but it does confirm—which is important—the witness of the other evidence more particularly (as the inscriptions are so late) in regard to the *provenance* of the two readings.

After discussing the contribution of the inscriptions, together with the papyri and the ostraca, to the study of the

<sup>4</sup> In Père Jalabert's contribution to the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale*, Beyrouth (Syrie), Tom. iii. Fasc. ii. (1909) entitled "Deux Missions archéologiques Américaines en Syrie" the same view is expressed in the words (p. 720): "Généralement ces citations lapidaires sont sans intérêt pour la critique textuelle des livres saints; il faut cependant faire exception pour une inscription d'il-Bârah (no. 196, cf. 197a et 213) qui donne la vraie leçon de Luc 2, 14: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας." The reading *εὐδοκίας* however is manifestly a typographical error for *εὐδοκία*.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL.* viii. 10642, 11644 [462?], 16720; cf. Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afrique chrét.*, i. p. 155; Le Blant *Épigr. chrét. en Gaule, etc.*, p. 112; Diehl, *Lat. christ. Inschr.*, p. 41, no. 218.



language of the New Testament (col. 1421-24), Père Jalabert treats of the epigraphical evidence bearing on certain historical statements in the New Testament (col. 1425ff). Much of this evidence is familiar to students of the New Testament, but Père Jalabert's restatement of it is valuable for its correlation of the references to older collections with those of more recent date, for example: Lk. ii. 1—*CIL*. iii. 6687=Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 2683; *CIL*. xiv. 3613=Dessau, *ILS*. 918; Lk. iii. 1—*CIG*. 4521=Dittenberger, *Orient. Graec. Inscr. Sel.*, 606; cf., *CIG*. 4523=Cagnat, *Inscr. graec. ad res rom. pertin.*, iii, 1085; Acts xiii. 7ff—Cagnat, *IGR*. iii. 930; Acts xviii. 4—Deissmann, *Licht*, p. 8 [Eng. Trans., pp. 13f] [συναγωγή ἑβραίων]; Acts xxi. 27-32—Dittenberger, *OGIS*. 598.<sup>9</sup> Attention is called to the inscriptions bearing on Herod and Agrippa in Dittenberger, *OGIS*. 414-429,<sup>7</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. orient.*, vii. 54-76, *CIL*. iii, 14387, *Jahr. d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, xvii. 107. In exposition of Acts xvii, 6-8 reference is made to Michel, *Rec. d'Inscr. grec.*, 1287.<sup>8</sup>

It will not be possible to follow Père Jalabert's discussion of the inscriptions bearing on the history and life of the Church. The Abercius inscription is given and its Christian character defended (col. 1436ff). In this connection the evidence adduced (col. 1415) for the use of professional manuals by engravers, and the consequent reproduction of older material is important. The Pectorius inscription is reproduced (col. 1445) and its relation to the sacraments is discussed. The article concludes with the treatment of the relation of inscriptions to other aspects of the internal development of the Church, and with the bibliography.

#### THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO AND THE DELPHI INSCRIPTION.

In Père Jalabert's account of the epigraphical data bearing on the historical statements of the New Testament reference

<sup>9</sup>The reference to Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 11, 7 (col. 1431) is doubtless a typographical error for *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

<sup>7</sup>Five of these are published also in *AAES*. iii. — 415 = 427b; 418 = 380; 419 = 428; 422 = 362; 424 = 404 cf. 409.

<sup>8</sup>This should be supplemented by Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.*<sup>2</sup> 318 and the indispensable reference to Burton, *Amer. Jour. of Theol.* 1898, 598ff.

is made to an inscription which, although published in 1905, has not yet become well and widely known. As recently as June 9, 1909, Deissmann wrote: "No tablets have yet been found to enable us to date exactly the years of office of the Procurators Felix and Festus or of the Proconsul Gallio, which would settle an important problem of early Christian history, and Christian inscriptions and papyri of the very early period are at present altogether wanting".<sup>8a</sup> Unusual interest therefore attaches to Père Jalabert's statement (col. 1428): "As an inscription of Delphi (Aem. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis imperatoriae aetatis*, Montepessulano, 1905, p. 63-64) permits us to establish the fact that Gallio was in office in 52, account must be taken of this datum for the controverted chronology of Paul's journeys". Unfortunately neither the inscription nor the facts upon which the chronological datum is based are given. Mr. Joseph Offord called attention to the relation of this inscription to the date of Gallio's proconsulship in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, for 1908, pp. 163f; C. Clemen made mention of Mr. Offord's note in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1910 (xxv), col. 656; and A. Deissmann, in a brief notice of Père Jalabert's article, has promised something further on the inscription in the near future (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1910 (xxv), col. 796. Neither the review of Bourguet's book by A. J. R. [einach] in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1905 (xviii), pp. 385ff nor that by E. Ziebarth in

<sup>8a</sup> *Licht von Osten*,<sup>2</sup> 1909, p. 3; *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, p. 5. In *The Expository Times* for March (1911), p. 251, Principal James Iverach, in a review of Deissmann's book, quotes this passage and adds: "While this is true with regard to Felix and Festus, it is no longer true about Gallio. In various publications Sir William M. Ramsay has called attention to the inscription found at Delphi, in the French excavations". Specific reference is made only to Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, p. 207, —which doubtless corresponds to p. 237 of the American edition—where, however, Ramsay does not discuss the inscription but states simply his conclusion that "The time when Gallio governed the province Achaia has been determined by a recent inscription as A. D. 52 (probably from spring 52 to spring 53)". A foot-note concerning the inscription contains merely the statement "Found at Delphi during the French excavations". I regret that I have not seen any other of the "various publications" in which Sir William Ramsay has called attention to the inscription.



the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1907 (xxvii), col. 400ff discusses this inscription. This is true also of the article on "Apôtres [Actes des]" in the *Dictionnaire apol. de la Foi catholique*—to which a cross-reference (col. 268) has been added by the editor to Père Jalabert's article in this connection—and of the reference in Preuschen's *Griech.-Deutsch. Handwörterbuch*, col. 224. Père Jalabert has however been good enough to send me a transcript of the inscription, and I have been able also through the courtesy of the Library of Johns Hopkins University to consult the text of Bourguet. The inscription, together with Bourguet's comments upon it, is as follows (*op. cit.*, pp. 63ff):<sup>9</sup>

"Ab eodem imperatore, sex annis post, missa est ad Delphos epistula cuius initium ex quattuor fragmentis restituere tentavi (nn. 3883, 59, 4001, 2178).

Τιβέ[ριος Κλαύδιος Κ]αῖς[αρ Σεβαστ]ὸς [Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-  
σίας [τὸ IB, αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ ΚΓ, π[ατὴρ πα]τρίδ[ος] . . . . .  
πάλ[ιν? τ]ῇ π[όλει τ]ῶν Δελφ[ῶν προθ]υμό[τατα χαίρειν].  
χ . . . ισα ἐ[πε]τήρη[σα τῇ]ν θρησκε[ίαν] . . . οιαπο . . . . .  
νῦν λέγεται καὶ . . . . . ἰ τῶν ἔργ . . . . . εἶναι ω . . . . . [Δ. Ἰού-]  
νιος Γαλλίων ὁ [φίλος μ]ον κ[αὶ ἀνθυ]πατος [Ἀχαΐας  
ἔτι ἔξεν τὸν πρ[  
λων πόλεων κα . . . . .  
αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρε[ . . . . . συμ-]  
φώνως πολε . . . . .  
[τ]αί με τῷ κ . . . . .  
α]ὐτοῦ

<sup>9</sup> Translation:

*Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, in the 12th year of his tribunician power, imperator for the 26th time, father of his country . . . again sends most cordial greetings to the city of Delphi.*  
.... I observed the worship.....  
is now said and . . . of the . . . to be . . . . . L. Iun-  
ius Gallio my friend and proconsul of Achaia . . .  
shall still have the . . . . .  
... cities . . . . .  
to them . . . . . in ag-  
reement . . . . .  
... me . . . . .  
...

I have made but one alteration in Bourguet's text, correcting what

Omnia supplere nequeo, sed duo dignissima sunt quae memoria teneantur, primum imp. Claudium rebus delphicis, etiam si supplementum u.3 πάλ[ιν] non probetur, curiose studuisse nec religioni tantum (θρησκείαν u.4), sed, nisi fallor, terminis quoque et finibus sacri agri (ἄλλων πόλεων, fortasse u. 7 ἐτι ἔξεν τὸν πρ[ότερον] . . . ὀρισμόν); deinde eo quod L. Iunii Gallionis, Senecae fratris, procos. Achaiae nomen adfertur atque Claudius imp. XXVI appellatur, hanc fragmentorum compagem confirmari."

Both the 26th and the 27th acclamation of Claudius as "imperator" were received in the year 52 A. D.—the latter sometime before the first of August.<sup>10</sup> The name of Gallio and part of the title proconsul thus occur in an inscription from Delphi which contains in the title of the Emperor Claudius the number 26. This number is referred most naturally to the acclamation as "imperator", and this fixes the date of the inscription in the year 52 and sometime before the first of August. Gallio may therefore have gone to Corinth in the spring or early summer of 51 or 52 and continued in office until the arrival of his successor a year later in 52 or 53.<sup>11</sup> Considerations based upon the less specific evidence of the literary sources concerning the career of Seneca and of the Apostle Paul render the latter date the more probable. Heretofore in

seems to be a mere typographical error, by reversing the second half of the first bracket-pair in the third line. The date of the inscription,— "six years after" that of the preceding inscription from 46 A. D.— is 52 A. D. The numbers (3883, etc.) are explained by a note on p. 13: "in catalogo omnium rerum quae Delphis effossae sunt". The fragmentary character of the inscription makes it difficult of interpretation beyond the important fact to which it witnesses, namely, the coincidence of the number 26 in the title of Claudius and the name Gallio with part of his official title. As I have not attempted a further emendation of the text, the rendering which is given is purely formal.

<sup>10</sup> Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*,<sup>2</sup> p. 478; Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 104; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Ency.*, iii. 2. col. 2813; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, no. 218.

<sup>11</sup> The departure of the proconsuls from Rome for their provinces was fixed by Tiberius before June 1st and by Claudius before April 1st (Dio Cassius, lvii. 14; lx. 11). Their office began with arrival in the provinces and ended with that of a successor, the duration of office being generally, though not universally, one year (Mommson, *Röm. Staatsrecht*,<sup>2</sup> ii. 254f; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*,<sup>2</sup> i. 535, 544 n. 6).



the absence of conclusive evidence the proconsulship of Gallio has generally been assigned to some year between 48 and 54: Harnack,<sup>12</sup> between 48 and 50; Blass,<sup>13</sup> 50; Turner,<sup>14</sup> not before 44, probably not before 49 or even 50; *Prosopographia*,<sup>15</sup> 52; Clemen,<sup>16</sup> and Ramsay,<sup>17</sup> spring of 52-53; Cowan,<sup>18</sup> 52-53; Anger<sup>19</sup> and Wieseler,<sup>20</sup> between 52 and 54; Woodhouse,<sup>21</sup> about 53; O. Holtzmann,<sup>22</sup> 53; Hoennicke,<sup>23</sup> between 50/51 and 53/54, probably the latter; Zahn,<sup>24</sup> spring of 53-54; Lewin,<sup>25</sup> June 53-54.

Whether or not the Delphi inscription supplies the concrete evidence for fixing the date of Gallio's proconsulship within the limits of the two years from the spring or early summer of 51 to 53 will depend on the validity of Bourguet's piecing together of the fragments of which the inscription is composed.<sup>26</sup> The printed text of the inscription does not

<sup>12</sup> *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit. bis Euseb.*, ii. 1. *Die Chron. bis Iren.*, 1897, p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, i. 1900, col. 417.

<sup>15</sup> Dessau, *Prosopographia imp. rom.*, ii. 1897, p. 238.

<sup>16</sup> *Paulus*, i. 1904, p. 396.

<sup>17</sup> *Pauline and Other Studies*, 1906, p. 361; *Pictures of the Apos. Church*, 1910, p. 237.

<sup>18</sup> Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 1900, col. 105.

<sup>19</sup> *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, 1833, p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> *Chronologie d. apos. Zeitalters*, 1848, p. 119.

<sup>21</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 1901, col. 1637.

<sup>22</sup> *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2te Aufl. 1906, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> *Die Chronologie d. Lebens d. Apos. Paulus*, 1903, p. 30.

<sup>24</sup> *Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, 3te Aufl. ii. 1907, p. 654.

<sup>25</sup> *Fasti Sacri*, 1865, p. 299, no. 1790.

<sup>26</sup> Bourguet recognizes the difficulty and uncertainty of this work in general when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 10) "De inscriptionibus tantum loquor, quarum minutissima fragmenta coniungere et quasi resarcere diu quidem conatus sum, sed frustra saepius"; but he combines with this a sense also of positive gain, particularly with reference to the epistles of the Emperors, in the words (*op. cit.*, pp. 59f) "Denique et uiri docti de fragmentis quae hic publici iuris fecero melius exitum institutae rei expedient quam ipse consecutus sum et per molem reliquorum frustulorum uia facilius propterea reperietur quod nonnulla iam aggregata et certo composita praesto erunt". Meanwhile confidence in the scholarly cautiousness and painstaking accuracy of the editor is amply justified by his contributions to the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* and by his work on *L'Administration Financière du Sanctuaire Pythique au iv. siècle avant J.-C.*, 1905, of which (together with

reveal by lines or otherwise the demarcation of the several fragments. The editor finds in the coincidence of the 26th acclamation of Claudius with the name of Gallio confirmation (*confirmari*) of his grouping of the fragments. The dating of Gallio's proconsulship in turn depends on this coincidence. It will be important therefore to learn from a fac-simile or from some fuller description of the fragments the grounds on which this grouping rests. We may perhaps expect information on the subject from a more detailed publication of the Delphi inscriptions, of which a beginning has been made in the *Fouilles de Delphes* edited by M. Théophile Homolle.<sup>27</sup>

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

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Colin's *Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* (*The Classical Review* says (vol. xxi. 1907, p. 82): "Both books show careful and laborious treatment of the material, and, since the results are arrived at by the strictest accuracy and most scrupulous adherence to the actual data of the inscriptions, the soundness and modesty of the method go far to counterbalance the poverty of the material."

<sup>27</sup>*Fouilles de Delphes* (1892-1903), publiées sous la direction de M. Théophile Homolle, Tome iii. Épigraphie. Texte par M. Émile Bourguet. Premier Fascicule, 1910; Texte par M. G. Colin. Deuxième Fascicule, 1909. Paris: Fontemoing & Cie.



## REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

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### PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

DARWIN AND THE HUMANITIES. Library of Genetic Science and Philosophy. Vol. II. By JAMES MARK BALDWIN. 8vo; pp.x, 118. Review Publishing Co. Baltimore. 1909.

"This booklet had its origin in a paper on 'The Influence of Darwin on the Mental and Moral Sciences' prepared by request for the Darwin Celebration of the American Philosophical Society, April 23, 1909." Its aim is to show that "the theory of natural selection should be accepted not merely as a law of biology as such, but as a principle of the natural world, which finds appropriate application in all the sciences of life and mind." This aim the author would realize in successive chapters which illustrate how this theory has actually shaped the development of Psychology, of the Social Sciences, of Ethics, of Logic, of Philosophy and Religion. For his undertaking Dr. Baldwin is qualified by the heartiest appreciation of the theory whose influence he would describe and estimate, by profound knowledge of it in all its ramifications and consequences, and by singular activity and success in applying it in the spheres and sciences just named. That he has correctly and with characteristic ability indicated the trend of the sciences under the impulse of Darwinism is not to be doubted. What this trend is and must be appears in such statements as, "Morality has arisen because it is socially useful;" and "The categories are principles which have been selected from numberless possible variations of thought in the course of racial evolution." That these and many other like positions are in accord with the facts Dr. Baldwin regards as established, but it is too big a question to be discussed within the limits of a book-review. It may be remarked, however, in closing that long ago Mr. Spencer published in the *Contemporary Review* an able paper on "The Inadequacy of Natural Selection" and that probably a majority of the most pronounced evolutionists to-day are taking the same stand.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARISTOTELIAN SOCIETY. New Series.—Vol. X. Containing the Papers read before the Society during the Thirty-First Session, 1909-1910. 8vo, pp. 300. Published by Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 1910. Price ten shillings and sixpence net.

Where all are always good it is difficult to discriminate. The re-

viewer will, therefore, content himself with a list of the subjects and authors of the papers presented.

- I. On Sensations and Images. By S. Alexander.
- II. The Subject-Matter of Psychology. By E. G. Moore.
- III. Epistemological Difficulties in Psychology. By William Brown.
- IV. Kant's Account of Causation. By A. D. Lindsay.
- V. Bergsons Theory of Instinct. By H. Wildon Carr.
- VI. Science and Logic. By E. C. Childs.
- VII. Some Philosophical Implications of Mr. Bertrand Russell's Logical Theory of Mathematics. By S. Waterlow.
- VIII. On Mr. Waterlow's Paper. By Shadworth H. Hodgson.
- IX. Are Secondary Qualities Independent of Perception. I. By T. Percy Nunn. II. By F. C. S. Schiller.
- X. Mr. E. G. Moore on "The Subject-Matter of Psychology." By G. Dawes-Hicks.

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WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

## GENERAL THEOLOGY.

THE NEW SCHAFF-HERZOG ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

Based on the Third Edition of the Realencyklopädie founded by J. J. HERZOG and edited by ALBERT HAUCK. Prepared by more than six hundred scholars and specialists under the supervision of SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, D.D., LL.D., with a distinguished staff of associate and department editors. To be complete in twelve volumes, large quarto. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London. \$5 per volume in cloth. Volume VII. Liturgical-Moralities. Volume VIII. Morality-Peterson.

Certain things that have been said concerning the earlier volumes of this great work are to be repeated in connection with each successive volume. It is the only recent work of the kind accessible in English. It is objected to by many as being too orthodox, and by others as not being orthodox enough, but it is useful, and for some purposes indispensable, to the objectors of both classes. It contains mistakes. It illustrates the fact that neither scholars nor proofreaders are infallible. But its standard is unusually high, alike in legibility, mechanical accuracy, and the mental quality of its contents.

According to the summary furnished by the publishers the seventh volume has 520 pages, in which 610 topics are treated by 141 collaborators. This volume has an unusual proportion of long articles on important subjects. Into this part of the alphabet come the names of certain great religious bodies. Fifty-one columns are given to the Methodists of different types, thirty columns to the Lutherans, twenty-one columns to the Mennonites, a smaller number to the Lollards and others. An interesting article is that on Miscellaneous Religious Bodies, containing brief notices of twenty-four small organizations in the United States, most of them formed within the past twenty years.



Eighteen columns are given to Mohammedanism and subsidiary topics. Due attention is paid to certain great religious institutions. The subject of the Lord's Supper occupies thirty-four columns; that of the Mass, thirty columns; that of marriage, twenty-eight columns. The Lord's Prayer is treated, but in less space. Among the treatments of great religious movements are that of Missions to the Heathen, in forty-seven columns; of the Moralists in Great Britain, in thirteen columns; of the Manichaeans, in fourteen; of the Mandaeans, in ten; of Monarchism, in seventeen; of the Monophysites and Monothelites, in twenty-one; of Monasticism, in fourteen columns. Yet more interesting is the briefer article on "Los von Rom". There is a full article on the Midrash. Among the biographies, those of Luther and Melancthon and Mary the mother of Jesus are perhaps the most important. Such subjects as the Messiah, Millenarianism, Miracles, Materialism, Magic, Medo-Persia, Moab and the Moabite Stone, Molech, have their share of space. And not least important are the articles on the Gospels—Mathew and Mark and Luke, though, naturally, these occupy less space than the others which have been mentioned.

All these extended articles are written by men of note, each by a man who has some claim to be regarded as an expert in his subject. The sound principle is adopted of having a movement presented by a writer who is in sympathy with it; where different points of view are regarded as desirable more writers than one are employed on a subject. If what a student desires is merely general information, he will in most cases find what he needs in this Encyclopedia; and in the bibliographies of the several articles he will find an account of the works which he needs for more thorough investigation.

The person who has the Encyclopedia at hand will refer often to some of these more extended articles, and probably he will refer still oftener to the pages that are devoted to the hundreds of briefer articles.

The eighth volume, according to the summary of the publishers, has 518 pages, with 620 topics, treated by 151 collaborators. The present notice will illustrate certain characteristics of the Encyclopedia by instances taken from some of the longer articles.

The article on Mormonism extends to twenty-four and one half columns. It contains, first, a history and estimate of the Mormonism of Utah from the Mormon point of view, prepared by Joseph F. Smith, Jr.; then, a history and estimate prepared by J. R. Van Pelt from a non-Mormon point of view; then, a brief notice of the Mormons of Lamoni, Iowa, by H. K. Carroll; then, an account of anti-Mormon movements, prepared by D. J. McMillan; and, finally, a list of the literature of the subject, filling nearly a column of fine print. The several parts of the article are excellent in quality. They afford all the information on the subject that most of us need, and an admirable starting ground for any who wish to give it especial study.

A good instance of a treatment that is up to date is the article on the Laymen's Missionary Movement, which gives information concern-

ing this particularly interesting branch of Christian work up to May, 1910.

The six columns on the "Muratorian Canon" are admirably intelligible and thorough, and quite in contrast with the inadequate treatments in some of the older books of reference.

A notable piece of compact good work is the article on Negro Education and Evangelization, by Professor Du Bois of Atlanta University. Alike in its sketch of the history, its estimate of the situation, its statistical tables, its bibliography, this article of sixteen columns shows the hand of a master workman. Professor Du Bois has a strong grasp of his subject, and is eminent in the art of clear presentation.

The article on New England Theology is clear and interesting, though the author of it looks at the subject from his own point of view, while other points of view might present it in other aspects. The article defines the New England theology as "a special school of theology which grew up among the Congregationalists of New England, originating in the year 1734, when Jonathan Edwards began his constructive theological work, culminating a little before the civil war, declining afterwards, and rapidly disappearing after the year 1880." "It may be formally defined as the Calvinism of Westminster and Dort modified by a more ethical conception of God." Concerning its achievements the article says that "it had become the dominant school among Congregationalists, had led to a division among Presbyterians, . . . had founded all the theological seminaries of the Congregationalists and several of the Presbyterians, had furnished the vital forces from which had sprung the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, had established a series of colleges from Amherst in the east to Pacific University in the west".

The article regards the New England theology as having been founded by the elder Jonathan Edwards, with Bellamy and Hopkins for his successors; as developing in the work of the younger Edwards and Emmons and others, and through the Universalist and Unitarian controversies; as becoming a "ripened product" in the hands of N. W. Taylor, Bushnell, Park and their associates. It assigns to Park the place of greatness, but really seems to imply that the school reached its culmination in the teachings of Taylor. Of Professors George Park Fisher and Samuel Harris it says that they, "while thoroughly loyal in their own persons to the New England school, had come to base their reasonings . . . so entirely upon foreign, and chiefly German, scholarship, that they constitute the transition from this school to later forms of theology". It mentions Henry B. Smith as within "the precincts of the school", though belonging "to the conservative side". Concerning what it calls "the collapse of the school" it says: "It is a simple historical fact that in 1880 the New England theology was taught at all the theological seminaries with the possible (and only partial) exception of Hartford, and that in about fifteen years the great professors who represented it had all passed away and were succeeded in every case by men who anxiously sought to separate



themselves from all identification with it". The article says that the collapse was due to the fact that the New England theology, in spite of all its eager thinking, remained essentially Calvinistic, refusing to follow the "new" "evolutionistic" "philosophy of the day", which "rejects the idea of a miraculous revelation of religion from God to man", and "explains even the Bible as a development". Without either affirming or denying any of the propositions of this article, one can but be struck with the intense practicalness of the subject of which it treats. The article has no occasion to mention the fact that since the so-called "collapse" which it describes the seminaries referred to, in spite of their immensely increased facilities, and in spite of the very large increase in the number of college graduates who ought to be available for the ministry, have a largely diminished attendance of students. Elsewhere than in New England, among others than Congregationalists, the same alleged new philosophy of religion is pushing itself. It makes high claims concerning the larger intelligence and spirituality which it brings into religion, but its practical effects are uniformly debilitating.

In some of the biblical articles of the volume under consideration, that on Noah for example, it is gratifying to note that the writers, while essentially accepting the Wellhausen analysis, specifically deny many of the charges of inconsistency which the advocates of that analysis bring against the Bible narrative. The Noah article is brought up to date by an insertion concerning Hilprecht's Babylonian deluge tablet, published in 1910.

The eighteen column article on the "Organization of the Early Church" is by Harnack, and is of course intellectually strong. He excels in the art of putting the simplest and most obvious things first, and proceeding from them to matters that are more complex. He begins by proclaiming himself in antagonism with all confessional views, and this indicates an interesting aspect of the article. In his academic studies Harnack was probably instructed in what is called "historical criticism". Of course, historical criticism, in the proper meaning of the term, is genuine science, worthy of all respect; but the tradition which he was taught was probably to the effect that the statements of the Old and New Testaments are to such an extent false as to render it intellectually disreputable to believe them without skeptical verification. As Harnack has investigated for himself he has steadily been coming out from under the bondage of this tradition. He ordinarily accepts the statements of the New Testament as the testimony of competent witnesses, and as probably true. In the article we are considering his statements are mostly based on the utterances of the New Testament, taken in their natural meaning. A column of his work, with its numerous Bible references, appears to the eye like the work of an old-fashioned American conservative. What he says, however, concerning the relations of Jesus to the Church is in contrast with nearly all the rest. He says that "in no other field of Church history is the contrast between the confessional and the historical view

so great as in all that relates to the constitution of the ancient Church". After speaking of the Roman Catholic view he adds that "in both Calvinism and Lutheranism the position was held that the Church was the intentional and direct foundation of Christ. These conceptions are opposed to the entire historical development of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age". He affirms that on the contrary "what took place was the outgrowth of temporal conditions and proceeded from the fraternal community of men who, through Jesus, had found God". If Harnack held that this "outgrowth" came from seeds planted by Jesus, being foreseen and intended by him, his view would be less anticonfessional than it is, and would be in accordance with natural probabilities. Instead of saying this, he seems to revert to certain traditions concerning "historical criticism". He solves his problem by counting as "later additions" the passages in which Jesus is represented as speaking of the Church and the apostles. He refers to them as for some purposes authentic. He holds "that the Twelve were appointed by Jesus to spread his teachings and to act as the future judges of the twelve tribes of Israel", but that historical criticism requires us to doubt whether Jesus used the word "apostle", though the word was a familiar designation two or three years later. He holds that *ekklesia* is an Old Testament word, and that it was currently applied to the disciples directly after the death of Jesus, and yet that historical criticism hinders our thinking that Jesus used the word. Really it looks as if Dr. Harnack is here concerned to protect himself against the charge of being disreputably unskeptical. In spite of his declaration of hostility, the views he presents will be welcomed, and in large part approved, among non-hierarchical defenders of the confessional positions.

The article on Papyrus, very thorough and admirable, has missed an opportunity in that it fails to give an account of the Aramaic papyri and ostraka found at Syene and Elephantine in Egypt.

Notable are the articles on Palestine and the Palestine Exploration Fund, Pantheism, Parables, Peace Movements, Pericope, Paul the Apostle, Peter the Apostle, and many others.

Auburn, N. Y.

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

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### APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. By HASTINGS RASHDALL, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Pp. xvi, 189. MODERN BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY. By NEWMAN SMYTH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Pp. 95.

Dr. Rashdall's little book consists of six lectures delivered in Cambridge, before an audience composed chiefly of undergraduates. They are not intended for theological or philosophical specialists, but "as aids to educated men desirous of thinking out for themselves a reasonable basis of personal religion". Though the reader who is familiar with the author's other writings—The Essay on "The ulti-



mate basis of Theism", in *Contentio Veritatis*, the Essay upon 'Personality in God and Man', in *Personal Idealism*, and the volumes entitled *The Theory of Good and Evil* and *Doctrine and Development*—will find little or nothing new in these lectures, yet their purpose and method are different from those of the works just mentioned and Dr. Rashdall has succeeded in producing an admirably well-written, well-arranged, lucid, and useful little book which should have many readers.

Chapter I, on Mind and Matter, shows that materialism is impossible and states the familiar idealistic argument for the necessity of a Mind which *thinks* the world. This view however is insufficient, and not only the Idealist but the Realist also may make use of the idea of causality derived from our consciousness of volition. The argument of Lecture II leads to the conclusion that the ultimate Reality is to be thought of as a rational will analogous to the will which each of us is conscious of having or being; and hence we are justified in calling God a Person. Lecture III, on God and the Moral Consciousness, maintains (quite truly, in my opinion) that though nature reveals purpose, it does not of itself reveal benevolent purpose, and accordingly the argument from design must be supplemented by the argument from the moral consciousness in order to arrive at a knowledge of the character of God. The corollaries are: (a) Belief in the objectivity of our moral judgments logically implies belief in God; (b) If God aims at an end not fully realized here, we have a ground for postulating Immortality; (c) Evil is real, but is a necessary means to greater good. Lecture IV deals with some difficulties and objections, and among other things criticises Mr. McTaggart's non-theistic Idealism or Pluralism, and also the view that the human mind is a part of the divine consciousness. Lectures V and VI are upon Revelation and Christianity.

Dr. Rashdall is too well known as a liberal theologian to justify the expectation that his view of Christianity will correspond with that of the Reformed Theology. He is not arguing for the truth of Christianity in this sense, but for the reasonableness of a Christian Theism which (to borrow the word he applies to his doctrine of the Trinity) "few Unitarians would repudiate". The present writer is in fundamental agreement with the author's leading positions, so far at least as they are concerned with the philosophical basis of Christian Theism and do not impinge upon the interpretation of historic Christianity. But in a brief notice of a book which covers so many topics, criticism is impossible and the expression of either assent or dissent is uncalled for. I must content myself with expressing the hope that these Lectures will find many readers, both among those who seek and those who deny the need of a reasonable basis of personal religion. Their publication is most timely, because there never was a time when good people who should know better so persistently ignore or deny the intimate relation between philosophy and religion, and when the fact that philosophy is the only ultimate

basis for a reasonable religion seemed to stand so much in need of emphasis. That the big underlying theological questions are metaphysical in character seems to me so obvious that I have always been amazed that people could think anything really important was accomplished or any serious difficulties removed by tinkering or revising a few sentences in some creed or confession. The world is (no doubt fortunately) very far from being made up of philosophers, but I do not suppose that any reflective person really wishes to believe in a non-rational foundationless religion.

Dr. Newman Smyth's Lecture on Modern Belief in Immortality has the perfectly compatible double aim of showing by certain physical analogies that the continuance of the personal life hereafter is not impossible and of offering some positive argument in favor of personal immortality; but his failure to keep these two aspects of his argument distinct and his tendency to blend metaphysical, physical, and religious considerations render his reasoning less clear than it might be, and I confess my inability to follow it at times. This is notably the case where he is reasoning from the analogies furnished by physics and biology, but where he at the same time interjects a spiritualistic view of nature and a theistic interpretation of natural phenomena. This tendency sometimes makes it appear as though he were assuming the thing to be proved. For example, when he argues that "if now some body, it may be as yet a rudimentary and imperfect body, has become of inestimable service to mind in its happy communication with the outward world, and in the mutual recognition of friends; then some *bodiliness* will always be of service to mind; and after this brief earth time the spirit in man may expect to receive the better thing prepared for it, and to enter into some future embodiment more finely organized for its motion and vision in the life beyond"—this language is not only theological ["the better thing prepared for it"] but the author appears to make the assumption that personal consciousness perdures. I am not sure that one is entitled to conclude that since body has become of service to mind therefore some bodiliness will always be of service to mind, and still less that personal spirits must continue to exist in a future state because mind and body appear to belong together.

Dr. Smyth's reasoning sometimes seems to cut both ways. Suppose we fully admit the value of body to mind and that matter and mind 'were made' to exist together (p. 37); we are certainly not shut up to the conclusion that personal consciousness will last forever in connection with a body appropriate to it and its environment; for the inference might be drawn that personal consciousness will cease with the dissolution of the body. If "an embodied spirit is the natural end of the creation", it might be said that the end of creation is already realized in our present mundane life and will continue to be realized until the earth becomes too hot or too cold to support life. If it be true that evolutionary thought recognises the law of coördinate growth between soul and body (p. 29), does evolutionary thought



regard itself as forced to the conclusion that this parallel development of the individual must go on everlastingly? What inference would Dr. Smyth draw from the fact that 'some botanists discern preliminary signs of intelligence in the apex of the root of a plant'? Is it that the individual plant soul is immortal and will continue to exist and grow in another root? Or has the plant life not gained "survival value"? If we ultimately rest our faith in immortality upon the supreme fact of personality and upon the survival value of the personal life (pp. 39, 80), then the argument from the analogy of plant and animal life breaks down; if we rest it upon the analogy between human and non-human consciousness, then the argument from 'the distinctive quality of the personal life' loses its force. Which way does Dr. Smyth mean to argue? Or is he arguing both ways at once? Dr. Smyth's evident desire to be quite up-to-date and to make use of the 'newer thought' of the natural sciences is quite commendable; but his anxiety to correct popular misconceptions and to leave on one side the idea of the soul as a half-materialized entity and to conceive of it not as some sort of independent substance but rather after the analogy of physical energy, is perhaps not as fruitful in its results or as free from difficulties as he imagines. If 'substance' is a metaphysical description of spirit, 'energy' is a physical description; and the one is as metaphorical as the other. Which is the more fruitful conception will depend upon the use that can be made of it. But admitting that the conception of energy "affords a better standing-ground for belief in a possible continuance of life after death than the idea of the soul as some kind of substance", does not the author proceed too fast in his argument when he says: We are to conceive "of personality as undying energy", and it is 'inconceivable' "that such living spiritual energies as are incarnate and radiantly active in the intelligent and purposeful life of a true man, can be brought to a sudden stop.....". "The idea is a contradiction of the law of the conservation of personal energy" (p. 20). But why 'undying'? How 'inconceivable'? And where does Dr. Smyth get this 'law'? That cut is too short; and I do not think Dr. Smyth really means to make his physical metaphor include the assumption of the existence of a law which would make his reasoning superfluous. But what does he mean by a 'true' man? This can not be intended as an argument for conditional immortality, for he holds that "man can make himself a devil or a saint; he cannot unmake himself into a beast that perishes" (p. 32). On the other hand, in one place he raises the question 'whether personal life has attained in any of us survival value' (p. 36), and in another place (p. 49), he argues for immortality on the ground that 'the personal life has gained survival value'. Would the man, then, have gained survival value who had made himself a devil? That is perhaps not an easy question; but if it be answered in the negative, then we must choose between the argument from 'the survival value of personality' and 'the law of the conservation of personal energy'. If in the affirmative,

then we should have to revise our ordinary value judgments in the light of a beyond-good-and-evil metaphysic.

Nor does the author's argument from evolution appear to me particularly cogent. That evolution "puts a supreme value upon the individual man" should not be too naively assumed at the present day. And if it be true that "evolution has attained a result worth perpetuating in personality", it might also be said that evolution does perpetuate personality, and will probably continue to do so for a long time to come, quite apart from personal immortality. And if "the energy of life shows no signs of giving out" (p. 48), does this mean in the individual or in the race? If in the individual, the statement is certainly not true; if in the race, then this has no bearing upon the question of personal survival. It is easy to overwork analogy. Dr. Smyth says 'recent biology has added to our knowledge the fact that the natural history of death shows it to have been a minister of life, that the ascent of life would have been impossible without death, and that the end of the evolution of species is the perfect individual' (p. 69). "Why, then", he asks, "as death has served hitherto the upgrowth of species, should it not complete its ministry by setting free the individual person in whom all the past succession of species is fulfilled"? Why not, indeed? It is certainly not inconceivable; but why, so far as the lesson of natural history is concerned, should death take on this new ministry, and why should it be said that unless the individual person is thus 'set free', 'the law and service of death would be revoked with the coming of man' (p. 69)? "The end of the evolution of species is the perfect individual". But man is still an unfinished and imperfect being (pp. 58-63). The end of evolution is therefore still unreachd, and there is no logical reason why the 'law and service of death', which is necessary to the ascent of life and has served hitherto the upgrowth of species, should either change its character or be revoked. I am not myself much impressed by the common easy optimism based upon the idea of still-ascending life and the promise of the Superman as a satisfying substitute for the hope of immortality, and I should dislike to be thought hypercritical of an author with the general aim and moderate, undogmatic tone of whose argument I sympathise. My own opinion is that there is a good deal in the idea (which Dr. Smyth no doubt derives from Fechner) of the capacity of spirit in some way to fashion its own material embodiment; and I quite agree that 'if Socrates were here, our natural sciences might bring much fine oil for him to change into the light of his immortal hope'.

*Princeton.*

GEORGE S. PATTON.

DE EMPIRISCHE GODSDIENSTPSYCHOLOGIE. DOOR J. G. GEELKERKEN.  
Amsterdam. Scheltema & Holkema's Boekhandel. 1909.

Dr. Geelkerken's book exhibits a great deal of painstaking industry, a considerable amount of learning and extensive reading. The subject of his treatise is the modern empirical psychology of Stanley Hall,



Starbuck, James and Coe, its principal representatives in America, and of some French and Swiss writers, applied to religion. It is a remarkable fact, that Germany, which gave the first impulse to the study of modern empirical psychology, is almost conspicuous by its absence in this field, although Stanley Hall, who introduced Wundt's psychological method among us, imbibed the modern views, when he studied in Germany. In its present form it is an American plant, and Hall may be called, as Geelkerken does, its spiritual father.

The author has arranged his subject matter very well indeed. After a brief introduction he divides his subject into two parts; the first is mainly a description of the views of the great leaders in modern psychological investigation, to a great extent in copious quotations from their writings; the second is a thorough criticism of the principles and deductions, which lead them to the construction of their system. A short but pithy conclusion crowns the work. In addition the author gives us copies of tables, questionnaires and a large list of books on psychology.

In reading Dr. Geelkerken's book the thought struck me, that there are advantages in belonging to a small nation. The author gives all his quotations in the original. He does not put them in footnotes or in an appendix, but in the body of the text, making his book a linguistic mosaic. He expects his readers to be able to follow him, when he quotes in English, French, German and Italian. And his quotations are sometimes very long extracts, covering several pages. American, English, French and German writers would hesitate in putting such polyglot books into the hands of their readers. In the Netherlands a writer may do this, as it seems, without any fear of criticism. It is understood that, as a rule the readers of such books have at least sufficient knowledge of the languages used in the quotations. The advantages of such a method are apparent. It enables one to control the writer's statements, because it is not difficult to verify them, having the *ipsisima verba* of the several writers before you.

In the descriptive part Dr. Geelkerken treats his subject exhaustively. Our only objection is, that he now and then pauses in his description to criticize some of the statements of our modern psychologists. This he ought to have relegated to the critical part of his treatise.

In three paragraphs Dr. Geelkerken gives us his view of the origins of empirical psychology of religion. He finds the germs of this new development in Pietism, Herrnhutism Methodism and Revivalism. You see he goes far from home in his investigations. The idea of empirical psychology of religion he traces along the different lines of demarcation, generally made by modern psychologists between their science and the old theology, the philosophy of religion and the history of religions. On this foundation the author gives us an outline of the history of empirical psychology. In the fourth paragraph he describes the method used in building up the system. This paragraph is of great importance, for it gives us a definition of the science, puts in a clear light its subjective character and its indifference regarding the reality

of the subjective religious experiences, which is indeed the Achilles heel of the whole system.

Having by all this prepared the way for a description of the details, which are of such a kind, that it is impossible for us in a short book notice to give a review of them, the author carries his readers from point to point, slowly but surely, as you may expect from a good Dutchman. His resumption of the subject-matter is very instructive. He speaks very clearly about the root-principles of empirical psychology. The first is biological and leads empirical psychologists of religion to define religion as life. The second is evolutionistic,—which views evolution as an ontogenetic and a phylogenetic process. The third is emotionalistico-voluntary, which reduces the intellectual factor to a minimum and declares it to be only of secondary importance. The fourth is pragmatism with its watchword of utility. "God is not understood; He is used." Whether there is a God, or what He is, is of no importance, and is relegated to the metaphysical lumber room. Religion has nothing to do with the metaphysical attributes ascribed to God. This is, although some may find in it the strongest foundation of empirical psychology of religion, the weakest principle of the whole system, removing entirely the reality of religion. A result of all this is, that empirical psychology of religion is absolutely individualistic. "Religion," as quoted by Dr. Geelkerken, "is a monumental chapter in the history of human egotism." If this is all, then certainly it is true what J. Moses says, as quoted by our author, "We shall hold that whenever the religious experience or practice injure the psychical or physical condition of the individual or groups, or retard their growth so that they cannot think, act or feel in relation to their environment, in accordance with the standards normal to their stages of development, they are positively pathological." In harmony with these principles we are prepared to find that modern empirical psychology of religion is entirely inimical to transcendent supranaturalism, although James declares himself to be a supranaturalist of some kind. It is not strange to find that he has polytheistic ideas, which he calls pluralistic supranaturalism. Of course, not all agree with this position of James, but notwithstanding the differences in detail, in the chief position they seem all agreed. "Religion is social, racial, world-adjustment." And Starbuck says, "It is the function of religion to help humanity keep its bark trimmed for the open sea. It is concerned chiefly with keeping men alive to the deeper stream of reality, out of which they are continually dragged by entanglement with the 'objects' of consciousness, in the form of definite ideas and specific feelings." Such a statement is not based on James' "pluralism," but is rather monistic, in harmony, however, with most of the root-principles of the modern psychology of religion. Religion is nothing but "exclusively a phenomenon of human experience," as Dr. Geelkerken puts it. Of course, the representatives of empirical psychology of religion claim the future for their view of religion. We are accustomed to listen to such acclamations of enthusiasts, and are willing to leave it to the verdict of history.



In his critical part Dr. Geelkerken first investigates the formal principles and finds them wanting. He does not deny that there is something in the method pursued, which has its merits. It draws the attention of scholars towards interesting material for study; it enables them to make use of this material; it helps them in investigating the physical correlated phenomena as also in their investigation of the pathological phenomena; in their search for laws and in many other ways too numerous to mention.

Objections to the method of empirical psychology of religion are manifold. Dr. Geelkerken thinks its conception of experience erroneous and confusing. Facts and theory clash. Of its conception of observations the same must be said. The author objects to its "anti-metaphysical" character, which is not tenable, as is proven from the hypotheses and principles used by the psychologists themselves. The criticism of the material principles is exceptionally thorough and fine. Although he finds something to praise in all the principles, which we have already mentioned in the author's Resumption, he shows with a great deal of forcibleness the contradictions, superficiality and carelessness of treatment, and its utter inconsistency with Christianity, especially the ignoring of the Divine factor in religion. I agree perfectly with the author, when he maintains, that religious life cannot expect any vigorous revival as a result of these psychological investigations. In combination with philosophy and history of religion as a third part of an anthropological science of religion it certainly has its merits, but it is preposterous to believe that it will in the end fill the place of theology.

We commend this book very heartily to all, who are able to read Dutch, English, French and German. They will find in it a wealth of information, a lucid development of the subject and a trenchant criticism of the main positions of the modern empirical psychology of religion.

*Holland, Mich.*

NICHOLAS M. STEFFENS.

THE PLEROMA. An Essay on the Origin of Christianity. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1909.

The works of the author of this essay, and many of the other publications of the Open Court Company are not, as they claim to be, and no doubt honestly strive to be, merely unprejudiced scientific investigations in the field of Comparative Religion. They are part of a great modern propaganda. They voice the demand that all religions are to be explained as evolutionary in origin, natural in development and similar in aim and authority. Of course, they take for granted at the outset that the peculiar activity of the Supernatural in history and revelation as it has been claimed to be manifested in the Bible does not exist and never was so manifested.

Before considering in detail this essay we must therefore remember the fundamental position which underlies the author's work when he begins by denying as impossible one of the chief claims of Chris-

tianity, the immediate supernatural personal revelation of God to men chosen to receive this, and then adds to it the denial of another doctrine also everywhere insisted upon in the Scriptures, that the inspiration of the Bible is peculiar to itself and that therefore Christianity and Christianity *alone* is a true statement of the relation of God and man and of the unseen world as well. When these denials are postulated it no longer becomes possible to have a really scientific investigation to determine the truth of the religion of Christ. Should such an investigation be commenced, it should take note of these claims; and instead of utterly disregarding them or considering them as no longer anywhere believed, it should carefully investigate them, weighing the evidence pro and con. In this way it would be necessary to consider not only the origin of each religion and its similarity to others but also its effects and to judge whether, in the light of the influence of Christianity upon the individual and the race, there was not required a sharp distinction between it and all others, between its sacred writings and the sacred books of all the other race religions.

Dr. Carus begins his essay by stating that Christianity was predetermined by the needs of the age. It owes more to the Gentiles than to the Jews, since its doctrines are largely paralleled by corresponding ideas existing in various forms among the Gnostics, Sethites, and philosophers. Its rites and sacraments find similar symbols among those usually called "pagans", while several of the chief doctrines and rites of the religion of Christ stand in direct opposition to Jewish ideals, as for example, eating flesh and drinking blood as it appears in the Eucharist, and the worship of Jesus as divine. We may well stop to note that Dr. Carus here illustrates one of the great weaknesses of his own work. The Communion Service or the Last Supper is strictly parallel to a Jewish feast, in complete harmony with the Passover ritual and not heathen in origin. Even the symbolism is connected with that of the paschal lamb. Also the difficulties raised here did not seem to trouble either the Christians or the Jews of the first century and therefore it is not reasonable to suppose that they are real. As to Jesus' claim to be the Son of God, there are plenty of passages from the prophets which justify this, and the idea of the reign of God Himself on earth is Jewish and appears frequently in the Old Testament. Later in this essay the author illustrates the same failing. He everywhere when in doubt decides in favor of the most critical position and in regard to the history of the Jews and to the life and work of Jesus, his interpretation and exegesis are those of a special pleader and not of an unbiased and well trained exegete.

Dr. Carus's essay continues by picturing the Old Paganism and by choosing only the bright parts, interpreting their symbols in the light of our present spiritual position, (gained largely through the Scriptures), and omitting all the awful mass of filth and mad wickedness in which they abound. He draws a noble picture of the Ethnic religions, showing how similar in many ways parts of them are to parts of Christianity.



On page 20 we have a summary of Christianity. It is interesting to note that while it is claimed that this must be almost wholly pagan in origin, yet practically every part of this summary can be found stated or foreshadowed in the Hebrew Prophets. Of course, if we are to grant the author the privilege of interpreting the ancient heathen myths in the most favorable possible light, in reading into their expressions concepts that were never intended by their authors, in choosing here and there a pearl and letting it represent the ground formation instead of looking at the filthy ooze from which this jewel came—if we allow this on the one hand and on the other are willing to see the Bible statements taken in their most unfavorable light, with their meaning shortened and emasculated, then we may agree with Dr. Carus that Christianity is only Paganism Redivivus. It is impossible to take up here the many points where this double misrepresentation occurs, but any candid critic who will study the Bible text and can study something of the great mass of the Pagan writings, cannot fail to see how baseless is the claim that Christianity arises chiefly from varying forms of Pagan thought.

The essay continues by outlining the Gnostic beliefs which are said to be the forerunners of Christian Theology and not heresies from it, then speaks of the period of transition and builds an argument on the followers of John the Baptist, preferring to take doubtful possibilities as to his connection with certain sects rather than the clear statement of the Gospels which imply the supernatural. Gnosticism in its more favorable aspects appears before us and we are then asked to consider the kindred sects in Palestine and Egypt. Here occur some surprising statements about John and Jesus as being of the sects of the Zabians and the Nazarenes. The difficulty arises in confusing the cause for the effect. The Nazarenes arose because the followers of Jesus were called contemptuously after the despised name of their Master's native city. The reference to the Ebionites as "the poor" of the sermon on the mount is amusing, but impossible, as in the Gospels there is nowhere any evidence that Jesus allied himself with any faction or sect. He strove to keep free from them.

How the Gentile Saviour changed into the Christ is the title of the next section. This took place by a process of Idealization and through Pagan influences in which that of the Persians predominated. A witness to the transitional phase is found in the Revelation of St. John. Here again a better understanding of the Bible might be obtained by comparing it with the other forms of Apocalyptic writings of the age and with the Old Testament prophets, rather than altogether with conceptions outside the canon. The author outlines his explanation of why Christianity conquered, and concludes his essay with a section on the origin of Judaism and its significance to Christianity. We might note in passing, the Chapter on the Judaism of Jesus and its surprising failure to understand the incident related in Mark xii., 35-37. The work concludes with a summary and a few pages on the future of Christianity.

This essay makes increasingly manifest the need of thorough Bible study. Its form is so attractive, its material so well chosen and its conclusions, on their face, so natural and so plausible that it can only harm those who will not investigate for themselves. Truth is ever good and ever necessary, but half truths are exceedingly dangerous to those who are either too lazy to study and think for themselves or are too ignorant to be able to distinguish and to understand. The only real antidote for this propaganda is a thorough knowledge of what the Bible really is and what it really teaches, and this can come only through study. A church or a body of christians ignorant of doctrine and the Bible must be ever at the mercy of the latest plausible and tempting theory.

This essay makes one thing very clear, and for this it is very valuable. In the heart of man, of the universal man, is a vague hope for a saviour, is a longing for personal communion with God. The desired things of all nations are found in Jesus. Hindu and Egyptian, Greek and Chinaman have hoped that the things that have been revealed to us might be true. Their prophets have desired to know what God has given to the world. There are many who even now claim that all we need is the moral value of the truths of Christianity and that historicity is of no importance. If this is so, Dr. Carus is right in his contention. If this is so, we have only what the heathen have—vague longings, unfulfilled hopes, no certainty, a great *If*, to believe and worship.

The fullness of time came but it did not of itself produce the needed religion. Some of the elements were present, some of the outward emblems, in their form at least, were in readiness; but there was no life, no power, no incarnation of truth. The world was skeptical, tired, and hopeless. Then God sent forth His Son, and hope became reality; and the Power of the Spirit of God has ever since proved the uniqueness and exclusive right of the good news of Jesus Christ.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

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### EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY. A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON GENESIS. By JOHN SKINNER, D.D., Hon. M.A. (Cantab.), Principal and Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature, Westminster College, Cambridge. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. 8vo.; pp. lxvii, 551. \$3.00 net.

Notwithstanding "the reaction against the critical analysis of the Pentateuch" Professor Skinner declares his continued "belief in the essential soundness of the present hypothesis" (p. viii.). He believes also that mythical imagination, legend, and poetic idealisation are the life and soul of the narratives in Genesis. Our constant impression



in studying the book is that the author goes to an extreme in discrediting the narrative, an extreme not demanded by either his theory of myths or by his literary analysis.

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY. A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. By EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in the Divinity School of Yale University, and ALBERT ALONZO MADSEN, Ph.D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church at Newburgh, N. Y. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. 8vo.; pp. xxii, 533. \$3.00 net.

Professor Curtis regards the contents of the books of the Chronicles as unhistorical, not in a few instances, but pervasively and prevailingly so. This theory dominates the criticism of the text and the exposition of the meaning, and for the author settles many vital questions without debate. The Chronicles were, indeed, written by a priest who lived more than a century after the exile and whose supreme interest was centered in the history of the temple and its worship. His account accordingly, while traversing in part the same ground that is covered in the books of the Kings, often differs in details from the prophetic narrative, being written for the elucidation of other matters. None of these facts militates against the historic accuracy of his narrative. That narrative, if accurate at all, if true in its general account of events, contradicts certain theories concerning the development of Israel's religion. There's the rub.

The text of the Chronicles has suffered much in transmission. This deterioration was to be expected in a work that includes so many registers and numerical records and genealogical lists as part of its historical material. It was especially easy for a scribe to lose himself among these mazes, where the earliest manuscripts were written with a script in which several of the letters were scarcely, and when carelessly formed were quite, indistinguishable from each other, where there is seldom a means by which one may determine the true reading, and where the omission of a word is not readily detected by the eye and continuity of sense does not keep the mind of the copyist on his task. In seeking to restore the original text Professor Curtis cites, or at least refers to, the literature on the subject; and makes valuable suggestions of his own. In addition to the recovery of the original text the investigator of the literary history, yes, and the wise expositor too, wishes to know and classify and catalogue the documents used by the Chronicler in the preparation of his history. Here also Professor Curtis affords aid both by means of a comprehensive bibliography of modern treatises and by a discussion of his own, which sets the problem before the reader, even though it may still leave the reader unconvinced that the reduction of sources to the number argued for is correct. To those whose work calls for a strictly critical commentary on the text and the sources this com-

mentary is commended. It is a report of progress along these lines, a guide to the literature, a display of the material for discussion. For this purpose there is no other one book in English of equal value with this work of Professor Curtis.

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE STUDENT'S OLD TESTAMENT. THE SERMONS, EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSES OF ISRAEL'S PROPHETS from the Beginning of the Assyrian Period to the End of the Maccabean Struggle. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. With Maps and Chronological Charts. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. 8vo.; pp. xxv, 516. \$2.75 net.

This volume of the Student's Old Testament consists, like its predecessors in the series, of a general introduction and the biblical text in new translation and radical re-arrangement. If one is able to ignore the existence of predictive prophecy, to consider prophecy, when it is not ethical and based on a belief concerning God's nature, to be for the most part mere hope, to assign Professor Kent's dates to the prophecies (placing for instance, Is. xl-lv after Zech. i-viii, and sections of Isaiah, Amos and Micah in the Greek and Maccabean period, such as Is. iv.2-6; ix.2-7; xi.1-16; Amos ix.9-15; Mic.v.1-15), to excise verses and clauses for the reasons given in the footnotes (comp. Amos. i.2; ii.4; Hos. xi.10,11; Is. vii.8), and radically to change the text without any textual authority for doing so (comp. Zech. vi. 11, 13), then one can accept as adequate Professor's Kent's account of the origin and development of the prophet and his characterization and history of messianic prophecy. But not otherwise.

The declaration that "Amos also first proclaimed those vital truths regarding Jehovah's just and universal rule and the obligation of man to man which inaugurated a new epoch in the history of religion" (p. 63) reminds us of the question asked in naive form, "Who was the first drunkard?", and the naively accepted answer, "Noah".

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH, Translated from a Text Revised in accordance with the Results of Recent Criticism. With Introductions, Critical Notes and Explanations, and Two Maps. By G. H. Box, M.A., Formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; Sometime Hebrew Master at Merchant Taylors' School, London. Together with a Prefatory Note by S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. 8 vo., pp. xv, 365. \$2.25 net.

The primary purpose of the author is to offer a new critical translation of the book of Isaiah which shall embody the most important results of recent research and criticism and thereby serve as a companion volume and simple commentary to the Revised Version. Ac-



cordingly, the several prophecies, longer and shorter, are treated separately and each is provided with a suitable title and also with a brief introduction in order to set forth as definitely as possible or to discuss the date, the occasion, and the literary form. Footnotes record the changes which it has been deemed proper to make in dealing with the Hebrew text, state the reasons for the alteration, and generally name recent writers who have adopted these changes.

The author shows great deference to the opinions of Gressmann. In one great class of passages, eschatological ones in a sense, several of which are assigned in Professor Kent's book noticed above to the Greek and Maccabean periods, the acceptance of Gressmann's contentions results in allowing a date as early as the time of Isaiah. The author's main dependence, however, for the revision of the text referred to on the title page and for interpretation is upon Duhm, the recent work of Cheyne, and Marti. And the extreme theory that the prophetic discourses at all times and in every part should show the rigid formality of a poem in structure and rhythm (compare Driver's remark, p. xi) dominates the present work, and the Hebrew text on this ground alone is constantly transposed or omitted or a lacuna assumed in order to introduce a supposed improvement into its rhythm.

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH IN FIFTEEN STUDIES. By GEORGE L. ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Professor Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. New York: Young Men's Christian Association Press. 1910. 12mo.; pp. 175.

This modest book has been prepared and published to meet the needs of the Y. M. C. A. in the work of instructing classes in the study of the Bible. The author has the gift of presenting his learning, when he chooses, in popular form, and has become a teacher at summer assemblies who is heard with gladness by both clergymen and laymen.

The significance of this little book lies in the attitude of the scholar who writes it toward the authorship of the prophecies which he discusses, and implicitly toward the great fundamental matters which the question of authorship involves. Professor Robinson deliberately parts company with those who treat the book of Isaiah as a heterogeneous mass of miscellaneous oracles ranging in date from the time of Uzziah and Hezekiah to the days of the Maccabees, and he confesses himself convinced of the unity and genuineness of the book of Isaiah and sets forth tersely certain reasons which compel his belief (pp. 59-67.).

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.

CODEx TAURINENSIS (Y). Transcribed and collated by the REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., Jesus College, Cambridge. Henry Frowde: Oxford University Press; London, Edinburgh, New York, To-

ronto and Melbourne. 1908. 8vo.; pp. ix, 136. Price Four Shillings net.

The Turin manuscript of the Dodekapropheton is the codex which Dr. Swete denotes by the symbol Y. It contains Lucian's recension of the Septuagint text of the Twelve Minor Prophets, and the scanty remains of a commentary by Theodoret. Assigned with probability to the ninth century, or at latest to the tenth, it is the earliest known manuscript containing this recension of the Twelve Prophets. The headings of each book (the opening verse of the Hebrew text) and the caption to the prayer of Habakkuk are written in uncials; the text of the prophecies is cursive. The books are arranged in the Hebrew order.

This transcript is the first of the codex to be published or collated. It was given for the first time to the public in the pages of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vols. vi-viii, 1905-1907. Dr. Oesterley, who had already laid students of the Old Testament text under obligations to him by printing the Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets (JTS., Vols. v-vi), has earned their thanks afresh for his arduous labor in copying and collating this precious work of an unknown scribe and publishing it in handy form.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL. By ALFRED LOISY, Professor of the History of Religions at the Collège de France. Translated by ARTHUR GALTON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1910. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 288. \$1.50 net.

This book contains little that has not been said before, and by others; but it is full of interest. The work was intended to be a continuation of articles on religion and revelation which had been published by the author in the *Revue du clergé français*. The pages of the review were, however, closed to him by action of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris after the first instalment had appeared in the issue for October 1900; but the whole work was immediately published as a pamphlet, in the early months of 1901. The book did not stand alone in the thought of the Abbé Loisy. It was an integral part of a comprehensive survey of the Old and New Testaments. Interest centers in it because of its relation to this larger field and because of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the ultimate conclusions of the author.

Alfred Loisy was born February 28th, 1857, at Ambrières, a village about eighty miles distant from Paris, in the department of Marne. Ordained a priest in 1879, he spent two years in pastoral work and then became professor of Holy Scripture, Hebrew and Assyrian in the Catholic University of Paris. This position he was compelled to resign (*Autour d'un petit livre*, p. xi), when Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical on Holy Scripture in 1893, and he was appointed chaplain to the Dominican nuns of Neuilly-sur-Seine. Five years later, in 1899, he retired to Bellevue, between Paris and Versailles, and obtained a



government position as lecturer on biblical exegesis in l'École des Hautes Études, and also delivered lectures at the Sorbonne on gospel literature.

In his book on *La religion d'Israël*, now translated, the author begins with a chapter on the literary sources and character of the books of the Old Testament, in which he describes them as late and as abounding in mythology, legend, idealizations, contradictions, and editorial modifications; proceeds to a discussion of the origin of Semitic religion, out of which the tribal Jahvism of Israel sprang; and conducts the reader from the old Jahvism through a form of prophecy into early Judaism and various messianic conceptions; and leaves the reader with the question springing to his lips, What then, with such methods of criticism and such conclusions, does the author think of Christ? The sequels of this work speedily appeared: *Études évangéliques* and *L'Évangile et l'Église* in 1902, and *Autour d'un petit livre* and *Le quatrième Évangile* in 1903. The author considers the narratives of the first three Gospels to be far removed in time from the events, and quite untrustworthy and legendary; he interprets the Fourth Gospel throughout in a purely symbolical and allegorical sense, and expressly states that it is not history; and he treats miracles as unhistorical: the Virgin did not conceive by the Holy Ghost; Jesus wrought no miracles, though he probably effected some cures of nervous disorders, was not conscious of being God become man and never claimed to be a divine person; and the resurrection of his body from the grave has not been demonstrated as a fact of history. The author asserts that the divinity of Christ is not a matter of historical inquiry, but is a metaphysical question. On December 4th, 1903, the book on the religion of Israel and the four others that have been mentioned were placed on the Index, as containing "numerous and grave errors, principally concerning the nature of primitive revelation, the authenticity of the deeds and teaching recorded in the Gospels, the divinity of Christ and his knowledge, and the institution of the church and the sacraments" (Merry del Val to Cardinal Richard, Dec. 19, 1903; *Autour d'un petit livre*, p. vi.). Abbé Loisy announced his submission to the decree of the Sacred Congregation condemning his books. His submission was not satisfactory. In 1904, as a proof of good will, he resigned his government position as lecturer on biblical exegesis in l'École des Hautes Études. He ceased lecturing also at the Sorbonne, and left the neighborhood of Paris. He professed to be a Christian in that he believed in Christ's ideal of the kingdom, that is the reign of justice and happiness among men. His authority to say mass in his own house expired, and was not renewed; and he said mass for the last time on November 2nd, 1906, but continued to attend mass on Sundays. Two months later he publicly declared that he did not understand a single article of the creed in the same sense as the church, that the commonly received view of revelation is childish, and that for twenty years he had regarded the whole Catholic system as doomed. He was quite free to leave the Roman communion and lay aside the badge of office in it, if he chose; but

neither did he withdraw from the Church nor did his opinions undergo a change, and on March 7th, 1908, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by the Holy Office. He has not worn the clerical garb since. In 1909 he was appointed to the chair which he now occupies, the professorship of the history of religions at the Collège de France.

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.

A HISTORY OF THE SCIENCES. HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

By ARCHIBALD DUFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Theology in the United College, Bradford. With Illustrations. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press. 1910. Small 8vo.; pp. xiii, 201. 75 cents net.

This little book "is published in London by The Rationalist Press Association, Limited." Accepting the dating of the Old Testament writings which is assigned to them by one of the three recognized schools of criticism, the author writes his history of critical work done by the Hebrews of the Old Testament period on this basis and from this point of view. If the theory is true, Dr. Duff's account of early criticism is essentially true; if the theory is false and destined to give way to another, Dr. Duff's account is also false. The narrowness of the author's field of vision is equally apparent in the latter half of the book, in his sketch of the history of criticism during the last one hundred and fifty years. His gaze is fixed on the rise and progress of the same school, on the gradual emergence of its fundamental postulates, its establishment, and later extended building on the same foundations. The historical-critical work of Ewald is not mentioned except in the single reference to "the brilliant but uncertain conjectures of Ewald" (p. 161); and the eminent scholars who have reached similar conclusions as Ewald and perpetuated them are nowhere even named. Yet their work has left its distinctive marks on the history of Old Testament criticism; and certain methods, much in vogue at present for the emendation of the text, were fostered and furthered by Ewald, especially in his criticism of the Psalms. In view of this omission it is not surprising that the interpretation and investigations of the conservative school are ignored. Moreover the author leaves unnoticed those forms of Old Testament criticism which do not deal with the letter of the text, or the literary sources, or dates, but independently of these matters, or regarding them as wholly minor, judge the prophecies from the standpoint of pure naturalism and the narratives on the basis of the mythical and legendary in primitive literature.

Considering methods in textual, literary, and historical criticism, which are followed to a large extent by members of the school to which Dr. Duff belongs, his remark is naïve that "we have learned now not to let subjective preference influence our decisions" (p. 8).

*Princeton.*

JOHN D. DAVIS.



A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. By JOHN D. DAVIS, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. With many new and original Maps and Plans and Amply Illustrated. Third Edition. Revised Throughout and Enlarged. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1911. 8vo.; pp. vii, 840.

The title page mentions the enlargement of this book. In mere bulk the increase in size amounts to the addition of thirty-eight pages. But beyond that, it means pervasive revision and great enrichment. The first edition issued from the press in 1898. The American revision of the English version of the Bible was published about two years later, and it became desirable that the orthography of the proper names according to its standard be noted. Due record of these orthographic changes has accordingly been made on the pages of the Dictionary. The articles on geography, history, and chronology reflect the light that has come during the past twelve years. Most of the articles on the books of the Old and New Testaments have been elaborated and materially enlarged; chiefly in order to show the place which the books have occupied in the life of the church, to exhibit the personal traits of the writers, and to reveal the superb outlook of these men upon God and the world. New articles have been introduced, without however changing the scope of the work; and other articles have been recast or rewritten, when by doing so greater simplicity and clearness seemed attainable; and they have been enlarged wherever experience in the use of the book has shown that its practical utility would be increased. The maps with which the Dictionary is furnished, both in the midst of the text and as an appendix, are designed to meet the needs of biblical students. They are accurate, they illustrate the statements and discussions in the geographical articles, and they are free from eccentricities in the identification of sites.

*Princeton.*

J. D. D.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AMONG THE SEMITIC RELIGIONS. By GEORGE RICKER BERRY, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, Colgate University. Philadelphia: The Griffith and Rowland Press, 1910. Pp. 215, with indices. \$1.00 net.

The question which this writer proposes for solution in this book is, What features of the religious teaching, or theology, of the Old Testament are to be considered common to the Hebrews and some other nation or nations, and what features are distinctive? After a preliminary sketch of Semitic history and literature that seems scarcely necessary in a book of this character, Professor Berry takes up the comparison proposed under three main topics, divine beings, man, and the future life. This part of his book, which naturally forms the bulk of it, traverses familiar ground and is of value as a contribution to the subject mainly from the author's analysis and grouping of his material. The value of the method appears in the concluding

part, where because of it the miscellaneous data can be gathered up and viewed in certain convenient categories.

The writer deals first with the group of religious phenomena where the resemblance between Hebrew and non-Hebrew doctrine or custom is marked. In accounting for these resemblances the theory of borrowing (*e. g.*, Hebrew from Babylonian), so urgently advocated by some, is distinctly rejected. "The common element must be accounted for as the result of inheritance from common ancestors. It is not meant that there may not also be some borrowing, but this, if so, must pertain to the details rather than to the main substance of the conceptions." The group of ideas where the resemblance between the Hebrew religion and the other Semitic religions is much less marked than in the first group, receives a similar though less definite verdict. While in details there may have been influence or borrowing, the similarity may, in the main, best be accounted for on the basis of "early Semitic inheritance", and there may also have been a certain amount of independent parallel development.

Among the teachings of the Old Testament which are distinctive and without close Semitic parallels, our author considers first the group that shows the most decided contrast with the other religions. Here he rejects expressly the sweeping assertions of pan-Babylonians, pointing out the significant fact that the closest resemblances have been found on the lower and formal side of Israel's religion, whereas the spiritual and ethical side is represented in this group of distinctive doctrines.

If the source of these elements of Old Testament religion was not borrowing, what then was it? Dr. Berry does not hesitate to give the only satisfactory answer that has been or will be found to this question: "the marked superiority of the Old Testament teachings in reference to that which is most fundamental indicates clearly that here a new cause is in operation. That cause, it seems evident, is the unique presence of God, the illumination of God giving perception of spiritual truth, that which is usually called, and fitly, the special revelation of God." This conclusion, the author continues, is everywhere confirmed by the comparison of Old Testament teachings with those of the other Semitic religions where the difference is less marked than in the cases of actual contrast and contradiction. The superiority of the Hebrew to the non-Hebrew teachings always bears witness to the same great fact, the agency of divine revelation.

For every such pronouncement in favor of the divine as the only adequate explanation of the uniqueness of Israel's religion we are grateful; not because this patent fact is ever going to be engulfed in the sea of naturalistic criticism, but because the frail craft of many a weak mariner caught in the currents of that sea is in danger of wreck, and every fresh utterance of this fact by a trusted specialist is like a new beacon on the shore of faith; its light may reach some who without it would be left to darkness and disaster.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.



ARTAXERXES III OCHUS AND HIS REIGN, with Special Consideration of the Old Testament Sources Bearing upon the Period. By NOAH CALVIN HIRSCHY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1909. Pp. 85. Paper, postpaid 81 cents.

This is a doctor's dissertation, evidently produced under the stimulus and direction of Marti at the University of Bern. It is an attempt, first, to reconstruct, out of tenuous and doubtful allusions variously estimated and interpreted by historians of the Persian period, a picture of the fortunes of Palestine during the stormy reign of Ochus (B. C. 358-338), and then, secondly, to interpret certain prophecies and psalms on the supposition that they were the product of that age.

The result of this double line of research is to draw up a list of "Old Testament sources" for the reign of Ochus. In this list figure the following passages: Isaiah xxiii. 1-14 and xix. 1-15 "certainly"; Isaiah 56-66 ("Trito-Isaiah") "probably"; Pss. xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxxiii "not certain, yet probable"; Is. xiv. 28-32 "probably....reflections of the campaigns of Ochus".

The vices and weaknesses of the method pursued in this treatise are too well known to require repetition here. Textual emendations on a purely subjective basis supply almost the only tangible evidence for dating these "sources" in the fourth century. This manufactured "evidence" is too weak to sustain its own weight, much more that of the thesis imposed upon it.

The only part of the study in which we find ourselves thoroughly in sympathy, is the author's deprecation of the folly to which many modern scholars have committed themselves, in assigning a Macabean date to certain psalms that must have been in existence centuries before the time of the Maccabees. The comparison of I Macc. vii. 17, for example, with Ps. lxxix. 2, 3 ought to satisfy anyone, as it satisfies Dr. Hirschy, that this psalm was not produced in the middle of the 2nd century. In fact the chief impression left upon the reader's mind on closing a work of this character is the pitifully small amount of information that we possess concerning the history of antiquity. The arguments for distrusting the historical statements and presuppositions of the Old Testament are almost always arguments deriving their strength mainly from our ignorance.

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD.

BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS. By C. M. GRANT, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. No date. Pp. xii, 146.

This is a delightfully written little book, containing just what the average Christian reader should know—but doesn't know—about "the four hundred years separating the Old and New Testaments". Two thirds of the book are occupied with the history, the other third with the literature, of this period. Of the several books that have appeared recently dealing with this subject and intended for general reading, this is the one that can be most unreservedly commended. Within the

limits frankly stated and duly observed, it is the best book in English on this period that we know.

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND MODERN THOUGHT, Or, THE PLACE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY. By W. B. JORDAN, B.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 322, with Index. \$3.00 net.

The most useless sort of book that is being produced to-day in the department of Biblical scholarship. All that is definite, detailed and tangible in it is old, collected from a hundred sources where it can be better estimated. And all that is original in it represents the private judgment of one man upon this mass of facts and their bearing upon the world of religious and philosophical thought. It will be a good day for Old Testament scholarship, when it is no longer deemed necessary for every Old Testament professor to come forward with one of these general pronouncements that prove nothing, contribute nothing and arrive nowhere.

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD.

THE WORD FOR GOD IN CHINESE. By the Rev. C. A. STANLEY, D.D., of the American Board Mission, Tientsin, China. Second edition, revised. Shanghai. 1909.

If, as Dr. Stanley claims, and as we suppose truly claims, the word *shen* is the generic term for god in Chinese, then we think he has made out clearly his contention, that it is the proper word to employ in Chinese as the equivalent of the Hebrew *Elohim* and of the Greek *Theos*. Nor can we see how it can be successfully maintained, that *Shangti*, the name of the deified emperor and of an idol, can be equally good as a term to connote the only, living and true God. Dr. Stanley's argument is fine and should be convincing to all who admit his premisses. We are eager to hear if these can be truthfully denied.

*Princeton.*

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

DER BABYLONISCHE TALMUD. Textkritische Ausgabe. (Mit einer Realkonkordanz). Vokalisiert, übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. JAKOB FROMER, Charlottenburg 4 Verlag für die Wissenschaft des Judentums 1910. Probeheft, Teil I (Ordnung 4, Traktat 1) Baba Kamma.

The purpose and plan of this proposed work are admirable and commendable. We approve of the author's intention to provide his text with vowels, thus providing his readers with the basis of his translation. The critical notes and readings and the concordance promise to be especially useful. We hope the author will be able to finish his great work.

*Princeton.*

ROBERT DICK WILSON.



THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA, especially in its relations to Israel. Five lectures delivered at Harvard University by ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D., (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D., L.R.G., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary; Author of "A History of Babylonia and Assyria" in two volumes

We consider this the most readable book on the religions of Babylon and Assyria that has yet appeared. It is entrancingly interesting from start to finish. The chapter on the discovery and decipherment of the monuments and the discussion of the name Jehovah are especially good. While the insertion of the long translations from original sources may and does interfere with the rhetorical effect of the lectures, it nevertheless adds decidedly to their effectiveness for the more thoughtful class of readers. Prof. Rogers has treated so well the matters about which he has written, that we may be pardoned for expressing the hope that he will in a new edition add a chapter on the cult of the Babylonians, that is, on their temples, priests and ceremonies.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

NOVUM TESTAMENTVM GRAECE. TEXTVM A RETRACTATORIBVS ANGLIS ADHIBITO BREVEV ADNOTATIONEM CRITICAM SVBIECIT ALEXANDER SOUTER, COLL. B. MARIAE MAGDALENAE APVD OXONIENSES IN COLLEGIO MANSICAMPENSI GRAECITATIS NOVI TESTAMENTI PROFESSOR. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano. [1910]. Pp. xxiv. 30 x 16 = 480. Price 3s. net.

The value of this edition of the Greek text of the New Testament which is thought to underly the English Revision of 1881 has been greatly increased by the critical notes of Professor Souter. The printed page is broad and pleasing in appearance; the font of type is clear and well proportioned; the spacing is good. The book is issued in three forms. Crown 8vo, cloth, price 3s. net; the same, on India paper, cloth extra, price 4s. net; and 4to, on writing paper, with large margins, price 8s. 6d. net. In issuing so good and useful a text at such a moderate price the publishers have done a service to students and teachers of the New Testament. For students who cannot secure the *editio octava major* or *minor* of Tischendorf or the edition of Baljon, this edition will take its place beside that of Westcott and Hort and that of Nestle. In comparison with these the present edition possesses certain distinctive and important features. The absence of the critical apparatus from Westcott and Hort's text is a serious hindrance to its usefulness; Nestle's variants are confined to the printed texts; Souter neglects the printed texts and gives selected variants of the primary authorities. The care and thoroughness with which Souter has done his work are worthy of high praise; but this only deepens the sense of loss resulting from the limitations of space to which his work has been subjected; for, since the supply of Tischendorf's *editio octava minor* has been exhausted, there has been urgent need of a text equipped with an adequate critical apparatus.

It is gratifying to those who have felt some misgivings about the wisdom of Von Soden in adopting a new system of nomenclature—followed as this was by the system of Gregory—to find that Souter has adhered to the old system, giving of course the equivalent notation in the Von Soden's system and extending or altering the old only in certain minor ways, the significance and value of which are manifest at a glance. He has adopted Gregory's proposal for the papyri and certain uncial manuscripts, and has shortened and improved the notation for the versions. But the chief value of the critical notes lies in the fact that they are based on the critical texts of the versions and of the patristic writers,—in the latter case in some instances on the work of collation upon which Souter is himself engaged. Another valuable feature is the use of fractions to indicate the proportion of a particular reading to the total number of citations in the patristic writers,—a feature in which undoubtedly the result of much labor is embodied and to which perhaps, together with the arduous work of verification, allusion is made in the words "nec possum dicere quot milia locorum denuo inspexerim". The notes moreover present the results of recent discovery, as in Mk. xvi. 9-20, and even of critical work not yet published, as in the use of the *editio Sahidica in Evangelio* of G. W. Horner. There are some things that might have been added,—the list of the critical editions of versions and patristic writers; the readings of the more important manuscripts of the Vulgate; and some system of exact reference to the patristic citations; but these wants do not diminish the appreciation due to the work that has been done, even if, in the words of the editor, "in elegendis vero lectionibus [and other matters] quas adnotarem etsi multam operam impendi, omnibus scilicet satis facere nequeo et uix dubium est quin praetermissum hoc additum illud exprobraturi sint mihi lectores."

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

EUANGELIUM GATIANUM. QUATTUOR EUANGELIA LATINE TRANSLATA EX CODICE MONASTERII S. GATIANI TURONENSIS. (Paris. Bibl. Nat. N. Acqu. Nr. 1587). Primum edidit uariis aliorum Codicum Lectionibus inlustravit de uera indole disseruit. JOSEPH MICHAEL HEER, Friburgi Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder (B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.). 1910. Pp. lxiv, 187. Price \$4.25.

This book is a contribution to the study of the Latin Version of the Gospels. It contains a reproduction of the text of the eighth century Codex Gatianum, of Irish origin, for some time in the monastery of St. Gatianus at Tours and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris as number 1587 nov. acqu. The edition is supplied with a facsimile-page, prolegomena, text and critical notes, and index. The prolegomena contains a discussion of the history of the Codex, a description of its external features—including orthography and grammar—and a careful examination concerning the character of its text. The consideration of the relation of the text to the Old Latin and the Vulgate leads to the conclusion that the text is mixed. Into its composition have



entered an African element—thought to constitute the basal element; a Vulgate element—which came in as early as the first corrector, who was identical with the original scribe; and a large intermediate element common to the two forms. This conclusion is expressed briefly in the words of the editor (p. xli): "Quae cum ita sint, miram equidem hanc codicis *gut* structuram ita compositam esse censeo, ut genuina illa versio antiquissima Africana, quam codici pro fundamento subesse demonstravi, iam ante s. Hieronymi aetatem ad exemplaria veteris familiae 'Italicae' sive 'Europaeae', postea etiam ad exemplaria Hieronymiana sive pura sive mixta pedetemptim emendaretur atque adeo misceretur."

In calling attention to the improper forms ("Lectiones praecipuas nomino inconcinnae") of the Codex, the editor seems to favor the view that the Old Latin Version is dependent on the early Syriac (pp. xlxf) and had its origin in Rome where Justin and Tatian afford points of contact with Palestine and Syria. The question concerning the relation of the Diatessaron to the early Syriac Version is indeed raised in this connection, but the editor dismisses it with the promise of return to it in the future.

For a more detailed consideration of some of the issues in regard to the Irish codices and their relation to the Old Latin and the Vulgate, reference may here be made to F. C. Burkitt's discussion in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. xi, 1909-10, pp. 607-611.

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

SELECTIONS FROM THE GREEK PAPYRI edited with Translations and Notes by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1910. Pp. xxxii, 152.

In his commentary on the Thessalonian Epistles (see *PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. vii, pp. 126-131), Dr. Milligan made the first systematic use of the non-literary papyri in the exegesis of a continuous portion of the New Testament. The papyrus parallels which were there cited are highly interesting. But mere citations always seem artificial; citations are most illuminating when one discovers them for himself. Even Dr. Milligan's instructive notes cannot, therefore, take the place of an actual perusal of the papyri themselves. But how shall the papyri be read? Papyrus publications have become very extensive and very numerous, and some of them contain little more than an arid waste of accounts and receipts and the like. No doubt the philologist can discover interesting matter even in the duller list of names, but such interest is an acquired taste. Dr. Milligan's "Selections from the Greek Papyri" is, therefore, a timely book. By bringing together fifty-five of the most interesting papyri, it will stimulate interest among a much wider circle than would ever be reached by the larger publications. Even New Testament students will be Dr. Milligan's debtors. For the field of New Testament study has become so large that specialization is necessary even within its limits. Some of the most interesting of Dr. Milligan's selections

would perhaps have escaped the notice of all New Testament students except those who are giving special attention to the new materials.

With Dr. Milligan's volume should be compared Witkowski's *Epistulae Privatae Graecae*, which appeared in the Teubner series in 1906. No doubt Witkowski's book may serve somewhat the same purpose as that which Dr. Milligan has in view. But neither work comes into competition with the other. Witkowski gives all the private letters of the Ptolemaic period that had been published up to 1905. Dr. Milligan does not confine himself to letters or to the Ptolemaic period and does not aim at completeness within any one category. The addition of a translation to every papyrus text makes Dr. Milligan's work much more useful than Witkowski's as an introduction to the study of the papyri. Perhaps in view of the general ignorance of the popular form of the Koiné which still prevails among students of Greek, a greater fulness in the notes would not have been undesirable. The brief introductions to the several texts, however, are just what was required.

The book should certainly be commended heartily to every student of the New Testament. Wearied by some of the rhapsodies of Deissmann, we might almost be tempted to lose sight of the solid value of the new texts for New Testament study. But even a few hours spent with Dr. Milligan's selections will save us from such an error. In the first place, the remarkable linguistic affinity existing between the New Testament and the newly discovered monuments of the popular Greek of the Koiné period becomes more clearly apparent through a general impression derived from reading than through a comparison of details. In the second place, the value of the new texts is by no means confined to the linguistic sphere. Not the literature of the period, but the papyri introduce us to the actual daily life of the common people; and it was the common people, or at any rate the real people as distinguished from the artificial characters of literature, to which the religion of the New Testament made its first appeal.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

HORAE SYNOPTICAE: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. By the REV. SIR JOHN C. HAWKINS, Bart. M.A., D.D. Second Edition, Revised and Supplemented. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. xvi, 223.

Eleven years have passed since the first edition of this book was issued. Years in which the modest claim of the sub-title has been abundantly justified. *Horae Synopticae* has been used by every serious worker in the problem of the origin of the Gospels. Allen in the preface to his *St. Matthew* alludes to it as the "invaluable companion of every student of the Gospels." It is mentioned in the bibliography of every dictionary article. It is recommended by professors to their students. Sir John Hawkins has reason for great gratification over the usefulness of his book in the first edition. The second edition will be used even more widely.

At the end of this period of eleven years, the Two-Document



theory seems to be even more generally established than at its beginning. One of the latest commentaries (Plummer on Matthew) describes the process which resulted in our Matthew as follows: "The unknown constructor of the first Gospel took the second Gospel and fitted on to it the contents of this collection of utterances, together with material of his own gathering." This may be taken as a typical utterance. And to the present state of opinion on this subject Hawkins' book has probably contributed as much as any book of the decade. At the same time the inadequacy of the theory to explain certain very important features of the problem is being very generally recognized. And this impression is being coupled with the recognition that there must have been some oral tradition back of our Gospels to account for certain peculiarities of reproduction. For this feeling also Hawkins is to thank. One might wish that the sections of his book which emphasize the inadequacy of written sources had been taken as seriously as have the other parts in which the need of documents to explain the facts is urged. One must confess that Part II, Sections 2 and 3 have not received the same careful study on the part of users of this book as have the sections which seem to give support to the documentary hypotheses.

In one other respect the emphasis has shifted during the period referred to. The "second source" is less frequently called the "Logia" than was the case ten years ago. It has become more and more evident (see White, *D. C. G.*, art. "Gospels") that Papias has been unduly influential in naming the sources of the material common to Matthew and Luke. Hawkins recognizes this, though still holding fast for convenience sake to the old name—"logia" instead of "Q".

This and other changes have been marked by our author by the re-writing of the section of the book which deals with the "source largely used by Matthew and Luke apart from Mark"—the only considerable changes which occur in the second edition. He has added to the lists here and there, has made a few corrections and has made in footnotes numerous references to literature. In other respects, however, the book is not much changed from its first appearance.

The first edition was noticed in this REVIEW in July, 1901, by the present writer. While recognizing the great value of some of the material presented, a belief was then expressed that the same value did not attach to all the material. Part I, for example, presents in tabular form words and phrases characteristic of each of the first three Gospels. The writer feels now as then, after a fresh study of these tables, that Sir John Hawkins is too susceptible to characteristic words. *Ἀσκήρ* for example is not necessarily a characteristic word of the first Gospel though it occurs four times in the first two chapters. The material determined the use of the word. Of course there are many words which are fairly in the lists but the lists are unduly padded. The conclusion which the author draws from the tabulated results of his study in this part of his book is perfectly fair—*viz.*, that the authors used their material freely. There is no fault to be found with

this—it ought rather to be emphasized even more. But the proof for it would be just as strong were the lists cut in two. Half the instances, more or less, belong to the class by which you can prove anything, and the use of which makes statistics so misleading. Twenty questionable facts arranged in a table foot up twenty. In reality, they may equal exactly nothing.

In the comment on Part III of the First Edition a question was raised as to the value of the evidence for the priority of Mark's Gospel. The question is still pertinent. All the more perhaps because the evidence has been much depended upon by other workers in this field. It is not whether one can find evidence that Matthew seems to have ameliorated certain phrases and words of Mark in the interest of Jesus's person or of the character of the apostles, or that his version of common material seems to reveal use of, reflection upon, and frequently correction of Mark's version. There is not the least question that one can make a much stronger case than Dr. Hawkins has made. Allen has, for example, in his *St. Matthew*. But the point is whether one can not make an equally strong case assuming the priority of each of the first three Gospels in turn. Dr. Hawkins has done it assuming that Mark is the first.

Mark says Jesus healed *many*. This is not miraculous enough for Matthew, who corrects *many* to *all*.

Mark says Jesus used means to cure the blind man (spittle), also that Jesus *sighed*; Matthew omits both details as derogatory to Jesus.

Mark says the Spirit *driveth* Jesus forth; Matthew prefers *led* as more respectful.

Mark makes Jesus ask—Where is *my* guest-chamber. Matthew corrects the harshly expressed possessive into *the*.

Such instances are noted by Hawkins in great numbers. To make his book completer as a Contribution to the Study of the Synoptic Problem, he should have given corresponding instances showing the apparent priority first of Matthew, and then of Luke. For instance, opening a *Synopsis* entirely at random, the following instances fairly clamor to be regarded:

Matthew says (xiv. 9) Herod commanded that Herodias's request be granted? This is not definite enough for Mark who says that Herod sent a soldier of the guard and commanded, etc.

Matthew (xvi. 15) says that Jesus commanded to send the multitude away that they might go into the *villages* to buy food. Mark reflects that the place was uninhabited, and so corrects to the more reasonable "*country and villages*."

Matthew (xiv. 19) omits to say what became of the two fishes. Mark as presenting a fisherman's story (Peter) adds this, to him, very salient detail.



Other omissions in Matthew's account which a fisherman would naturally remark and correct are:

Matthew (xiv. 34). No mention made of the disposition of the boat.

Mark (Peter) (vi. 53) says they moored to the shore.

Matthew (xvi. 4) merely says Jesus left them.

Mark (viii. 13) says he went by boat.

In the narrative of Feeding the Five Thousand, Matthew has enhanced the miracle unnecessarily by adding "beside women and children". Mark is more temperate and omits the phrase both here and in the case of the Four Thousand as well. These corrections commend themselves also to Luke.

Matthew naturally gives much space to Peter, which Mark cannot do delicately. So he omits the incidents of Peter walking on the Water, Peter as the Rock, Peter and the Half-Shekel.

But in the account of the Transfiguration Mark relieves—as he could from more intimate knowledge—the presumption of Peter's proposal, and in a manner justifies the suggestion, by adding "not knowing what to answer, for they were sore afraid".

Also Mark's "no man save Jesus only *with themselves*" is more conservative than Matthew's simple "Jesus only".

When they came down from the Mount of Transfiguration, Matthew says they found a lad with *epilepsy*. But afterward Jesus speaks as if He were addressing a spirit, not as if He were curing a disease. Mark sees this inconsistency and rejects the more materialistic diagnosis of Matthew. He says the boy had an *evil spirit*.

Matthew (xix. 3) quotes the scribes question, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for *every cause*?"

Mark (x. 2) sees that the question is a broader one, and corrects to "Is divorce *ever* justifiable?"

In the story of the Rich Young Ruler, Matthew (xix. 9) inadvertently includes "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" from Jesus's summary, among the commandments. Mark corrects it, and Luke follows.

It is submitted that these instances are just as forcible as many of those cited by Hawkins to show the priority of Mark, some of them much more so. Without any doubt the list could be indefinitely enlarged, and equally without doubt as good a case could be made out for the priority of Luke. The above is submitted for what it is worth, that is—nothing. Nothing, that is, except to point the suggestion that St. Matthew may be as primary a document as St. Mark.

Elizabeth, N. J.

LOUIS BURTON CRANE

## HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

- CHRISTUS. Die Anfänge des Dogmas. Von Professor D. JOHANNES WEISS, Heidelberg. Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart. I Reihe, 18/19- Heft, Herausgegeben von D. theol. Friedrich Michael Schiele. Tübingen. 1909: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 8vo, pp. 88.
- CHRISTOLOGIE DES URCHRISTENTUMS. Von JOHANNES WEISS, (in Schiele's *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Vol. I. 1909. pp. 1711 sq.)
- PAULUS UND JESUS. Von JOHANNES WEISS. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard. 1909. 8vo, pp. 72.
- JESUS IM GLAUBEN DES URCHRISTENTUMS. Von JOHANNES WEISS, Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1910. 8vo, pp. vii. 57.
- JESUS VON NAZARETH. Mythos oder Geschichte? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Kalthoff, Drews, Jensen. Vorträge, gehalten auf dem Theologischen Ferienkurs in Berlin, am 31. März und 1. April 1910, von JOHANNES WEISS, Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1910. 8vo, pp. viii. 171.
- DIE GESCHICHTLICHKEIT JESU. Zwei Reden gehalten auf dem Evangelischen Gemeindeabend am 24. April 1910 zu Mannheim von Professor JOHANNES WEISS und Professor GEORG GRÜTZMACHER, aus Heidelberg. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1910. 8vo, pp. 30.

There is no representative of contemporary German thought with respect to the criticism of the Gospel history and the origins of Christianity who is better worth listening to than Johannes Weiss. Of a temper but little less radical than William Wrede himself, he approaches Wrede also in sharpness of vision, independence of spirit, and bluntness of speech. He may perhaps even not unfairly be looked upon as Wrede's successor as the *enfant terrible* of the "liberal" school. The very thoroughgoingness of his naturalism makes him bold; he abandons without fear entrenchments which have become habitual to "liberal" thought, and frankly declares untenable contentions which "liberals" have been accustomed to treat as key-positions; he is so secure in his naturalism, it seems, as scarcely to feel the need of any protection for it whatever. As we read his treatises we are sensible of coming into contact with a vigorous mind, stored with learning, bent on understanding the origin of Christianity and its record,—understanding them, of course, as a naturalistic mind understands "understanding", which means just the discovery of the complex of causes and conditions out of which they naturally proceeded and the processes by which they naturally came into being; but nevertheless understanding them,—in which is involved also the exact ascertainment of the precise things which are to be naturalistically accounted for. In both stages of this proceeding he is very instructive to us. In his attempts to determine



the exact things which are to be explained from natural causation, he displays a very unusual clearness and acuteness of perception and becomes a not unwelcome guide to many points of difficult exegesis and historical construction. In his attempts to naturalize the things thus determined, he makes unwontedly plain to us the violence of the assumptions on which alone the naturalization of the origins of the Christian religion can be accomplished.

By some chance it was brought about that Johannes Weiss gave repeated expression to his views on the great subject of the Christology of the New Testament during the early months of 1909. Then came the publication of Arthur Drews' *Christusmythe*, and in the early months of 1910 the sudden bursting into flame of the fire that it had kindled and that had been smouldering for the preceding year. Of course Johannes Weiss, in company with his fellow "liberals", was drawn into this controversy, by which the entire structure of the "liberal" Christology was thrown violently on the defensive; and in his effort to treat a sensational subject unsensationally he was led to give another expression to his christological conceptions. Thus, we have from him a series of little volumes put forth within the limits of a twelvemonth, in which his ideas concerning Jesus and the development during the New Testament period of the thought of His followers concerning Him, are stated over and over again with different audiences in view and with different and even opposite antagonists in mind. We cannot complain that we are left in any doubt as to how he himself thinks of Jesus or as to how he thinks Jesus' first followers thought of Him.

The first book upon our list, entitled *Christ: the Beginnings of the Dogma*, appears in the well-known series of "liberal" hand-books publishing under the general title of "History-of-Religion Peoples' Books for the Present-Day Christianity of Germany," and is accordingly of a semi-popular character. It undertakes to describe the development of the doctrine of the Person of Christ through the New Testament period under the successive rubrics of "the Belief of the Primitive Community," "Paul" and "the Christology after Paul"; and in doing this, it seeks to preserve a strictly historical point of view. It opens with these words: "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?"—so still runs to-day the burning question by which our church is split up, many earnest Christians disquieted, and not a few conscientious men hindered from entering into a close relation to the Person of Jesus and His religion. No attempt will be made in the following pages to give a definitive reply to this question: the author feels no call whatever to obtrude his convictions in this matter on others. He certainly thinks it would be desirable, however, that even those who are not theologians, so far as they are earnest inquirers and not afraid of a little labor, should come to clearness as to what the earliest witnesses to our religion really teach with respect to the Person of Christ, what the old difficult and obscure terms 'Son of God', 'Son of Man', 'Lord' and 'Messiah' really meant at first, and what convictions of belief the oldest confessors intended to express by them". Of course the historical objectivity

announced in this declaration is not preserved in the discussion itself (or, for that matter, throughout this declaration itself), as indeed it could not be. The author is soon found reading his own faith back into the primitive Christian community and, indeed, making his booklet a historical argument for his own point of view. In another one of the little volumes, indeed,—that entitled *Paul and Jesus* (pp. 4-5)—he drops the mask entirely and openly pleads the cause of his personal Socinianism against that Christianity which he confesses to be, and to have been since the beginning, dominant. "Primitive Christianity," he says there, "is—at least in one part of it—Christ-religion, that is, there stands at its center an inner relation of faith to the exalted Christ. This form of religion has throughout the millenniums passed as the real Christianity, and there are still to-day innumerable Christians who know and wish no other form of faith. They live in the most intimate communion of soul with the 'Lord', pray to Him and long to see Him face to face. Alongside of this there flows another religious stream which is no longer able to find a religious relation to the exalted Christ and has its full satisfaction in permitting itself to be led to the Father by Jesus of Nazareth. Both forms of religious life stand in our church side by side; it were to be wished that they would tolerate one another and that the preaching of the Gospel should not suffer violence from either of them. I make no concealment of my profession, along with the majority of recent theologians, of the second of these views, and my hope that this view will gradually become dominant in our church. But as a historian I must say that it is widely different from the ruling view of primitive Christianity, from the Pauline view. On the other hand, however, I must decidedly maintain that the historical Jesus, as far as we can perceive Him, saw His task in drawing His followers into the direct experience of sonship with God, without demanding any place for Himself in their piety."

The second publication on our list is the article on "*The Christology of Primitive Christianity*" in Schiele's new religious Cyclopaedia. It follows the same lines as the first,—of which it is in point of fact, only a somewhat condensed repetition, coinciding with it often in its very language.

From these two the fourth—*Jesus in the Faith of Primitive Christianity*,—differs only in that it professes to give account of the varieties not of doctrinal but of religious attitude towards Jesus which follow one another in the New Testament development. We read in its introductory words: "The task which my theme sets me, is not to describe the origin of the *doctrine* of Christ in primitive Christianity; it is not the oldest forms of confession and systems of belief which are the subject of this recital. I wish to try to show what place Jesus occupied in the *religion* of the earliest Christians, how their religious life stood related to Him, and what they got from their faith in Him for their practical life-task." The schematization of this new theme, however, turns on the same pivot as before—"the weighty



religious personality of Paul"; and the chief forms of the religious relation to Jesus are held to be determined by the circumstance whether they are or are not affected by the influence of Paul's modes of feeling and expression. There are treated in turn, therefore, "belief in Jesus before Paul, Paul himself, and the post-Pauline piety, especially that of John." It has been found impossible, moreover, of course, to describe religious attitudes save in terms of religious conceptions; so that what we get, is, after all, another account of the varieties of doctrinal attitude towards Jesus, reflected in the pages of the New Testament, differing from its companions only in its greater warmth of tone and the greater generality of its treatment. And even these differences are due doubtless as much to the original end for which this brochure was prepared, as to its particular subject. It was delivered as an address to the Thirteenth Conference of Christian Students held at Aargau in March 1909 and was published first in the Proceedings of that Conference, whence it has been reprinted in this pamphlet.

The pamphlet on *Paul and Jesus* is also a reprint, in this case in enlarged form, from an article which appeared in the *Monatschrift für Pastoraltheologie*. It does not, however, like the *Jesus in the Faith of Primitive Christianity*, bear its original practical purpose stamped upon its face. In form it is a purely critical inquiry in which Weiss orients himself on the question of Paul's relation to Jesus, particularly with reference on the one side to Wrede's radicalism—by which Paul was made the real founder of what we know as Christianity, a wholly new phenomenon, far more unlike Jesus than Jesus was unlike the higher forms of Jewish piety—and on the other, to the replies to Wrede of men like Kölbinger, Kaftan and Jülicher. Needless to say that Weiss' attitude is far nearer to Wrede's than to that of Wrede's critics. Although he recognizes a much closer relation of Paul to Jesus, and a much more profound influence upon Paul by Jesus—insisting even (for purposes of his own, especially in order to render the naturalization of the appearance of Jesus on the road to Damascus easier) on a personal acquaintance of Paul with Jesus—he is yet as emphatic as Wrede himself in conceiving Paul's Christianity as essentially a different religion from that of Jesus, as at bottom not a development but a transformation of it: "I therefore cannot agree that Paul's Christology and doctrine of Atonement was fundamentally only a further spinning out of a thread already begun by Jesus; and from the point of view of the historian, I hold the sharp exaggerations of Wrede more right than the softenings of his opponents." (p. 8). In making this position good he necessarily requires to review the development of Christological doctrine in the early Christian community, so that there is much material in this pamphlet too which runs parallel to the discussion in its companions and Weiss is quite right in speaking of the series, as, conceived from an internal point of view, a single work, whose several sections mutually illuminate one another.

The last two documents in our list—entitled respectively, *Jesus of Nazareth: Myth or History?* and *The Historicity of Jesus*—are separated from their fellows by the circumstance that their face is turned

in an opposite direction and they make it their task to vindicate the views common to the whole series against a sudden attack from the rear. The little pamphlet on *The Historicity of Jesus* is of weighty enough contents to claim our especial attention did it stand alone. But the contribution to it of Johannes Weiss is little more than a succinct and gracefully worded repetition of the main conclusions to which he gives more extended expression in the larger document which lies before us under the name of *Jesus of Nazareth*, and with this larger treatise in our hands we may neglect the smaller. As our present concern is with Weiss's views, we may also pass over with only a word, Georg Grützmacher's lecture combined with his in the smaller publication. It is an interesting discussion from the point of view of the historian, of Drews' new religion, and a very strong reassertion as over against Drews' (and also, of course, the Social-Democratic) view of the origins of Christianity, of the principle that great religious movements are always rooted in great religious personalities, and every great religion has and must have a personal founder. With so much hint of the contents of the smaller pamphlet we may be permitted to turn from it to the larger. This gives us the manuscript basis of two lectures delivered in Berlin in the height of the excitement aroused by the exploitation of the assault upon the historicity of the man Jesus, of which Arthur Drews had become the popular exponent. But it attempts very much more than the mere refutation of this assault, as indeed it needed to do, if it was to have any substance. For the assault itself, it must be acknowledged, is in itself pitifully weak, and required rather to be exposed than answered. Its exposure is certainly admirably managed by Johannes Weiss, though it is, no doubt, drawn out to an inordinate length,—for which he duly apologizes in his preface. When he had pointed out that the fundamental trouble with Jensen is that he cannot read, expressed his sincere sympathy with Drews for his severe attack of "mythologitis, complicated with that infantile ailment etymologitis," and courteously given utterance to the hope that W. B. Smith's mathematics may be better than his theology,—he had perhaps said all that needed to be said in their direct refutation. The contention of these writers that Jesus never existed cannot by any possibility be true, and the grounds they urge in its defence are a mere mass of crudities. The "positive" theologians of Germany have therefore very properly simply passed them by unnoticed. The "liberal" theologians are not, however, in a position to do this. For, however absurd the central contention of the new school is, and however weakly it is supported, it yet lies on the face of things that the method employed by the new school in defence of it is just the method of the "liberal" theologians themselves,—their method "reduced to absurdity" no doubt, but nevertheless in all essentials the same method. It has lain in the necessity of the case, therefore, that the "liberal" theologians should orient themselves carefully with reference to the new views; and this is what Weiss undertakes in this book.



In one of his footnotes (p.16), Weiss somewhat tartly remarks, that despite his respect for Schmiedel, he must say he might have been in better business than in giving W. B. Smith's book on *The Pre-Christian Jesus*, a send-off by providing it with a preface. But Schmiedel did much more than give Smith's book a "send-off" by providing it with a preface. He very distinctly suggested in that preface that Smith's method is the "scientific" method, and his results therefore worthy of respectful consideration. Weiss himself does not find himself in a position to object in principle to the method (p. 14), or indeed to reject in the mass the results, of this new radicalism. He esteems Kalthoff's method, indeed, above that of Drews or Jensen; but this seems mainly due to Kalthoff's restriction of himself largely to generalities without proceeding to those details in the handling of which the absurdities of Drews and Jensen are most amusingly manifested. And he may distinguish between their results as more or less acceptable; but in the fundamental contentions of the new speculators he more or less fully shares. They cannot assert with more energy than he does, for example, that the whole Christ-theology of the church is mythical. He is not even in a position to offer effective opposition when they declare that this mythical Christ-theology is the aboriginal Christian theology, behind which there is—nothing. He does indeed for himself declare that there is behind it a more primitive Christianity, a Christianity to which Jesus is just a man who has been exalted after His death to world-dominion,—an "adoptionist Christology" as it is the fashion to call it. But he discovers this more primitive view by very unconvincing methods of dealing with the records, all of which, he is compelled to admit, already present the higher Christology. As the result of Weiss's own criticism of the documents it is plain enough that the adherents of Jesus from the beginning held Him to be just God manifest in the flesh; and Weiss himself has been led by this fact to seek and find a pre-Christian basis for their high Christology. He still supposes, indeed, that this was first brought into Christian circles by Paul; but there seems no reason why, if it were in the air, others than Paul might not have been affected by it, even indeed Jesus Himself, who, Weiss does not doubt, believed in His own Messiahship and might very well have believed therefore even on naturalistic grounds in His "transcendental" Messiahship. In any event, the plain truth is that when Drews asserts roundly that "the Jesus of the oldest Christian communities is not, as is commonly thought"—that is in "liberal" circles,—“a deified man, but a humanized God,” (*Christusmythe*, p. 153), he announces a fact which cannot be successfully denied, and it is the announcement of this indefeasible fact which gives all its force to the movement which he represents. One would think that, already trembling on the verge of the recognition of this fact on his own account, Weiss would in the face of its new assertion, now from the radically naturalistic and no longer "positive" side, simply admit it and adjust his theories to it.

But the establishment of this fact, we must observe, is nothing less

than the death-blow of the old "liberalism." The fundamental contention of the old "liberalism" is not merely that Jesus was a mere man, but that He was only gradually deified in the thought of His followers. The "liberal" theologians may conceal for a time the seriousness of the blow they have received by crying out loudly upon the fantastic element of the new speculation,— its attempt to eliminate the figure of Jesus altogether and to hang the whole account of the origin of Christianity on a myth. Any number of pamphlets, however, on "the burning question", "Did Jesus ever live?" will not extricate them from their difficulties. It has been driven home to men's consciousness afresh that Christianity is rooted not in the deification of a man but in the incarnation of a God, and whatever else may come out of the controversy it will no longer be possible for the bald Socinianism which has dominated German theological thought for a generation or two to rule the minds of men. Negative theology must find a better way of accounting for the origin of Christianity than by the religious impression made on men's hearts by the happy, holy life of the man Jesus who trusted Himself wholly to the love of His Father. The transition, as we have said, ought not to be difficult for men like Johannes Weiss who already stands so near to the new platform that a very short step indeed would place him fairly on it. He already believes that "there was already existing among Jews and heathen alike *before* the appearance of Jesus a Christology, that is a doctrine of the Messiah, or at least the materials for a Christology, and at the moment when the Messiah was found in the person of Jesus, the scattered elements, which lacked only a combining middle-point, gathered together like a crystal about its core" (*Christus*, pp. 4-5; Schiele's *Die Religion, &c.*, p. 1711). He already believes that this fact accounts for the rapidity of the development of a high Christology among the followers of Jesus. And he already thus reduces the rôle of Jesus in the production of this high Christology to that of a mere occasion for the crystalization of elements already in solution in contemporary thought. A very little earlier dating of the process would enable him to free himself from his unjustified assumption of a precedent "adoptionist" Christology; and it should not require a very much further attenuation of the rôle of Jesus in it to dispense with His "impression" altogether. And then, what would he have more than Kalthoff or Drews or Jensen—except a little sounder scholarship and a little more reasonable mode of picturing the origin and growth of the "Christ-myth"?

Meanwhile, however, Weiss throws himself along with his fellow "liberals" valiantly into the not difficult task of defending "the historical Jesus" from the assaults of Kalthoff and Drews and Jensen. And incidentally, while doing so, he makes clearer his own views as to the origins of Christianity and its records. It is exceedingly pleasant to see him in the unwonted rôle of an apologist; and it must be confessed that he plays the part very well. They tell us that it came to such a pass in ancient Rome that two augurs could not meet one another without smiling. But Weiss can develop quite a sound method of criticism



in the face of Jensen and Kalthoff and Drews with no apparent shamefacedness. We read for instance (pp. 83-4) this: "In theological investigation there are especially in dominant operation two manias. First, there is the tendency, before the understanding of a narrative in itself has been acquired, to go off in search of what lies behind it,—for the mythological, astral or even political antecedents. . . . I do not at all deny the value of such a world-embracing history of ideas, but it is hard to carry it out in a really scientific manner, and it is of doubtful value to trace back to primitive forms of thought complicated, refined and individual phenomena. . . . Secondly, there all too often intrudes between the source and the reader a really morbid scepticism. . . . If it is unscientific to give credence to a writer on his mere word, it is just as unscientific to refuse credence to a source where what it relates is wholly unexceptionable merely because it could no doubt possibly be fabulous. . . . Over against our evangelical tradition, not merely the miraculous stories, there is arrayed to-day a mood of what I can call nothing else but distrust, which in no way arises from the matter itself, but from an excess of critical feeling, which goes often enough hand in hand with a touching lack of critical sense. . . ." If only Weiss would follow his own prescription! For this is the same Weiss who, having framed for himself a pretty scheme of the development of the Christological thought of the Church,—a scheme which supposes Jesus to have made no claims to a divine dignity for Himself, but his followers first to have exalted Him, after His death, to the side of God as world-ruler, then, under the influence of Stoic ideas to have made Him a kind of secondary God (Paul), and finally to have put Him quite on a level with God (John)—on finding that the entire body of New Testament writers present a Jesus who was divine and claimed to be divine, seeks to wrest from them unwilling testimony to an "earlier" view of which they themselves know nothing and vigorously contradict; on finding no "direct evidence" of an "adoptionist Christology" among Christ's earliest disciples endeavors to make indirect evidence of its early prevalence out of records which certainly did not bear this meaning to those who have transmitted them to us; on finding Paul openly declaring Christ to be nothing less than God over all, just, without a scintilla of objective ground for doing so, throws out the text in which Paul makes this declaration as "inconceivable" in Paul's mouth,—that is, discordant with Weiss's theory of what Paul ought to have said (*Christus*, p. 29)! In other words, he sustains his radical position only by neglecting his own prescribed methods of sound critical procedure. Thus he seems to hang between two destinies. Either he must continue to use the methods common to him and his more radical opponents, and then he can scarcely escape their extremities of negation. Or else he must follow the sounder methods he tells them they ought to follow, and then he can surely not fail ultimately to reach "conservative" conclusions. It appears to be only a new instance of the old difficulty: "I see the good; the evil I pursue."

It would be interesting to call attention to the numerous matters of importance to the understanding of early Christian Christology on which Weiss speaks in these treatises with his usual point and force. This notice is, however, already long; and perhaps it will suffice after what has been already said, simply to transcribe, in concluding, the opening and closing words of the two formal presentations of his views upon the early development of Christological thought. In these passages, he himself sums up the substance of his findings.

The opening words we take in the form in which they occur in the article in Schiele's *Cyclopaedia*, (pp. 1711 sq.):

"It is a burning question for science as well as for the church: On what does the belief of Christianity in the Son of God, in His deity, in His names 'Lord' and 'Son of Man' rest? How did this belief come into being? The older theology did not see any problem in this question; for it was self-evident to it, that the belief of the early Christians merely gave clear expression to what Jesus Himself had witnessed of Himself. The primitive Christian Christology was, therefore, only the fit description of what was actually given in the Person of the Lord. The newer theology, since it strives to conceive the historical personality of Jesus ever more clearly as purely human, feels a problem here. How was it possible that the early Christians should so unhesitatingly and with such assurance transfer a fulness of divine predicates to a personality the human traits of which are still recognizable by us? And—to sharpen the problem—how can it be explained, that so lofty and developed a doctrine did not work itself out in a long development, but lies before us essentially complete already in the oldest literary witnesses, the Epistles of Paul? The newer theology answers: this rapid development of Christology to its highest and farthest-reaching expression has its ground in this—that, already before the appearance of Jesus a Christology existed among Jews and Hellenists alike, that is to say, a doctrine of the Messiah, or at least the materials for a Christology; and at the moment when the Messiah was discovered in the Person of Jesus, the scattered elements, which had lacked only a combining center, gathered together like crystals around their core. There was hardly needed any particular reflection; the same expressions which had been in use previously of the future Messiah, were applied at once to the present Messiah,—of course with the adjustments which were required by what was peculiar to Jesus, especially by His death on the cross; and the Christology was in substance complete. But there never was a Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, however completely worked out, which had power to transmute the longings for a better future into the joyful assurance that the fulfilment of the hope had come. And all Hellenistic speculation about the highest middle-being between God and man, could never awaken the clear and inspiring conviction that the divine Logos was present in a particular, well-known, heart-winning personality. This transformation of speculation into religious intuition, of a Messiah-idea into a Jesus-figure,—this combination of hitherto



disconnected elements of conception into a fixed middle-point,—presupposes a power of attraction of which we cannot form a strong enough notion. What a powerful indirect or direct influence must Jesus's personality have exerted upon the souls of His adherents, that they should have believed such things about Him and have been ready to die for this belief! Thus there lies at the basis of the doctrine of Christ, at every stage of its development, a belief in Jesus which we must sympathetically feel, even though often enough it seems choked by speculation."

The closing words we take in the form in which they occur in the tractate, *Christus* (pp. 87-88):—

"We have travelled over a long road: from the Jewish-Christian idea of a political Messiah to the doctrine of the heavenly Messiah and Son of God; from the adoptionistic exaltation-Christology to the doctrine of the pre-existent 'Man' and 'Son of God', and to the Logos-Pneuma-Christ; through the difficult questions of the incarnation to the conception and presentation of the Gospels. The total impression has been that primitive Christianity made use of already existing forms and ideas, in which to bring to expression, in a manner capable of being understood by all, and yet at the same time absolute and determinative, the overwhelming impression made by the Person of Jesus. Predicates were sought out which declared that there were contained in Him the ideal, and the highest religious goods. To the men of old time the predicate of deity offered itself continually for this purpose. In varied forms this was applied to Jesus. Thus, however, the problem was raised that nevertheless the true humanity which was perfectly clearly preserved in memory and tradition, should not be lost. The efforts to find a solution, which were made, are altogether incomplete and only create new questions. A chain of inexpressibly complicated and in the highest degree unhappy controversies attached itself to this, until the famous compromise-formula of 'one Person in two Natures' was invented, which can never give satisfaction, no matter how acutely it may be thought out. For the question must be continually raised afresh how it can be imagined that Godhood and manhood can be united in a single earthly person. For the modern man striving earnestly and longingly after clearness and certainty all these Christological formulas have already about them something strange and foreign, because they are products of the utterly different soil of ancient thought. What was altogether easy for an ancient man to conceive, that a man should be in reality an incarnate God,—as, for example, the Roman emperor or Antiochus Epiphanes, or as a Plato might be the Son of a God—cannot make entrance into our minds, because we feel much too sharply the unpassable boundary line that divides the divine and the human. From all the stammering attempts to express the nature of Christ in formulas, we can learn only how mighty the personality must have been which has inspired men to such a faith, stirred their phantasy after such a fashion, and occupied their thought through thousands of years. The less we are

able to understand and adopt the Christology the more strongly are we thrown back upon the Person of Jesus. To understand Him, to receive our impression from Him, to let ourselves be drawn by Him into His life with the Father,—this is more important than to find a formula of confession, in which we may be at once dogmatically correct and historically true."

These words are surely very pathetic. For what is their burden but just this: we are modern men, and as modern men simply cannot believe in a divine Christ; but we cannot do without Jesus and will therefore think of Him as greatly as we can,—as a truly heroic man. Meanwhile what is most strongly borne in on us as we read is that Weiss does not find his merely human Jesus in the records but imposes him on the records. The whole effort of the newer theology, he says, is "to conceive the historical personality of Jesus ever more clearly as purely human." The test of all conceptions of Christ is, Do they offer us a merely human Christ? The one thing that cannot be allowed is that that Man who walked the earth and has created the new world, was in any respect more than man. At all hazards we must not allow that God has entered in this Man into the sphere of human life. The rock of offense is the Incarnation: and anything is more credible than that. When we make our Socinianism the major premise of all our reasoning, is it strange that what we take out of our premises as our conclusion is just Socinianism?

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

VIE DE LA BIENHEUREUSE MARGUERITE-MARIE d'après les Manuscrits et les Documents Originaux. Par AUGUSTE HAMON, Docteur ès lettres, Lauréat de l'Académie française. Edition complète sans l'appareil ni les notes scientifiques. 8vo; xii + 520. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie. 1908. Price fr. 4.

LETTERS TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. By A MODERNIST. 8vo; xx+280. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1910.

THE PAPACY: THE IDEA AND ITS EXPONENTS. By GUSTAV KRÜGER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Giessen. Translated by F. M. S. BATCHELOR and C. A. MILES. Pp. 277. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Price \$1.50 net.

These three works deal with Roman Catholicism, and are written with modern conditions in view. The first bears the *imprimatur* of Vicar General Fages in Paris, and is commended by several Cardinals, Rampolla among them, and other high dignitaries of the Papal church. The second emanates from the same sect, but the author like others of his communion before him seeks refuge in anonymity. The third is from the pen of a German protestant professor. Passion is evident in every page of the first two, the third is marked by its calmness,—the calm that follows victory.

The fortunes of the remarkable Roman mystical cult known as the Devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus runs parallel to those of the Society of Jesus, under whose auspices it came into existence, and



under whose protection and guidance it has attained to such prominence among papists, that to-day more than twenty million of the faithful are enrolled in over fifty thousand societies, and a rich literature is devoted to its propagation. The first work published on its behalf by the Jesuit Croiset in 1691 was condemned at Rome. In answer to another attempt to establish it in 1727 the *Promotor Fidei*, who became later Pope Benedict XIV, declared that if this devotion were permitted there was nothing to prevent similar devotion being made to the eyes, tongue and other parts of Jesus' body. It was not until 1765 that a special mass of the Sacred Heart was allowed and then only with the understanding that the heart was to be regarded only as a symbol of the divine love. This however was not satisfactory to the Jesuits who adhered to the cult during the period of their suppression, and pushed it with vigor on their restoration. In spite of, or perhaps on account of opposition from the side of the Jansenists and Benedictines and the sneer of good papists at the "entail-worship", privilege after privilege has been accorded to the members of the societies of the Sacred Heart, and it is openly said that the real object of devotion is not the love of Christ but his real fleshly heart. In accordance with this in all images pertaining to the cult the heart must be plainly visible.

The volume of M. Hamon purports to be a scientific and critical (the critical notes are to be found in a larger edition published in 1907) account of the life of the founder of this extraordinary 'devotion', the nun Marguerite-Marie Alacoque of Paray le Monial, and of the special revelations of which she was the recipient, with the interpretation put upon them by her spiritual adviser the Jesuit priest La Colombière. It is the story of a simple-minded French girl, who suffered for several years from an unknown malady. She did not dare address our Lord but turned to the Virgin Mary and vowed to become one of her 'daughters' if she recovered. Upon this she speedily regained her health. Afterwards she was tormented, by the devil we are told, on account of her vow, doubting whether a promise made in childhood was binding for life. She disciplined herself however by such means as binding herself with knotted cords and sleeping on bare planks. St. Francis of Sales helped her too, for once when praying before his image he cast on her a peculiarly compassionate glance, and called her "my daughter". After she entered the convent she continued her "discipline", but was divinely informed that obedience to her superiors was better than even self-mortification. So she learned the great fundamental duty of regarding her ecclesiastical superior as Jesus Christ on earth. The revelations culminated in a series in which Jesus revealed to her his heart burning (the flames were visible) with love for the world and her, and gave her explicit directions concerning the new cult of the Sacred Heart. According to Marguerite-Marie's quoted words Jesus said to her "my divine heart is so impassioned with love for men and for you in particular, that it is not able to contain within itself the flames of its burning charity . . .". She continues, "Then he

demanding of me my heart and I prayed him to take it. This he did, and placed it within his own adorable breast, where it appeared to me as a tiny atom which was consumed in that fiery furnace. Then he took it out again as a flame burning in the shape of a heart, and put it back again in the place from which he had taken it . . . " For several days after this "divine visit" Marguerite-Marie was quite incapacitated for ordinary duties, being "entirely intoxicated and inflamed with love"; moreover from this time on until her death she had a pain in her side which could be relieved only by blood-letting.

There is no need to continue. Such "revelations" to nuns are not uncommon and the Roman authorities have known how to suppress those that were displeasing. The importance of this life of the Blessed Marguerite-Marie consists in this, that it shows the kind of morbid sensuous piety that is cultivated among papists by those now in control of the Vatican. One bishop writing to M. Hamon from Rome congratulates him on his achievement and adds that "conscientious scholars will no longer be able to speak of nervousness or hyperaesthesia in connection with Marguerite-Marie as there is not the slightest sign of either". We cannot help recalling that from this same circle such explanations are given of Martin Luther's struggles in his early days.

That all Roman Catholics are even yet not committed to the cult of the Sacred Heart goes without saying; but few of them now-a-days would dare to write openly the words "they (the Jesuits) are the chief supporters of special devotions, of arithmetical piety, of debilitating excess in what is called spiritual direction, and of the ghastly vulgarity of worshipping a physical fleshly heart". This sentence is taken from *Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X*, and are characteristic of the book. We confess that we approached this work with misgiving as one generally does anonymous writings. But whoever the author be,—the editors vouch for him as a priest of the Roman Catholic church,—he has produced quite a remarkable book. It is not often to-day that one hears such an impassioned plea for liberty within the Roman Church. The author says nothing new. Protestants, especially those of the continent of Europe, who feel the pressure of Rome, know perfectly well that their old enemy is still the same; we in English speaking lands who see hardly more than the excellent work of parochial priests are apt to forget the papal claims and regard as bigotry any attempt on the part of Protestants to revive the discussions of the Reformation. But here is an attack from within the Roman Church itself second to none in the completeness of its criticism, and the fierceness of its denunciation. The writer has a more than usual command of the English language, and uses all his ability in this respect in a way that reminds one of nothing less than the works of pre-Reformation would-be reformers. The points of attack are the old familiar ones: the Papacy and freedom of conscience, the Inquisition, Papal claims to sovereignty over civil governments, indulgences, celibacy, freedom of the intellect, the Jesuits and the present tyranny, and others. Without descending to diatribe or the coarseness of many anti-Roman



works the author endeavors to show,—and does show,—from authoritative documents and modern instances that the Papacy is to-day essentially the same as in the Middle Ages. He thinks therefore that "that antipathy to Rome" which has been for three centuries so striking a feature in the religious life of the most prosperous and enlightened nations of the world . . . does not rest on blind bigotry or unreasonable malice, but is based upon the notorious past history and the perfectly evident present policy of the Roman See".

The author has not escaped the temptation to which so many of his co-religionists on the continent have fallen victim. In the second part of his volume entitled "Faith and Criticism" he pleads not so much for freedom of inquiry, as for one particular view of dogma and the Scriptures. In Old Testament criticism he may be roughly classed as a pan-Babylonist and in the New Testament he follows those who lay emphasis upon the eschatological elements of our Lord's teaching, and derive these from the current views of His times. To him Christ is not God; "that he was God, that awful Infinite beyond the spaces of the stars, and beneath the foundations of the world—impossible!" But Jesus as the foremost of God's prophets and the sovereign spirit among humanity's saints and martyrs; Jesus as our brother has a meaning and a divine meaning for us, . . . . .our divinest Witness to things spiritual and unseen, the holiest Preacher of human charity, the ever-living bond of human brotherhood". Similar statements are familiar enough from other quarters; but they are unparalleled, as far as we know, in the literature of American Roman Catholicism.—It is not many years since Dr. Döllinger out of wide knowledge of the Jesuits,—whom he called "incarnate superstition united with despotism,"—and after the elevation of Liguori to the dignity of Doctor Ecclesiae, bitterly wrote, "such a condition cannot last long, sooner or later there must come somewhere a reaction for the better, though the where and the how is hidden from our eyes". Such a reaction is to be seen now in France and elsewhere. Are we also to have one in America?

Quite different in tone is Prof. Krüger's short sketch of the Papacy. It is neither subservient to party nor belligerent. It is neither heralded by the approbation of superiors nor sheltered behind anonymity. It is a good example of the intellectual freedom so valued by Protestants and so earnestly desired by 'A Modernist'. In two hundred and sixty-six pages of large print one cannot discuss the history of the papacy in detail. Prof. Krüger has not attempted to do so. Indeed one great merit of the book is that *all* detailed discussion is lacking. What we have is the broad outline of the fortunes of the Roman idea from its inception until to-day. The lights and the shadows are both apparent. The modest beginnings, the need of leadership in the west, a few notable men in the chair of St. Peter, the political compact with the Franks, the forged decretals, the alternation of evil and reform, the Hildebrandian program and its consummation in Innocent III, the early futile attempts on the part of Europe to throw off the yoke of Roman bondage, the Reformation, and the defeats of more recent

years down to the establishment of the Italian kingdom against the papal protest in 1870,—about this framework every history of the Papacy must be built; but it has been Prof. Krüger's good fortune to present all these features in well balanced proportion and in such fashion that their relations to contemporary history and that of the papacy as a unitary whole are evident, and to make of the whole a story that one may read with profit and enjoyment in an evening. The reader will not find much about dogma and religion. To Prof. Krüger these do not belong to the papacy as such. It is a purely human excrescence marring the fair form of Christianity, but one which, although now under control and confined, is neither innocuous nor quiescent. On the contrary Prof. Krüger notes a recrudescence of Romanism in Germany in the last forty years, and one cannot doubt that he had the *Kultur-Kampf* of the fatherland in mind all the while he was writing. He is not belligerent but he is militant, if the term may be applied to the soldier on guard. Nor does he doubt the outcome. He quotes indeed Macaulay's prophecy, but only to follow it with the parable of the husbandman whose soul was required of him as he prepared larger barns. I have not compared the translation with the original, but the English is flowing, and I have noticed few places which seem to require correction. On page 20 "sixth commandment" should obviously be changed to "seventh commandment" to suit the English enumeration.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

MICHAEL SERVETUS, HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS. By CARL THEOPHILUS ODHNER, Professor of Church History, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pa. Philadelphia: Press of J. B. Lippincott Company, 1910, pp. 96. Price 50 cents.

This little Swedenborgian book will show that Michael Servetus was the only man of his time capable of reforming the church and that he was prevented from doing so by the virulent hatred of John Calvin. In the first part the author tells the story of Servetus' life and death, and of John Calvin's experiences in the spiritual world as revealed by Swedenborg. The second part is given to Servetus' Theology, in which it is shown that he continued the work begun by Origen and completed by Swedenborg. He "came as near to the Doctrine of genuine truth as could be possible to any man, short of immediate Divine Revelation" (p. 88). He was a forerunner of Swedenborg on earth, and perhaps was charged with teaching the genuine truths of the Word to the simple souls "under the altar" in the other world, to prepare them for the Last Judgment that took place in the spiritual world in 1757. The author cites many passages from Servetus' works to show agreement with the teachings of Swedenborg.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

CALVIN MEMORIAL ADDRESSES. Delivered before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States at Savannah, Ga.,



May, 1909. Published by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va. 1909, pp. 286.

This volume contains an account of the exercises held by the General Assembly at Savannah in 1909 in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth. More particularly these were the presentation to the General Assembly of a handsome gavel (of which a picture is given), made of wood from the tower of St. Peter's Cathedral, Geneva, Calvin's church, and the delivery of twelve addresses on topics related to Calvin's life, labors and influence. Eight of these were delivered by members of the church in assembly, most of them naturally ministers, but President Denny of Washington and Lee University and the Honorable Frank T. Glasgow of Lexington, Va., bear witness to the loyalty of the laymen. The Northern Church is represented by Dr. Minton and Dr. Warfield; Scotland sent Prof. Orr; and France, or rather Geneva itself, Dr. Charles Merle d'Aubigne. Of course Calvin and his activities have to be treated under many headings. Only four or five of the addresses have to do directly with his theology proper, one discusses his teachings on Infant Salvation and sufficiently refutes the calumnious remarks that have been and still are current concerning his doctrine of elect infants, one deals with his contributions to Church Polity, another with his services to exegesis, another with his relation to education, another with his influence upon the political development of the world, and so forth. Of course there are repetitions, and there are things left unsaid that might have been said. The modern world, whether criticizing or lauding, pays Calvin the compliment of reckoning him one of ourselves. The standards that are applied to his contemporaries are felt to be inadequate in his case, and yet the greatness of the man is all the more evident when he is set in his proper temporal surroundings. The mission to South America takes on new significance when compared with the activity (or lack of it) of other Protestants of his time; his commentaries shine with additional splendor when compared with those of contemporaries, for example, Luther's. Only Calvin is condemned when Servetus' death is mentioned, it is forgotten or excused that Catholics and Protestants alike applauded the deed in the sixteenth century. Of course the feeling back of all this is correct. Calvin does belong to our own times, even more than to his own. These scholars who gathered in Savannah from all over this country perceived it clearly. They see Calvinism not only in the church and in the individual but in our institutions, civil and educational. It may be a slothful Calvinism or impure; but there is no thought expressed that Calvinism is on its last legs, or dying, on the contrary they believe that it possesses the power, as nothing else does, of solving the religious, the missionary, and the political problems of the day.—We wish there had been an address on the "Friendship of Calvin", for one of the things that arrests the reader when he looks more carefully into the life story of this alleged cold-blooded, logical dictator, is that he tied men to him with bonds of love that refused to

be broken. Dr. d'Aubigne indeed mentions it, but it was worthy of fuller treatment.

The volume is illustrated with portraits of Calvin (three of them), of the speakers, and photographic reproductions of St. Peters Cathedral, the Calvin Monument in Geneva, and others. It is regrettable that more care was not given to the proof-reading, for otherwise the volume is well prepared—Calvin's seal adorning the cover.

*Princeton.*

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE AND CURRENT RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS. By JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, D.D., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa. Lutheran Publication Society. 1909. Pp. x. + 333. Price \$1.25.

The object of Dr. Remensnyder in this volume is "to show that the Christian faith, though varying in adaptation to the changing conditions of men and society, has ever preserved its essential identity". He proposes to do this by comparing the post-Apostolic age with our own. The treatment is topical. In thirty-three chapters almost as many subjects are handled—covering dogma, government, policy and custom. On the whole the work is rather a study of modern conditions than an essay in history. There is no attempt to give a critical and concatenated account of the teaching of the Apostolic Fathers. Literature of a later period is also admitted such as the Apologies and the Constitutions of the Twelve Apostles and it is not quite clear on what principle Dr. Remensnyder has accepted some statements and rejected others. The highest respect is shown for the Apostolic Fathers proper. "They had a special baptism of the Holy Ghost." Clement of Rome is identical with him of Phil. iv, 3; the Epistle of Barnabas is from the pen of Paul's companion; there is no objection to the early tradition that the author of the Shepherd of Hermas was Paul's friend mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14, and that Ignatius was the little child whom our Lord placed in the midst of his disciples. Clement, Barnabas and Polycarp wrote their letters before John wrote his Gospel. The congregations from the beginning were ruled by a bishop or pastor (p. 95). The church rightly exercised authority, as in the matter of deciding the limits of the Canon (p. 117) and in the decisions of General Councils (p. 118). The presbyter and the bishop were originally the same, but episcopacy emerged almost immediately and is "probably the wisest form of the Christian ministry" (p. 110). "As to the manner of calling ministers, they were appointed by the bishops or presbytery, with the consent and approval of the congregation" (p. 110). Church services were held "in a consecrated chamber or house. The place must be holy to the Lord, set apart from common and unhallowed uses" (p. 189). "The minister as he ascended to the pulpit prepared himself by a moment of silent prayer, a habit that no doubt guarded him from introducing secular themes, and wandering into current sensational discussions, which might attract the crowd of superficial curiosity seekers" (p. 192). However excellent this may be as advice or sug-



gestion for modern preachers, we cannot think it a faithful reproduction of post-Apostolic conditions. Indeed, in general Dr. Remensnyder would have made a stronger case had he omitted the sections of his book that have to do with the details of worship and the machinery of the church in the post-Apostolic age. These things occupied small space in the mind of the early church; their faith in the risen Lord, their hope of glory, their fellowship and joy in the Holy Ghost were the outstanding characteristics. And indeed Dr. Remensnyder knows this too, and he has done good service in pointing out once more that for the early church, Christianity was a supernatural religion beyond possibility of doubt, a revelation of God miraculously given and confirmed by events in the external world to which there were competent witnesses, that it was therefore of necessity a religion of authority, above all that it centred on Jesus Christ who was regarded and worshiped as God. And Dr. Remensnyder's conclusion is perfectly just, the exclusion of the supernatural from Christianity and the humanizing of Jesus Christ to the exclusion of his divinity is not a return to the primitive faith but the destruction of it.

*Princeton.*

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the late CHARLES BIGG, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Edited by I. B. STRONG, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909. Pp. viii. 518. Price 12s. 6d. net.

There is a certain sadness connected with reading this volume. The Preface informs us that two days after he sent his sheets to the press Professor Bigg was dead. We have to mourn another of those broad-minded, well read, kindly scholars, whom England from time to time produces, and who are characterized by a winsome charity and sanity, that commands the admiration of all and stimulates some to better things. What changes might have been introduced in the footnotes, had the author lived to see his work through the press, we cannot tell, but there is no doubt that the book is substantially as he wished it to stand. He told the Secretary to the Delegates so sometime before his death. We shall probably be not far wrong if we guess that the chapters which are here published were delivered as lectures. The style is popular, the method of treatment broad, detailed discussions are absent, of footnotes even there are very few. If our conjecture is right Oxford has lost not only a scholar but also an excellent teacher. The work of the editor has been well done. Footnotes have been verified, he tells us, but new ones added only when imperative. A sufficiently full index is appended.

Professor Bigg is always interesting and nowhere more so than in the present volume. He exhibits in almost every sentence a sympathy for humanity and an understanding of the feelings and intellectual processes, but especially of the feelings, of the learned and the ignorant alike. He can describe Bardesanes as "a poet who is

not always devoid of charm, and a philosopher who can sometimes be understood" (p. 446), but this is not typical of his attitude toward men and things. One feels that he would find something interesting in every acquaintance. It is thus that he writes the history of the early church, introducing us to men with whom he has been long and well acquainted, and of whom, in spite of their idiosyncracies, he is fond. This does not say that Prof. Bigg has always understood correctly his old acquaintances; misunderstandings are only too possible between friends. Nor does it say that he enters equally sympathetically into the life of each; that would be too much to expect. But rarely has there appeared such a sympathetic and we may add sane presentation of the story of that wonderful epoch of church history which falls between the first persecution under Nero and the cessation of governmental opposition to Christianity. And the secret of the charm is not the lucid and almost colloquial style, or the wide knowledge of the literature of the period, both of which are certainly important, but that the actors in this great drama, whether Christian, heretic or heathen are viewed and portrayed as men with minds and passions like our own. Had we been there we should have acted as they did; had they been born into our times they would have been as we are. This is the dominant note of the book. Of course this brings Prof. Bigg into conflict with the views of those writers who by emphasizing some abnormality of belief or conduct in the early centuries would almost persuade us that the Christianity of early days had little in common with our conception of it, and that human beings of eighteen centuries ago were so different from ourselves that we cannot enter into their experiences except under the expert guidance of the specialist. Professor Bigg's book is an excellent corrective to this sort of thing, and one that comes opportunely. And it is to the author's very great credit that he has been able to walk firmly the path before him. Well informed as he incidentally shows himself of the problems that beset every step, he has been neither hastened nor delayed, neither unduly attracted nor repelled by innovations. The ordinary reader may not perceive what careful reading has preceded the statement that there is no trace of a 'charismatic ministry' in post-Apostolic times (pp. 75, 267) or that preaching is not a survival of ancient prophecy (p. 425), or that Moutanism was not mainly reactionary but new and progressive (p. 185). Prof. Bigg like all men has his favorites. His are the Alexandrines. We are prepared for this by his earlier work on *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, and it appears all the more evident in the present work, where we can compare his treatment of others. Tertullian suffers in this respect. Three pages are devoted to his services to theology (391-4). He was a Stoic materialist and unable to distinguish between Eternity and Time. He was quite untouched by Platonic metaphysics. For him therefore the result is necessarily posterior to the cause. A belief in the eternal personality of the Logos was impossible for him; His personal existence is co-terminous with the period of His prola-



tion. This is indeed the view of many scholars but seems hardly to do justice to Tertullian (see the developed argument in an article by Dr. Warfield in this REVIEW, Jan. 1906, pp. 9 ff.). With Tertullian Prof. Bigg classes Hippolytus and Novatian as the three great ante-Nicene puritans, who over-emphasized the Divine Will, and thus prepared the way for Calvin and Pascal. Athanasius, led by his predecessors in Alexandria, who had in turn learnt from Plato that the Good is the highest of all ideas, restored to theology the full meaning of the words Father and Son. It is evident too that Prof. Bigg has little sympathy for the Gnostics. To him they are pessimistic and destructive. There are not many writers to-day that would venture to say that their Genealogies were absurd (p. 135) not only from our standpoint but also from that of their own contemporaries. Indeed we feel that Prof. Bigg has underrated the power of Gnosticism when he says that the Christian Church feared it because it was not conscious of its own strength. His information of this great movement is drawn almost exclusively from early Christian writers, and while he presents us with a very readable synthesis of its main teachings, there is little said of the part played in it by the religions of a remoter past, and the charm of syncretism for the citizen-of-the-world in Asia, Alexandria or Rome.

As the editor remarks in the preface, there are points as to which we would wish for a more complete discussion. But this is of minor importance. What we have here is not a series of *Auseinandersetzungen*—we have no word for it—but the well rounded result of much reading and more reflection on the part of a warm hearted, level headed Christian. Professor Bigg brings his work to a close with the question, "What is the essence of Christianity?" and answers it with the words of Clement of Rome, "The Church are 'they which are called and sanctified by the will of God through Jesus Christ.' 'Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto His Father, because, being shed for our salvation, it was for the whole world the grace of repentance.' . . ." And what is the obstacle which prevents Christianity from gaining a perfect triumph? "It is, in fact, human nature, which is older than either Christianity or Paganism." Not necessarily the malignity of human nature or its stupidity, but "sometimes its animalism, its lusts; sometimes its individualism, its covetousness; sometimes its inertia or hatred of change, even for the better; sometimes its one-sided experience, the philosopher, in his comfortable study or his secluded laboratory forgetting his solidarity with the ignorant and suffering masses outside." "Tertullian thought it a good omen of victory when he heard the men in the street saying, 'see how these Christians love one another. . . . When the man in the street again talks as he did in Carthage in the beginning of the second century, the Church will be ready for a new and even more arduous crusade in a democratic and scientific age. There is no enterprise too bold for those who faithfully carry the Cross of Christ.'"

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE. By ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, M.A., S.T.D., LL.D. of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, Philadelphia. The Westminster Press. 1910. Pp. 317. Price, \$1.50; postage, 10c. extra.

The Church of England, of which our Protestant Episcopal Church is a daughter, presents a curious spectacle, and one that easily might seem ridiculous to those who are ignorant of the force of custom and the restrictions of conventional usage in that country. It is established in England, but ultimately controlled by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland; its highest dignitaries may be nominated by a non-conformist or a Jew. As a church it is divided over the theory of its priesthood and sacraments, and uncertain as to auricular confession, baptismal regeneration, the fate of unbaptized children, and other matters of importance. Its clergy are required to subscribe its articles of religion and allowed to flout them. It is unacknowledged by other episcopalian churches, and it does not acknowledge other protestant ones. And to-day it is calling for church unity, and announcing that it holds the middle ground upon which all may stand. A half-way house, however, is not always a stopping place; and the broad toleration, within which all are to unite, is limited by the High Church view of the historic episcopate. It is true that this is not *de fide*, but it is at present sufficiently strong to block any movement towards union with non-episcopalian churches. The persistence of High Churchism is not due to historical investigation. Not to speak of non-episcopalians, the researches of Hatch, Hort, Lightfoot, Bigg, Gwatkin and other scholars of the Church of England (we may even put Bishop Gore among them), should be enough to convince observers that the "historic episcopate" has no apostolic basis; while those who have studied the words of Christ and his Apostles, will agree with the sentiments expressed by Bishop Lightfoot in his famous essay on *The Christian Ministry*, "The Kingdom of Christ, not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political and religious. It is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. . . . It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and every place alike are holy. Above all it has no sacerdotal system. . . . Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength." In spite, however, of centuries of discussion there is still a not inconsiderable section of the Episcopal churches in England and America that hold stubbornly to the thesis that episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church, that the bishop holds office (or orders) in virtue of his consecration (or ordination) at the hands of other bishops, who in turn received it from others, back to the apostles whose successors they are, and who received their ordination from Christ himself. But High Churchism is something more than a belief in sacerdotalism and the "historic episcopate". Indeed, we may say that to the laity at least these are of small importance compared with liturgical forms and ceremonies, and the dogmas back of them vaguely felt rather than clearly expressed.



In England this is all undoubtedly connected with the aristocratic constitution of society and the glamor of the past which belong to the old world. But it is more difficult to account for the growth and persistence of such ideas in our own country where we think that we believe that all men are born free and equal, and where a bishop is more frequently addressed as "bishop" than "my lord". Imitation may partly explain it: the elaborate ritual with its suggestion of mystery appeals to many, and a human mediator and material means of grace may be acceptable to those who have not comprehended the freedom of the Gospel. But is it possible that the growth of the Episcopalian Church in the United States is due also in part, as a recent French traveller remarks, to the fact that "*c'est une Eglise chic*"? Is our democracy already invaded by aristocratic notions, and are these making their presence felt in matters of religion?

The book before us does not deal with such general questions, but rather with that construction of history upon which High Churchism ultimately rests. It has reference to the theory of the historic episcopate advanced by the High Church party of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. Only in so far as the Roman Catholic view illustrates or opposes this does it enter into the discussion. The purpose of the book is to pave a way for a better understanding between, and a union of, the Protestant churches of Christendom. The author sees rightly that one main objection to such union to-day is the emphasis laid by many Episcopalians upon the validity of orders episcopally conveyed and the invalidity of non-episcopalian ordination. Although the work is put forward as an irenicon, no compromise is proposed. Dr. Thompson is a presbyterian and writes avowedly from that standpoint. He is persuaded that presbyterianism is right and monarchic episcopacy wrong, and this conviction is evident on every page of his work. The book is divided into eleven chapters. The first deals with the constitution of the church of the New Testament, the next two are devoted to the Apostolic Fathers, the fourth and fifth trace and account for the gradual establishment of the monarchic episcopate, the sixth discusses the change in the duties of the bishop, "from pastor to prelate," the seventh deals with the nature of the episcopate of the middle ages, and the following three are devoted to developments inside the Church of England, the last brief chapter surveys the present conditions and ends with a question mark but not without a note of hope.

This is a large program for a work of only three hundred pages. There is much left unsaid that might have been said, and discussions of subsidiary and disputed points have been, of course, crowded out. In spite of this, however, one rises from a perusal of the book with the feeling that the author has covered the ground sufficiently, and amply made good his main thesis; namely, that the monarchic diocesan episcopate is a mere invention of men, and a departure from the form of government of the early church. One excellent thing about the book is its many quotations, not only modern scholars of England,

Germany and France, but also mediaeval and ancient writers being allowed to speak in their own words. Particularly valuable is the catena of quotations from English writers (twenty-six of them) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries adduced to show that "many of the greatest and most honored of the doctors of the Reformed Church of England did not make for their Church that extravagant claim to exclusively valid orders and sacraments which was developed by the later Stuart divines of the Church of England, and revived by the Oxford writers some sixty years ago," and which confirms Cardinal Newman's statement that "apostolical succession, its necessity and its grace, is not an Anglican tradition, though it is a tradition found in the Anglican church."

The three important periods in this discussion are of course the apostolic age, the Reformation and the Oxford movement. With regard to the last two Dr. Thompson has done all that is requisite. He has no difficulty in showing that the Reformed Church of England regarded itself as protestant, and freely accepted ministers of other protestant churches without reordination. The modern High Church views of the historic episcopate are an excrescence for which Laud, the Restoration and the Oxford movement are mainly responsible. Of his treatment of the early church we cannot speak with undivided praise. The explanation of James' position in the church at Jerusalem is avoided rather than solved by the statement that James was one of the twelve apostles—a conclusion not at all necessary from Paul's statement in his Epistle to the Galatians. The imagery of the Apocalypse is admitted as evidence, but unequally. The angels of the seven churches are explained as personifications of the seven churches, and therefore without bearing on the question of monarchic episcopacy, but the four and twenty elders about the throne are regarded as a celestial counterpart of the earthly presbytery, and Dr. Thompson does not seem to be aware of the argument that if the celestial elders correspond to an earthly presbytery, the celestial throne must have its counterpart in the bishop's chair, which is quite the Ignatian idea. Nor is Dr. Thompson willing to admit the establishment of the episcopate as early as Ignatius. Hegesippus he dismisses as sectarian; and although he reckons more seriously with Ignatius' letters, and shows that even if genuine they are far from proving the existence, much less the apostolic sanction, of diocesan episcopacy, still he needlessly, as we think, casts discredit upon their genuineness in any form. In short we cannot help feeling that the author's obvious desire to prove his thesis has obscured for him some of the arguments which may be urged on the other side, and induced him to take an attitude toward disputed questions which lays him open to attack. Another example of the same thing is traceable in his evident dislike of the diocesan system. He thinks apparently that nothing but harm has come from it. He insists rightly, of course, that the bishop's duty was the cure of souls and that this means preaching and pastoral work. Every departure from that he deprecates, apparently without noting that



he would thereby prevent ordained ministers of any denomination becoming teachers, superintendents, secretaries of boards, etc. In accounting for the rise of episcopacy he refuses to accept the explanation usually given, namely, that a more compact organization was better able to combat heresy, and he fails to note that the rule of several coördinate presbyters could and did, as in Corinth, lead to jealousy and division. The church is human.

In spite of these points, however, at which we are compelled to differ with him, Dr. Thompson has produced a work well worth reading and one that will carry conviction with it. We cannot believe that that form of High Churchism which is characterized by a belief in the historic episcopate as of the *esse* of the Church has any real hold upon the American people. Differences of temperament and training will always call for diverse liturgical forms, diverse music, diverse architecture. But these things are not essential and nobody now-a-days thinks they are. If our episcopalian brethren could agree among themselves in regard to the historic episcopate we might look forward more hopefully to a union of the Protestant churches, and we have no doubt that wherever Dr. Thompson's book is known this end will be found.

Princeton,

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

## SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THE GOSPEL OF THE HEREAFTER. By J. PATERSON-SMYTH, B.D., LL.D., Litt.D., D. C. L. New York, Chicago, Toronto, London, and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1910. Pp. 224.

Dr. Paterson-Smyth, who is the Rector of St. George's, Montreal, and who was formerly Professor of Pastoral Theology at the University of Dublin, is the author of a number of religious and theological works.

In this volume he attempts to give a general outline of Christian Eschatology. He begins by seeking to establish the reality of the Self and the immortality of the soul, over against Materialism, and then goes on to depict the life of the soul after death. This future life is discussed in two stages which constitute the two main divisions of the book.

Part I is entitled "The Near Hereafter," and in it the author takes up the questions pertaining to the state of the soul after death and previous to the general Resurrection and the Final Judgment. He concludes that this future state is a conscious one, in which the soul has memory, self-consciousness and personal identity. The future state is, generally speaking, a happy state, though it is an "intermediate" state and one in which the soul is not in heaven, but in an "intermediate place." It is, however, a state of existence in which the soul goes through a process of "pain" and "purification," which fits it for its final state in heaven.

Part II, which occupies only the last forty pages of the book, is

entitled "The Far Hereafter." This is divided into three chapters, entitled The Judgment, Hell, and Heaven.

The author says at the outset that he will keep distinct the teaching of Scripture and what he deems to be legitimate inferences from that teaching. In this respect he has to a large extent succeeded, but there is too little of the Scripture teaching, and too much of his own inferences, many of which are not legitimate inferences but mere speculations. We feel compelled to dissent from nearly all of Dr. Paterson-Smyth's views on these points, on the ground that they do not seem to us to be in harmony with the Scripture teaching.

Take for example his view of the imperfection of the state of the soul after death. This imperfection the author conceives to consist in the supposed facts that the believer in Christ is ethically imperfect after death, and that he is not so near to God and Christ as he afterwards will be, rather than in the fact that the soul is without a body. And in the chapter on death Dr. Paterson-Smyth speaks of death as a release from the body, more after the fashion of Greek metaphysics than of the Scripture teaching.

Or look at the argument put forward to prove that there is a progressive "purification" in the future life. Here the author draws a false inference from correct premisses. It is true that Christians die imperfectly sanctified; it is true that there is nothing in the fact of death itself to complete the process of sanctification; but unless sanctification is a purely naturalistic process, it does not by any means follow that the soul must pass through a "purifying" process after death. Moreover the author's idea that by means of death conscience and memory work better, and that they are the causes of sanctification, is purely fanciful. According to the Scripture the Holy Spirit is the efficient cause of sanctification, and His instrument is the Truth.

Equally unsatisfactory is Dr. Paterson-Smyth's discussion of the subject of future probation. He argues in favor of future probation for those who have not heard the Gospel in this life, basing his position on the fact that infants dying in infancy, idiots, and those who have never heard the Gospel can neither accept nor reject Christ. This is a truly remarkable argument. If it is to have any validity, it must rest on some such presuppositions as the following: God intends to save every individual; no person can be saved without exercising faith in Christ; no sin makes a man worthy of condemnation except the rejection of Christ. None of these presuppositions can be supported from the Scripture, and without them this argument for future probation breaks down completely. Furthermore, the author has no sooner asserted the doctrine of future probation than he proceeds to take it back by saying that, after all, one's fate is determined in this life, because one's attitude to Christ in the future life is determined by the way in which one follows or neglects the dictates of conscience in this life; and what is still more extraordinary, this is supposed to be what Paul means to say in Rom. ii. 14 *sq.*, where it is



perfectly evident that the Apostle is saying that conscience renders the Gentiles without excuse and worthy of condemnation. Paul says nothing here in the remotest degree resembling the meaning which Dr. Paterson-Smyth reads into his words. The result, however, appears to be that the author finally asserts future probation really only for infants dying in infancy and for those mentally incompetent to exercise faith in this life, the presupposition being the entirely unwarranted one that no person, whether infant, idiot, or adult, can be saved without exercising faith. Dr. Paterson-Smyth apparently conceives of salvation as depending solely on the will of man, and not on the power and grace of God.

Similar defects in argument and errors in regard to the Scripture truths are to be found in the second part of this volume, the discussion of the subject of future punishment being especially unconvincing and unsatisfactory.

The most satisfactory chapter in the entire book is the first chapter which seeks to establish the reality of the self over against materialism.

*Princeton.*

C. W. HODGE.

THE NEXT LIFE: LIGHT ON THE WORLD BEYOND. By the Rev. J. REID HOWATT. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1910. Pp. 198.

This is a brief and popular discussion covering the whole ground of Christian Eschatology. As the author says in the preface, it is not a "theological text-book," nor a "learned treatise." It is intended to be "more suggestive than exhaustive." Mr. Howatt has succeeded in writing an outline of Christian Eschatology for the most part clear and readable, though we cannot agree with his doctrinal views at every point. He has to a considerable degree the gift of illustration, and usually avoids fanciful interpretations of the Scripture, though we should be obliged to differ with his exegesis at some points. On the whole, the book is sane and cautious but at times the author seems to go beyond what has been revealed to us on these subjects; and at times he seems to regard analogies and illustrations drawn from Nature as proofs of truths which from their nature can only be based upon the Scripture.

*Princeton.*

C. W. HODGE.

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## PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

A COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY BIBLE. By Various Writers. Edited by The Rev. J. R. DUMMELOW, M.A., Queens College, Cambridge. Complete in one volume. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 8vo, pp. 1092. Price, \$2.50 net.

The difficult task of condensing to the compass of a single volume illuminating comments on every book and chapter of the Bible has been seriously attempted by this editor, assisted, as he has been, by a large number of able contributors.

The introductory section of 153 pages contains twenty-nine general articles, designed to throw light upon the times, the themes, and the problems of the Bible. These discussions reflect the doctrinal and critical positions of the various contributors. The theological teachings are generally conservative. As to critical discussions, the endeavor is declared to be to incorporate the most assured results of modern scholarship, "even when those results differ considerably from traditional views." The book of Ruth is dated "during or after the exile"; Daniel is likewise post-exilic, written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, "its apparent outlines of the future are really past history;" Esther "has probably some historical foundation but is marked by inaccuracies and exaggerations;" Ecclesiastes "was written about 180 B. C." Jonah is a parable "written three or four centuries after the death of the prophet whose name it bears;" the Pentateuch is composed of three documents, JE, P, D, the most important of which must have been composed "after the return from the captivity in the days of Ezra;" the four closing chapters of Second Corinthians form a separate letter, ante-dating the opening chapters; etc, etc. These views are to-day familiar and popular; but to many it will seem unwise to advance them in a volume, the nature of which allows no space for their adequate discussion, and quite unfortunate in a commentary which is designed for the ordinary reader who is only beginning his study of the Bible.

However, as to the Deity of Christ, the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the Trinity, and other great Biblical doctrines, the writers are in harmony with the teachings of evangelical Christianity.

In addition to the general articles which form the first section of the volume, each book is prefaced by a brief, but often suggestive introduction. The full text of the Scripture is in no case given; only those words or phrases are quoted upon which some comment is to be made; and in the case of the New Testament Epistles the treatment includes not only a careful analysis, but also a carefully composed paraphrase of the individual sections. In view of the narrow limits which the plan of the commentary allows, the selection of passages or words for comment or discussion has been in the main felicitous, and unnecessary explanations or divergent views largely avoided.

To the commentary a series of maps is appended. The typography and general appearance of the volume are pleasing; and the contents, as a whole, comprise an excellent compendium of Biblical information.

*Princeton,*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE APOSTLES AS EVERYDAY MEN. By President ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, S.T.D. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company. Cloth, pp. 79.

Those who have had the privilege of hearing Doctor Thompson preach on the subject of the Twelve Apostles will be particularly pleased to find his message produced in this more permanent form. The particular point emphasized by the writer is the arrangement of



the Twelve in six strongly contrasted pairs, so that each apostle finds in his comrade the man who most differed from himself, and therefore could best supply his defects; the impulsive Peter, and the cautious Andrew; James the elder, and the youthful John; Thomas the doubter, and Matthew the man of fearless faith. We notice that Dr. Thompson adopts the theory which identifies "James the son of Alphaeus" with James the brother of our Lord; and Thaddeus with Jude, "the brother of James" and of our Lord. The book closes with a brief review of the traditions relative to the histories of the Twelve Disciples, subsequent to the times described in the New Testament narrative.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

PREPARATION FOR TEACHING. A Standard Course for Teacher Training.

By CHARLES A. OLIVER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Paper, 16mo, pp. 132. Price 10 cents.

HELPS FOR LEADERS OF TEACHER TRAINING CLASSES. By CHARLES A. OLIVER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Paper, 16mo, pp. 63. Price 10 cents.

SUPPLEMENTAL LESSONS FOR THE PRIMARY GRADES OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. Prepared by M. FLORENCE BROWN. Edited by J. R. MILLER, D.D. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Paper, pp. 60. Price, 25 cents.

SUPPLEMENTAL LESSONS FOR THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. Prepared by FREDERICK G. TAYLOR; Edited by J. R. MILLER, D.D. Paper, pp. 48. Price, 25 cents.

These pamphlets, the contents of which are sufficiently indicated by their titles, are helpful contributions to the newer literature offered to all who are interested in the important work of the Sabbath School.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR BOYS. By WILLIS L. GELSTON, Superintendent of Young Peoples' Work in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Paper, 16mo; pp. 54. Price, 10 cents.

This pamphlet offers a suggestive description of the Boys' Brigade, Baraca Classes, Knights of King Arthur, and similar boys' clubs and associations.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

ACTS. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Assistant Professor of Biblical and Patristic Greek in the University of Chicago. THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS AND TO THE EPHESIANS. By the Reverend GROSS ALEXANDER, S.T.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 16mo; pp. 267, 132, 129. Price, 50 cents each.

These three volumes form a part of the series entitled "The Bible for Home and School," published under the general editorship of Professor Shailer Matthews.

The designed characteristics of this series of commentaries are, (a) the exclusion of all critical and exegetical processes; (b) the presupposition and use of the assured (?) results of historical criticism; (c) a running analysis of the text; (d) brief explanatory notes and introductions; (e) use of the Revised Version. The commentaries are designed for the use of ministers, Sunday School teachers and lay readers.

Of these three volumes the least satisfactory is the first. It is disappointing particularly in the lack of reliance placed upon the accuracy of Luke's narrative. One might say of this commentary by Dr. Gilbert what Dr. Gilbert says of the Acts, viz.: "it has not uniform historical value." The narrative of the gift of tongues at Pentecost is said to illustrate the tendency to idealize and to invest intelligible events with a supernatural halo. As to the reality of the ascension of Christ, "the interpreter cannot speak with assurance." No real angel, it is asserted, delivered the apostles from prison; the words of the angel were "a message of the apostles own hearts." The voice which came to Paul at the time of his conversion "is most naturally associated with his conscience." "The detail" that it was "in the Hebrew language" is in harmony with the fact that one's deepest thoughts utter themselves in one's mother tongue." That Paul inflicted blindness upon Elymas is improbable; the story has undergone "modification in transition." The sudden death of Ananias was "according to natural causes." Eutychus was not "taken up dead", although Luke so states; the "words indicate apparent death." "Points of disagreement between the Acts and the Epistles are not altogether wanting."

In the commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, the difficult question of the *authorship* is carefully discussed, and the conclusion reached that more can be said for Barnabas than for any other claimant. The position is taken that the Epistle was written for Gentile readers, probably for the church at Rome. As to the place of writing, Alexandria is suggested. The date is late in the reign of Domitian (81-96).

The Commentary by Dr. Alexander is well outlined, and shows in its discussions a clear insight into these profound Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians.

In spite of their brevity all these volumes contain much that is helpful to the better understanding of the various parts of the Bible. It will seem to some readers, however, that as "processes are excluded" it might have been better to omit certain disputed "critical conclusions".

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

BE THOU MY GUIDE. By the Rev. F. W. HERZBERGER. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House. Cloth, pp. 86. Price, 20 cents.

This little book is designed to counsel and encourage those who have recently entered into communicant membership with the Lutheran Church.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.



WOMAN IN CHURCH AND STATE. By STANTON COIT, Ph.D. West London Ethical Society. Paper, pp. 70.

The contention of the writer is that women desiring political enfranchisement would attain their end more speedily by abandoning the direct demand for the privilege of voting and by focusing public opinion upon other sex disabilities. There are many who will be slow to admit what the writer insists as to granting women the right to the position of preachers and of membership in national legislative assemblies; but there is much of force in his insistence upon equality of rights in matters of education, in divorce courts, and in a legal share in the wages of husbands.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE PRESBYTERIAN HANDBOOK. By the Rev. WM. H. ROBERTS, D.D. Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, Philadelphia. 86 pages. Price five cents.

No Presbyterian should be without this little manual which contains essential facts relating to the history, statistics and work of our church together with the International Sunday School Lessons, Daily Bible Readings, and weekly Prayer Meeting Topics.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

ST. PAUL'S ILLUSTRATIONS. By the Rev. ROBERT R. RESKER. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Paper, pp. 103. Price, 20 cents net.

This is a worthy addition to the series of Bible Class Primers edited by Principal Salmond, D.D., Aberdeen.

In it the illustrations used by Saint Paul are classified and explained. The treatment indicates the breadth of sympathy and the vivid imagination of the apostle, as well as the necessity of reading his words in the light which archaeology and history throw upon his terms of expression. The classification of his illustrations is as follows: *I.* From Nature. *II.* From Agricultural and Pastoral Life. *III.* From Architecture and Building. *IV.* From Military Work. *V.* From Greek Games. *VI.* From Slavery. *VII.* From Domestic Life. *VIII.* From Civic and Business Life. *IX.* From Jewish and Roman Law. *X.* From Classical Literature. *XI.* From Scripture. *XII.* Miscellaneous Illustrations.

No one could read this book without coming to a more perfect understanding of the writings of Paul, "the Master of Metaphor."

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

CATECHETICAL BIBLE LESSONS. By NAHUM WESLEY GROVER. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work. Paper, pp. 62. Price, 10 cents.

This catechism is designed for children from eight to ten years of age. The answers are chiefly Scripture quotations, brief and easily

memorized. Most of the important doctrines of the Bible are briefly set forth, and instruction given relative to the Church and its ordinances. The book is arranged for a nine months' course, of one lesson a week. It will be found helpful for instruction in the home and in the Pastor's class.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

IN THE SCHOOL OF CHRIST. By Bishop WILLIAM FRAZER McDOWELL. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 303. Price, \$125 net.

This volume comprises the Cole Lectures for 1910 delivered before Vanderbilt University. The object of the generous founder of this lectureship was to secure, in connection with the Biblical Department of the University, "a perpetual lectureship, to be restricted in its scope to a defense and advocacy of the Christian religion." The present course achieves this purpose by an endeavor to set forth the teachings by which Christ prepared the apostles for their mission. It is necessarily therefore a brief review of fundamental Christian doctrines. It is intended primarily as a message to theological students and ministers, but has been published with the hope that it may be helpful and stimulating not only to these classes of Christians, but to many others who are quite as truly "in the school of Christ". The whole content of the book is suggested with unusual definiteness by the following summary of its chapters: Chosen by the Master: *I. To Hear What he Says; II. To See What He Does; III. To Learn What He Is; Sent Forth by the Master: IV. With a Message; V. With a Program; VI. With a Personality.* The style of the lectures is peculiarly clear and forcible, and the treatment of the themes indicates the highest conception of the difficulty and dignity of the work of the Christian ministry.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

CHRISTIAN EPOCH-MAKERS. By HENRY C. VEDDER, D.D., Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 368. Price, \$1.20 net, postpaid.

Doctor Vedder has afforded to his readers not only an historical review of missions, but a missionary view of history. He has given a fascinating summary of the great missionary movements, and has also suggested the important place which these movements hold in the great epochs of the Christian ages. What makes the treatment of these movements of particular interest is the biographical method which he has followed. In describing each of the great missionary epochs he has grouped its salient facts about the personality of some notable leader.

To some extent the method suggests the view of Carlyle that the history of mankind is the history of its great men; so the author contends that the significance and value of each great missionary era, and



of its relation to the entire course of Christian missions, can be adequately conveyed by reviewing the career of the individual missionary who embodies the spirit and indicates the character of the movement in which he plays a conspicuous part. After the introductory chapter on the Philosophy of Missions, in which it is shown that in its very essence Christianity is a missionary religion, the author gives the following biographical sketches: Paul, and Missions of the Apostolic Age; Ulfilas, and the conversion of the Barbarians; Patrick, the apostle to Ireland; Augustine and Christianity in Angle-Land; Boniface, and the Evangelization of Germany; Ansgar, and the Gospel in Scandinavia; Vladimir, and the Conversions of the Slavs; Raimond Lull, the Dark Age of Missions; Francis of Assisi, the Missions of the Grey Friars; Xavier, the Missions of the Jesuits; the First Protestant Missionary; Schwartz, the Educational Idea in Missions; Zinzendorf, the Moravian Pioneers in Modern Missions; Carey, and the Missionary Revival in England; Martyn, the First Missionary to the Mohammedans; Judson, and the Beginning of Missions in America; Livingstone, the Light-Bearer to the Dark Continent.

The volume forms an excellent vindication of the author's method, and commends it to all who are desirous of awakening an interest in Christian Missions and of imparting missionary information. While the book may be of special value to leaders of mission study classes, it cannot fail to absorb the attention of every reader. Above all else it embodies a direct appeal to every Christian to enlist in more definite service for the evangelization of the world, and furnishes the inspiration of the example of the marvelous results which God has produced by the lives of a few chosen messengers who were wholly surrendered to his will.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE LIVING CHURCH ANNUAL AND WHITTAKER'S CHURCHMAN'S ALMANAC. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company. Paper; pp. 480. Price, 50 cents.

This "cyclopaedia and almanac" contains an extensive account of the organization, statistics, and activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

PLAIN ANSWERS TO RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS MODERN MEN ARE ASKING. By SAMUEL CHARLES BLACK, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Boulder, Colorado. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 202. Price, 75 cents; postage, 8 cents.

From the questions here collated by an active and successful pastor, who has had wide experience in dealing with men, it might be concluded that modern men are asking questions which are neither novel, nor specially concerned with theological subtleties. "Is there a God?" "Is the Bible the Word of God?" "Must one believe in Christ to be saved?" "What are the proofs for the Resurrection?" "What is the

unpardonable sin?" "Is it necessary to unite with the Church?" "What is known of the future life?" These are in substance the problems proposed. In his answers the author lays great stress upon the need of "regeneration" and makes large use of the words of Christ to Nicodemus, and of other appropriate quotations from the New Testament. Most of these answers were prepared to meet actual cases of doubt or inquiry.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

MY RELIGION IN EVERYDAY LIFE. By JOSIAH STRONG, D.D. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 61. Price, 50 cents net.

This brief bit of biography is a narration of the experience of the writer in changing from an "individualistic" to a "social" view of Christianity. We cannot but feel that the distinguished author has done himself an unconscious injustice in attempting to describe the absurdly narrow and selfish conceptions by which he believes he was dominated during the first twenty-five years of his Christian life. Of course his "social view" is better; excepting in so far as it seems to imply that social reforms are of more importance than spiritual renewals. Probably the writer would agree with most of his fellow Christians that "society will be redeemed," and the "kingdom of God" most surely hastened by such a true regeneration of individuals as results in their obedience to the "laws of Love, of Service and of Sacrifice." There evidently is something of reality in each of the suggested "views", and one is not to be discarded for the other. The most helpful feature in this personal message is the testimony of the author to the practical power which his Christian faith gives him to meet the trials, and temptations, and duties of everyday life.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE. By ALBERT S. COOK, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 80. Price, \$1.00 net.

This admirable essay states the grounds upon which it is claimed that the Authorized Version of the Bible is "the first English Classic"; it further traces briefly the successive stages by which the English Bible grew into being and finally it indicates the influence of the Authorized Version upon English literature.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

OVER AGAINST THE TREASURY. By the Reverend COURTNEY H. FENN D.D., Missionary of the Presbyterian Board at Peking, China. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Board; 8vo, pp. 100. Price, 60 cents; postage, 5 cents.

The incidents described in this little book are imaginary, but the realities suggested are of vital and personal and tremendous importance.



The experience is that of a pastor, who, at the time he is considering his own relation and the relation of his people to the work of world-wide evangelization, has a vision of the actual presence of Christ. The result upon the pastor, and of the narration of the vision upon the people, is a real dedication of lives and possessions to the service of the Master with a special view of helping to meet the spiritual needs of the unevangelized world. The plan of the narrative enables the writer to deal with the motives, and problems and criticisms of the missionary enterprise. The reader cannot fail to covet for himself and for the Church such a vision of the present Christ as will produce a passion for the evangelization of the world.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE ANALYZED BIBLE. THE PROPHECY OF ISAIAH. By the Reverend G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 222. Vol. II, pp. 230. Price, \$1.00 per volume.

This extended series of studies began with three "introductory volumes", which gave a broad, "telescopic", view of the entire Bible. Five volumes have followed, two of which are devoted to the analysis of the prophecy of Isaiah. These are occupied with much fuller analyses than those furnished in the introductory volumes. However, the outlines are still broad. The minute or "microscopic" method is never reached. The design is rather to prepare the reader for the many commentaries in which the latter method is employed. No one can follow these outlines without gaining a clearer knowledge of the messages of the prophet, and a deeper impression of the literary unity of his work.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW. By the Reverend EDWARD E. ANDERSON, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 243. Price, 75 cents net.

This brief commentary is one of the series of "Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students", edited by the Reverend Alexander Whyte, D.D., and the Reverend John Kelman, D.D. The writer of this volume accepts the "prevailing theory" that the First Gospel was not written by Matthew but by an unknown author who drew his material largely from the Gospel of Mark and who incorporated certain sayings of our Lord, written by Matthew in Hebrew and constituting "the source commonly called Q." The commentary on the text is generally conservative; but a certain distrust of the narrative is occasionally manifest, as, for example, it is stated that the guidance of the star to the house in Bethlehem "looks like a fanciful imagination due to the magi or the story-teller;" as to the temptation of Christ, "the story is of the nature of a parabolic representation of an inward spiritual conflict;" and again, "the stories of the guard at the tomb, and of the resurrection of dead saints, do not stand on the same historical level as the main narrative, but have crept in from that wonderland in which history is buried in

fanciful legend." The comments are brief and suggestive. In addition to the "Introduction" and "Notes", there is an appendix containing discussion upon "The Pharisees and Sadducees," "The Kingdom of God," "The Son of Man," "The Son of God."

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

- \* **THE DECISIVE HOUR OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.** By JOHN R. MOTT, LL. D.  
New York City, Educational Department of the Board of Foreign  
Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 12mo., cloth,  
pp. 267.

This burning message breathes the spirit and embodies the appeal of the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh last June. It was written before the publication of the valuable reports of the Conference, and of the admirable review of the Conference by Mr. Gairdner. However, as Chairman of the Conference, and also of Commission I., on "Carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian World," the author speaks with the conviction and the authority of one who has a personal and direct knowledge of the stupendous movements and issues with which this volume is concerned. Its main contention is this: "In the history of Christianity there never has been such a remarkable conjunction of opportunities and crises on all the principal mission fields and of favoring circumstances and possibilities on the home field."

The opportunities abroad include the plastic condition of the non-Christian nations, shown in advanced political, moral, intellectual and social movements, in the growing spirit of nationalism, in the evident need of a Christian basis for the new life and altered civilization. Forces are at work, however, which present special difficulties to the spread of Christianity; among these are noted, the corrupting vices of Western civilization, the increasing ravages of the liquor traffic, the unchristian acts of nominally Christian nations, the spread of infidel literature, modern secular education, and the renewed activity of non-Christian religions.

In spite of these adverse influences, however, there is observable in many parts of Asia and Africa a rising spiritual tide marking a great advance and suggesting an unprecedented opportunity for Christian missions. These conditions constitute an appeal to carry the Gospel to all the non-Christian world in this generation.

The undertaking demands a plan of adequate scope to include all unoccupied fields and all classes; a plan also adequately thorough, adequate in strategy in the massing and distribution of forces, and above all marked by a spirit of Christian unity.

The situation further demands "an adequate home base,"—a church guided by strong leaders, providing an increased number of missionary candidates, making a large advance in financial support, given more definitely to intercessory prayer. The situation also demands an efficient church on the mission field, conscious of its evangelizing obligation and responsibility.

These demands throw the church back upon the unlimited, and un-



appropriated power of God; and suggests the need of depending upon His guidance and the work of His spirit. In view of the present accessibility of the non-Christian peoples, in view of the abundant resources of the church, in view of the long period of preparatory sacrifice, service and prayer, in view of the peril of delay, the church is called upon to make a worthy and triumphant advance. "Let each Christian so resolve and so act that if a sufficient number of others will do likewise, all men before this generation passes away may have an adequate opportunity to know of Christ."

*Princeton, N. J.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

EARLY MORNING SCENES IN THE BIBLE. By L. L. NASH, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 209. Price, \$1.00 net.

The author evinces a confidence in the historical accuracy and truth of the Bible narratives, which is quite refreshing. While his treatment of the various passages contains little that is new or striking, the simple presentation of familiar facts and truths suggests how helpful and how fascinating the Word of God becomes when its incidents are accepted in faith and reviewed with vividness. The originality of the book appears in its grouping of so many "early morning scenes", with the suggested contrasts and wide ranges of spiritual teaching.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

WIRELESS MESSAGES. POSSIBILITIES THROUGH PRAYER. By C. N. BROADHURST. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 230. Price, \$1.00 net.

Here is a collection of scores of incidents, arguments and analogies in the sphere of prayer, its reality, its power and its definite answers. It will be found of value not merely in furnishing illustrations for discussions, addresses and sermons, but in stimulating faith in a living God who hears and answers prayer.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

AN ORIENTAL LAND OF THE FREE. By JOHN H. FREEMAN. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 200. Price, 50 cents; postage, 9 cents.

The writer of this instructive and interesting little volume is a missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions stationed at Chiangmai, Laos. As he states in the sub-title of the book, he has given a picture of "Life and Mission Work Among the Laos of Siam, Burma, China and Indo-China." This people, who call themselves Tai or "The Free", but are named "Laos" by the Siamese and French, are, as the author contends, less known to the world than any other people that compares with them in numbers and character. In reference to this people, the writer has given illuminating answers to such questions as the following: Who are the Laos? Where do they live? What is their religion? How do they make a living? What

of their language, homes and schools? What special helps and hindrances does the missionary find in presenting the Gospel to the Laos people? How and when was missionary work among the Laos begun? By what methods and with what success has it been prosecuted? What are the present opportunities, outlook, need? The reading of this book is certain to be of profit to all, but it lays a special burden of responsibility upon the members of the Presbyterian Church, to which the evangelization of this people has been entrusted. The editor, Dr. T. H. P. Sailer, has placed in the appendix of the book a list of questions upon the different chapters which will make the volume of special service to mission-study classes.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

EXPOSITIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By the Reverend ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D., D.Litt. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. FIFTH SERIES. 1. First and Second Corinthians; 2. Ephesians; 3. Galatians and Philippians; 4. Philippians, Colossians, Timothy; 5. Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews; 6. Hebrews, James. 7. First and Second Peter, and First John; 8. Second and Third John, Jude, Revelation. Cloth; 8vo. Sold only as a complete series. Price, \$10.00.

These eight volumes complete the popular and now famous work of the prince of modern expository preachers. The thirty-two volumes, of the five series, form an incomparably fitting monument to their distinguished author. His career ended before the publication of the work was completed, but that he should have been permitted to live to finish the preparation of these volumes is a cause of gratitude for the Christian world. The vast material compiled suggests the tireless industry for which the author was well known; the careful composition and exquisite literary finish of the production mark the patient and thoughtful student; the confidence in the authority of Scripture, the rigid adherence to its inspired messages, the passionate devotion to evangelical truth, indicate the sources of power which made the famous pulpit orator.

These "Expositions" are in reality the published sermons of Doctor Maclaren; one should not therefore expect to find either comprehensive views of entire books of Scripture, nor extended exegesis of continuous passages. The texts were selected by a busy pastor seeking the messages most helpful to his flock. Yet the wonder and the encouragement, are in the fact that the sermons of a single preacher, so produced and now collected, form practically a commentary on the whole Bible. Such an example of expository preaching should be an inspiration to the coming generation of ministers. Then, too, in their chaste English, in their comprehensive and suggestive introductions, in their careful outlines, in their lucidity, in their concise and appropriate illustrations and in their practical applications of inspired truth, these sermons are models worthy of careful imitation.

Owing to the source of the materials, the volumes of the extended



series are not all of equal merit; those which treat the Gospels and the Acts will probably be adjudged the most helpful. The range of ideas, and the aspects of truth, are somewhat limited; there is no very striking originality of thought or treatment: yet read where we may, in any sermon, in any volume, we are always brought face to face with Christ, with our need of faith in Him, with His divine person, His atoning work, His indwelling presence, His unfailing power, His coming glory. This great work is commended not only to preachers and teachers, but to all who love the Scriptures and who seek to know more perfectly the truth which issues in life.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE EVANGELICAL INVASION OF BRAZIL. By SAMUEL R. GAMMON, D.D. Richmond, Va.; Presbyterian Committee of Publication. Cloth; 12mo, illustrated; pp. 190. Price, postpaid, 75 cents.

By no means the least informing portion of this work is found in the first three chapters which describe the land, the people and the history of Brazil. Then follow two chapters which contain a calm and dispassionate statement of the doctrines, practices and influence of Roman Catholicism as set forth by Roman Catholic writers and as known to the author after twenty years of residence and observation in Brazil. These chapters are commended to all who raise the familiar question relative to the propriety and need of evangelical missions in papal lands. The sixth and seventh chapters contain a brief but comprehensive sketch of the half century of missionary enterprise just completed. The author reviews the successful work, not only of the Presbyterian Church, but of the other societies which are laboring in this portion of "the neglected continent". The concluding chapter voices the appeal of Papal Brazil to Protestant America, in view of commercial and geographical and political relationships, in view of the coming conflict on the western continents between Papal and Protestant Christianity, and in view of the past and present success of the work of Protestant missions.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH AND OTHER SERMONS. By Rev. PERCY C. AINSWORTH. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 252. Price, \$1.25 net.

These inspiring sermons form a worthy and fitting memorial of a brief and helpful life. As one reads them he is continually conscious of a deep regret that the service and ministry they suggest could not have been long continued to guide and illumine and instruct. The author, a Wesleyan minister of England, whose lamented death occurred last July, only nine years after his ordination, was but little known this side of the Atlantic; but these messages, so prophetic in their conception, so artistic in their composition, so striking in their expression, so evangelical in their spirit, will give to their writer a lasting name, and an abiding influence. It may not be too much to

say, with Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, that "this book must inevitably find its way into the hands of every preacher worthy of the name. It is truly a golden book."

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE SOCIALIZED CHURCH. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cloth; 16mo, pp. 288. Price, \$1.00 net.

This volume comprises the addresses delivered before the "First National Conference of the Social Workers of Methodism", at St. Louis, Mo. It contains informing discussions of various forms of social and institutional work, and of the more pressing social problems in their relation to the organized activities of the Christian Church. Among the topics treated are The Church and Organized Charity, The Church and the Social Need, The Church and the Workingman, The Work of the Deaconess, The Social Settlement.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE HOME OF THE SOUL. By Rev. CHARLES WAGNER, author of "The Simple Life". Cloth; 12mo, pp. 369. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, publishers.

This volume of sermons derives its name from the place in which the sermons were delivered—"Le Foyer de l'Ame", or "The Home of the Soul", the new institutional church near the Place De La Bastille, France. The author of "The Simple Life" here sets forth those elementary religious conceptions which make his preaching equally acceptable to "Roman Catholics, Jews, and Free-thinkers." The pervading spirit is of a broad liberalism, and the expressed desire is "to love others, to grow in gentleness and strength," to manifest "brotherhood, kindness, and faith."

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

A STUDY OF THE LORD'S PRAYER. By WILLIAM R. RICHARDS, D.D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 148. Price, 75 cents; postage, 6 cents extra.

This little book from the pen of the late, lamented, pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, is designed to call attention to certain features of our Lord's teaching concerning prayer as exhibited in the prayer which bears His name. The brief chapters breathe the same spirit of simplicity, of sincerity of spiritual insight, which gave to the life of the author its peculiar influence and power. The volume is a distinct aid to prayer.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE HIGH CALLING. MEDITATIONS ON ST. PAUL'S LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By J. H. JOWETT, M.A. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 252. Price, \$1.25 net.

One who would understand why Mr. Jowett is such a potent force



in the religious world of to-day needs only to read these illuminating and inspiring comments upon the words of St. Paul.

Such spiritual insight, such picturesque and vivid illustration, such immediate and practical application, cannot fail to arrest the attention, to convict, to encourage, to lead to new resolution and higher endeavor. The Epistle is shown to be, in its every phrase, replete with human interest and applicable to present spiritual needs.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

CHRISTIAN UNITY IN EFFORT. By FRANK J. FIRTH. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1910. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 273. Price, \$1.50.

The writer of this book is a business man who is seeking after truth and moved with an evident desire to secure a definite co-operation in service among the Christians of various denominations. He suggests the necessity of "faith in God and the Bible", discusses some of the more popular creeds, describes the leading churches of America, and pleads for a comprehensive federation to be known as "The American Christian Church".

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

COLLEGE SERMONS. By CHARLES CARROLL ALBERTSON, D.D. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 12mo, pp. 194. Price, 75 cents net.

These sermons, by the pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Rochester, suggest a poetic temperament, and a discriminating literary taste. They are inspired by a vital Christian faith, and present religious truths in an attractive and engaging form.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

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## GENERAL LITERATURE.

EFFECTIVE SPEAKING. ARTHUR EDWARD PHILLIPS. Chicago: The Newton Company. \$1.50. 314 pages.

This book has been published two years, is now used as a text-book in very many of our leading universities, and is generally considered by the teachers of public speaking to be the most helpful work on that subject yet published. It is a definite, clear and convincing presentation of the essential principles of effectiveness in all forms of speaking. It does not deal with the delivery of the speech, but with the choice and arrangement of the material as determined by the specific purpose of the speaker. While dealing with principles, it is eminently practical, and will prove very helpful to any student of oratory.

*Princeton.*

HENRY W. SMITH.

MIND AND VOICE. S. S. CURRY, Ph.D., Litt.D. Boston: Expression Company. 456 pages. \$1.50. 1910.

Dr Curry has written a series of original and stimulating books on

different phases of vocal expression, basing his methods on the principle that voice modulation is a revelation of the processes of the mind, and that to improve expression it is first necessary to deepen the impression, to make the thinking clearer, the imagination more vivid, and the emotions more lively. In this book he applies the same principle to vocal training. He considers the relations of mind, body and voice, the ways in which one influences the others, the normal conditions for tone production, and the many ways in which tone may be varied. No book on vocal training can take the place of a competent living teacher, but the methods and principles here taught are correct, and will be very helpful to any careful student, and especially so to those who are already familiar with the customary methods of teaching vocal training.

*Princeton.*

HENRY W. SMITH.

THE SPEECH FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS. ELLA A. KNAPP, Ph. D., and JOHN C. FRENCH, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. 395 pages.

This book is designed to help those persons, who, though not professional speakers, are, by reason of position or general ability, called upon to make an address on some special occasion. Many professional speakers, also, might profit by the suggestions in the excellent introduction. The addresses here collected are excellent of their kind, and furnish models for nearly all the occasions that are apt to occur in common life, and they have the further merit of being unhackneyed. Though delivered in modern times, by well-known men, and on occasions of general interest, few of them would ever be seen by the general reader.

*Princeton.*

HENRY W. SMITH.

THE NEW YEAR PEACE SOCIETY YEAR BOOK. Organized 1906. 8 vo, pp. 63. 1910.

We would call the attention of the readers of this admirable Year Book to, the large amount of literature put out by the Society for propaganda purposes; the marked increase in membership during the past year; the number of meetings held, and the list of well-known speakers; the proposition to invite a delegation of from twenty-five to fifty young Turkish statesmen and leaders "to see our schools and colleges, industries and mines, and our civic life;" the significant and authoritative address by Senator Burton at the Plaza on January 15; the incorporation of the Society, and the list of incorporators; and the passage by Congress of a resolution authorizing the appointment of a commission in relation to universal peace. May the influences of this society continually widen and deepen!

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.



## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, January: ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT, Theological Education; SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, Historicity of Jesus. An Estimate of the Negative Argument; ERRETT GATES, Pragmatic Elements in Modernism; SHAILER MATHEWS, Evolution of Religion; BENJAMIN WISNER BACON, Matthew and the Virgin Birth; FRANK HUGH FOSTER, Theological Obscurantism; Recent Theological Literature.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, January: HAROLD M. WIENER, Some Aspects of the Conservative Task in Pentateuchal Criticism; A. A. BERLE, The Theologian of the Future; K. DUNKMANN, The "Christ-Myth"; WILLIS J. BEECHER, Making Religion Popular; ALBERT H. CURRIER, Crime in the United States: Reforms Demanded; WILLIAM W. EVERETS, Aramaic Papyri Found at Elephantine; JOHN BASCOM, Basis of Theism.

*Church Quarterly Review*, London, January: Mr. Gladstone's Letters on Church and Religion; ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, Odes of Solomon; Democracy in English Fiction; CLEMENT J. C. WEBB, The "Policraticus" of John Salisbury; KIRSOPP LAKE, Judaistic Controversy, and the Apostolic Council; Lombardic Architecture; T. HANNAN, Scottish Consecrations in London in 1610; LADY LAURA RIDDING, Certain Aspects of Divorce.

*East and West*, London, January: DR. WHITEHEAD, New Movement in India and the Old Gospel; JULIUS A. BREWIN, Oriental Students in England; M. P. WESTERN, Female Education in North India; H. NEWTON, Marriage and Divorce in Papua; C. F. ANDREWS, Indian Missionary Deal; J. A. SHARROCK, Our Right to India; Are Missions to the Jews Justifiable?; W. BRERETON, A Medical Missionary in China, 1644-1715; C. H. EDMUNDS, Thoughts on Transmigration; S. CLARK, Eurasians as Missionaries in India.

*The Expositor*, London, March: B. W. BACON, The Odes of the Lord's Rest; JOHANN LEPSIUS, Symbolic Language of the Revelation, translated by Helena Ramsay with notes by Sir W. M. Ramsay; C. T. DIMONT, Synoptic Evangelists and the Pharisees; NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, Assumptions underlying Gospel Criticism; RAYNOR WINTERBOTHAM, The Story of the Lost and Found; W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Commentary on the Epistles to Timothy; E. C. SELWYN, Philip and the Eunuch.

*Expository Times*, Edinburgh, March: Notes of Recent Exposition; ALEXANDER STEWART, The Elder Brother; JAMES IVERACH, 'Light from the Ancient East'; G. MARGOLIOUTH, The Traditions of the Elders; W. W. HOLDSWORTH, The Life of Faith.

*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, January: WILLIAM ADAMS, BROWN, The Old Theology and the New; KIRSOPP LAKE, Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century; GAYLORD S. WHITE, Social Settlement after Twenty-five Years; ANDREW C. ARMSTRONG, Is Faith a Form of Feeling?; GEORGE R. DODSON, The Synoptic

Mind; IRVING KING, Some Problems in Science of Religion; GEORGE A. BARROW, Moral Argument of Theism; DAVID G. LYON, Hebrew Ostraca from Samaria.

*Hibbert Journal*, Boston and London, January: BISHOP OF OSSORY, Theology and the Subconscious; H. C. GODDARD, Language and the New Philosophy; G. LOWES DICKINSON, Ideals and Facts; G. W. MULLINS, Woman Suffrage: A New Synthesis; BISHOP OF TASMANIA, Theology of Laughter; GIOVANNI LUZZI, Roman Catholic Church in Italy at the Present Hour; A. O. LOVEJOY, Christian Ethics and Economic Competition; WILLIAM DANKS, The Clergy, Conscience, and Free Inquiry; K. C. ANDERSON, Whitherward?—A question for the Higher Criticism; J. M. LLOYD THOMAS, What is Schism?; CHARLES STEWART, Prayer; DONALD MACMILLAN, Ecclesiastical Situation in Scotland.

*International Journal of Ethics*, Philadelphia, January: ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, William James as a Philosopher; B. BOSANQUET, Place of Leisure in Life; THOMAS JONES, Charity Organization; F. MELIAN STAWELL, Goethe's Influence on Carlyle. I; J. W. SCOTT, Idealism and the Conception of Forgiveness; W. F. COOLEY, Confessions of an Indeterminist.

*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Dublin and New York, January: T. SLATER, Modern Sociology; J. MACCAFFREY, The Revolution in Portugal; D. BARRY, Budgets—Parliamentary or Local—and Conscience; M. J. O'DONNELL, Historical Basis of Jansenist Error; PETER DAHMEN, Doctrine of Incarnation in Hinduism; J. MACRORY, Teaching of New Testament on Divorce. II.

*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, January: G. MORIN, L'Origine du Symbole D'Athanase; H. ST. J. THACKERAY, Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk; MARTINE RULE, So-called Missale Francorum; W. D. SARGEAUNT, the Lambeth Articles; E. C. BUTLER, Rule of St. Benedict; R. H. CONNOLLY, Side-light on the Methods of Tatian; C. H. TURNER, Curiosities of Latin Interpretation of the Greek Testament; C. H. TURNER, Ossius of Cordova; E. S. BUCHANAN, Further Notes on the Fleury Palimpsest(h); H. M. BANNISTER, Irish Psalters; G. BUCHANAN GRAY, The Greek Version of Isaiah: is it the work of a single Translator?

*London Quarterly Review*, London, January: J. ARTHUR THOMSON, The Dryad in the Tree; JAMES LEWIS, Scientific Theory of Missions; W. H. S. AUBREY, The Poor Law in Actual Working; URQUHART A. FORBES, Indian Unrest; C. DELISLE BURNS, Pax Romana; HERBERT L. BISHOP, Bantu Religion; EDWARD J. BRAILSFORD, Education of the Spiritual Sense.

*Lutheran Quarterly*, Gettysburg, January: EDWIN HEYLE DELK, The Church and the Toiler; ARTHUR H. SMITH, Antithesis of Romanism and Lutheranism; ADAM STUMP, Dr. Eliot's "Religion of the Future"; FRED C. GEESEY, Present State of Departed Souls; V. G. A. TRESSLER, Glimpses of Early Lutheran Theology; J. C. JACOBY, Lutheran Doctrine of the Holy Sacraments; E. E. ORTLEPP, Lutheran Usage of



Lent; J. L. NEVE, Formulation of the General Synod's Confessional Basis.

*Methodist Review*, New York and Cincinnati, March-April: CHARLES J. LITTLE, Charles Henry Fowler; EARL CRANSTON, Plea for One Methodism; C. T. WINCHESTER, John Wesley in the New Edition of the Journal; W. A. QUAYLE, Tennyson's Men, II; F. C. LOCKWOOD, Gilbert K. Chesterton as Artist and Thinker; I. F. RUSSELL, Israel's Legacy to Our Age; W. F. MALLALIEU, Christianizing Christendom; R. J. WYCKOFF, Job and the Man of the Sermon on the Mount; FRED LEITCH, Religion of Science.

*Methodist Review Quarterly*, Nashville, January: O. E. BROWN, Tolstoi's Message for his Times; JOHN C. GRANBERY, Ritschl and Ritschlianism; WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, Changes in Theological Thought During the last Generation; JOHN MADISON FLETCHER, Failure of Rationalism; GEORGE B. FOSTER, Concerning Authority; JAMES L. WATTS, World-Federation for the Enforcement of Universal Peace; J. A. FAULKNER, The Change from Early Christianity to Ecclesiasticism; R. H. MAHON and F. M. THOMAS, Devil Possession in the New Testament.

*Modern Puritan*, London, January: E. K. SIMPSON, Sir John Eliot and His Times; ADOLPHE MONOD, Man Proposes, but God Disposes. I; A. H. DRYSDALE, Puritanism and Preaching; JAMES A. RAMSAY, Parables of Stewardship; D. M. MCINTYRE, The Christian Preacher. I.

*Monist*, Chicago, January: WILLIAM MACKINTIRE SALTER, Schopenhauer's Type of Idealism; PAUL CARUS, Professor Mach and His Work; BERNHARD PICK, Early Attacks on Christianity and Its Defenders; JOHN E. BOODIN, From Protagoras to William James; CHARLES ALVA LANE, Self and Personality; A. KAMPMEIER, Josephus and Tacitus on Christ.

*Philosophical Review*, Lancaster and New York, March: CHARLES M. BAKEWELL, Problem of Transcendence; EVANDER B. MCGILVARY, 'Fringe' of William James's Psychology the Basis of Logic; F. H. BRADLEY, Faith.

*Reformed Church Review*, Lancaster, January: R. C. SCHIEDT, Eugenics; PHILIP VOLLMER, Dialectical Method of Socrates; LESTER REDDIN, Anthropology of Jesus; SCOTT R. WAGNER, Preparation for the Christian Life; W. WILBERFORCE DEATRICK, Pedagogic Applications of the New Psychology; Deaconess and Trained Nurse; A. V. HIESTER, Contemporary Sociology; A. S. WEBER, Contemporary Religious and Theological Thought.

*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, January: WILLIAM L. POTEAT, Scientific Presumption against Prayer; E. Y. MULLINS, Modern Issue as to the Person of Christ; JAMES STUART, Dr. Alexander Maclaren; JANE MARSH PARKER, Father Miller and His Midnight Cry; CHARLES B. WILLIAMS, Jesus as a Teacher; J. L. GILMOUR, Eucharistic Congress; ERVIN F. LYON, Infant Baptism.

*Theological Quarterly*, St. Louis, January: Doctrine of Conversion according to Ephesians 1: 19-20 and 2: 1-10; The Rise of Antichrist.

*Union Seminary Magazine*, Richmond, February-March: DANIEL A. PENICK, Church's Opportunity among Students of State Institutions; J. M. HOLLADAY, One of Paul's Prayers; EDWARD E. LANE, Spirit of the Christian Soldier; THORNTON WHALING, Dr. Girardeau as a Theologian; A. N. PERRYMAN, Philosophy of Christ; S. A. MOFFETT, Place of the Native Church in the Work of Evangelization.

*Revue Bénédictine*, Paris, Janvier: D. G. MORIN, Un traité inédit attribué à Saint Augustin; D. A. WILMART, L'ancienne version latine du Cantique I-III, 4; D. U. BERLIÈRE, Lettres inédites de Bénédictins de St-Maur; P. CAPELLE, Fragments du psautier d'Aquila?; D. A. WILMART, Egeria; D. L. GOUGAUD and GAIDOZ, Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises; D. A. MANSER, Le témoignage d'Aldhelm de Sherbone sur une particularité du canon grégorien de la messe romaine; D. G. MORIN, La finale inédite de la lettre de Guitmond d'Aversa à Erfast, sur la Trinité.

*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Louvain, Janvier: C. CALLEWAERT, La méthode dans la recherche de la base juridique des premières persécutions (à suivre); L. BRIL, Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède. Étude critique des sources littéraires hambourgeoises (à suivre); G. CONSTANT, La transformation du culte anglican sous Édouard VI. Tendances luthériennes (à suivre).

*Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses*, Montauban, Décembre: L.-F. FAGES, Discours de; E. DOUMERGUE, La Faculté de Montauban en 1600, en 1810 et en 1910; ANDRÉ ARNAL, La Personne humaine dans les Évangiles.

*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne, Septembre-Décembre: J. H. WIDMER, Le tempérament, son importance pour le pasteur; PAUL HUMBERT, Le Messie dans le Targums des prophètes; CHARLES WERNER, Qu'est-ce que la philosophie?; H. TRABAUD, L'Introduction à l'Ancien Testament dans sa phase actuelle; J. CARL, Un vieux livre de controverse; GOTTLIEB LINDNER, Béthesda.

*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, Kain (Belgique), Janvier: M. S. GILLET, Les Conditions d'Efficacité d'une Morale éducative; F. PALHORIÈS, Jacques Balmès et le Problème de la Certitude; G. SCHMIDT, Voies nouvelles en Science comparée des Religions et en Sociologie comparée; J. B. FREY, L'Angélogologie juive au temps Jésus-Christ; E. B. ALLO, Un chiffre à noter dans l'Apocalypse.

*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Innsbruck, XXXV Band, 1 Heft: E. MICHAEL, Über Glocken, namentlich deutsche, im Mittelalter; H. WIESMANN, Der zweite Teil des Buches der Weisheit; S. BERNHARD, War Judas der Verräter bei der Einsetzung der hl. Eucharistie gegenwärtig?; H. BRUDERS, Mt. 16: 19; 18: 18 und Jo. 20: 22-23 in frühchristlicher Auslegung. Afrika bis 251.

*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig, Band XXXIII, Heft 4; RICHARD HARTMAN, Die Palästina-Route des Itinerarium Burdigalense; HANS FISCHER, Begleitworte zur Karte des Syrisch-Ägyptischen Grenzgebiets; SAMUEL KLEIN, "Erez Israel" in weiteren Sinne; SAMUEL KRAUSS, "Erez Israel" im weiteren Sinne.



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# THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME IX

JULY 1911

NUMBER 3

## THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.<sup>1</sup>

The task assigned is a delightful and a simple one. It is to review briefly, and in bare outline, a story which, in its fulness, is as fascinating as it is familiar. The whole story could not be told. It leads us forward in thought to work not yet complete, for men will continue to produce English versions of the Bible; and as we look backward, we are led through the labors of translators and copyists and saints and apostles and prophets to the very mind of God its Author and its Source. The character of this occasion and the necessary limitations of time confine our review to that portion of the process which was accomplished by men of England and which culminated in the production of that version, which, for three hundred years, has been in reality the Bible of the English-speaking world.

The interest centres about three great names: John Wiclif, William Tyndale, and King James the First. Of course there are others which we must mention and which we should hold in grateful remembrance to-day.

We might allow ourselves the pleasure of rehearsing the story, familiar to us all from childhood, of Caedmon the untutored keeper of cattle at the Abbey of Whitby, who leaves the banquet hall, when the harp is being passed, because he cannot sing; but as he falls asleep in the stable

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<sup>1</sup> An address at the Tercentenary Celebration of the Publication of the Authorized Version, Princeton, May 9, 1911.

he dreams that a heavenly messenger appears and bids him "sing the beginning of created things", and imparts to him a divine gift of sacred song; when he awakes he recalls what he has sung and finds that he is able to add to the verses; so that at the bidding of Hilda the Abbess he enters the Abbey as a monk and composes his famous paraphrases of Scripture, of the Old Testament narratives, and the stories of Christ and His apostles, the glories of heaven, the horrors of hell. Dim, indistinct through the mists of ages, we see him; his work was ended in A.D. 680; yet we can still hear his voice, first in the great chorus which has rendered in the language of England the inspired truths of God.

Or we might linger for a moment with Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, as in disguise of a minstrel he sits, with his harp, on the bridge. He has concluded that the average Englishman cares little for a sermon, and so he gathers a crowd by his playing, and then sings the message of his Lord. He was not the last nor the least successful of those who have sought to secure audiences by means of music, but he was probably the first to translate the Psalms into the Anglo-Saxon speech.

Then too we must mention the "Venerable" Bede, the most illustrious scholar of western Europe. Some of you have stood by his tomb in the superb lady-chapel at Durham; but all of us are turning in memory, at this hour, to the little cell in the monastery at Jarrow-on-Tyne. It is Ascension Day 735; the old monk is dying; between the farewells to his followers he is endeavoring to complete a translation of the Gospel of John, "For", as he said: "I do not want my boys (followers) to read a lie or work to no purpose, when I am gone." The sun is sinking as the last verse is reached; and then, "It is finished", cries the weeping scribe; "Yes, it is finished", replies his master, "and now lift me to the window where I have so often prayed"; and with the *gloria* upon his lips he breathes out his life. Worthy is he to be mentioned; and worthy to



stand at the head of the long line of translators of the English Bible; for in his learning, his piety and his devotion he is a true type of these illustrious men.

Then too we must name King Alfred, for he too is a type—a king, beloved as was David, teaching his people to sing in their own tongue the Psalms of David, and prefixing to the laws of England his own translation of the laws of God—truly prophetic of the influence the Word of God was to have upon the national life of English-speaking peoples.

We might pause to glance at Aelfric, at Bath, in the year 1000, translating the Gospels, or later, as Archbishop of Canterbury translating the historical sections of the Old Testament. In one of his homilies upon the Bible, he gives us the very message for this hour: "Whoever would be one with God must often pray and often read the Scriptures, for when we pray we speak to God, and when we read the Bible, God speaks to us. The whole of the Scriptures are written for our salvation, and by them we obtain a knowledge of the truth."

Or we might notice how, after the Conquest, when Anglo-Saxon has been replaced by Anglo-Norman, Orm, for example, is furnishing a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts, in 1215; while William of Shoreham, in 1320, and Richard Rolle, in 1340, are producing paraphrases of the Psalter. However, neither in the Anglo-Saxon period, nor in the Anglo-Norman, do we find the entire Bible in the vernacular; nor do we find it the purpose of the translators to give the Bible to the people but more usually to the clergy.

The glory of first furnishing the whole Bible, to the entire nation, in the English tongue, belongs to John Wiclif. This distinguished scholar, ardent patriot, devoted Christian, was unquestionably one of the greatest men of his age, or of any age. Educated at Oxford, receiving the highest University honors, serving as Master of Balliol, appointed chaplain to the king, he won national dis-

tion and popularity by defending the action of king and Parliament in refusing to send tribute to the Pope. Later, at Bruges, representing the king at a conference with the papal nuncio, he became more definitely aware of the corruption of the church, and returned to England with the belief that indulgences, pardons, transubstantiation, the worship of images, saints and relics, were all parts of a gigantic fraud, and that the only way to defeat the Pope and to reform the church would be by placing the Bible in the hands of the people. Amidst growing unpopularity, with his doctrines condemned by the church, himself under the ban of excommunication, he turned his whole attention to the task of translating the Bible from the Latin Vulgate into language which could be read and understood by the simplest peasant. Beginning with the Apocalypse and next translating the Gospels, he completed his work on the New Testament in 1380. Two years before his death, in 1382, assisted largely by his friend Nicholas of Hereford, he completed the translation of the whole Bible. This work was revised and harmonized by John Purvey in 1388. It was at once given a wide circulation. Even to-day there are in existence 170 manuscripts of this version, 30 being of the original work, and 140 of the revision by Purvey.

Of course this translation was denounced by the papal authorities, and it was made a punishable offence to copy or even to read it; and yet Wiclif was allowed to die in peace in his quiet home at Lutterworth, where he had long served as parish priest. Some forty years later at the command of the pope his body was exhumed and burned, and the ashes cast into the Swift, the little stream which runs by Lutterworth to the Avon.

"The Avon to the Severn runs, the Severn to the Sea;  
So Wiclif's dust shall spread abroad, wide as the waters be".

Thus popularly has been symbolized the limitless influence of Wiclif; and it would be difficult to overestimate that in-



fluence. He crystalized the dialects of England into a unified language. He made the Bible the palladium of civil and religious liberty for the English nation. He not only placed an indelible stamp upon all subsequent versions of the English Bible, but it is his essential and undying glory to have been the first, by a hundred years, to produce a translation of the whole Bible, not only in English but in any language of the European world.

It must be remembered here, however, that his work was a translation of the Latin Vulgate; it was therefore a translation of a translation. Necessarily, too, his work was circulated only by means of manuscript copies. The honor of producing a printed Bible, translated into English from the original languages, belongs to William Tyndale. It is to him the Authorized Version owes its character, its form, its style. This version is in reality merely a revision of the work of Tyndale. Its vocabulary is certainly his; less than 350 words used by him are omitted from this version. Peculiarly is the style his own in its unique tenderness and majesty, its simplicity and its grandeur. No one name should be held in higher honor at this hour, than that of this scholar, hero, martyr. Wiclif is rightly called "the Morning Star of the English Reformation", but it is due in large measure to William Tyndale that it obtained its glorious noon.

Only a century elapsed between the death of Wiclif, in 1384, and the birth of Tyndale, in 1484; yet in that time two events took place which made possible the character and wide influence of Tyndale's work. The first of these was the invention of printing. The Bible of Wiclif had to be copied by hand, laboriously, letter by letter. The production of a single manuscript often required nine months, and the expense of two hundred dollars. We know what it is to-day to have Bibles printed at the rate of one a minute, and to have Testaments sold for a penny each.

The second event was the revival of learning. As a result of the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, Greek scholars,

and manuscripts of the Bible, were scattered widely over Western Europe. The Old Testament in Hebrew was printed in 1488. Erasmus printed his New Testament in Greek in 1516. It has been familiarly said that "Greece rose from the grave with the New Testament in her right hand".

Thus with the Bible placed before him in the original languages, and with the printing press at his command, the time for Tyndale's work had come. And he was prepared for his task. His training at Oxford, his knowledge of the Hebrew and the Greek, his deep piety, his reverence for the Bible, all contributed to this preparation, but most important of all was his fixed determination to make the translation of the Bible into popular English the one goal and purpose of his life—a purpose expressed in the words, so often quoted, addressed to the papist who had declared that the laws of the pope were more necessary than the laws of God: "I defy the pope and all his laws; if God spare my life ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." In undertaking this work he finds little encouragement among his countrymen. Going to London, and receiving no welcome for himself or his project at the palace of Tunstall, Bishop of London, he is entertained for a time by Humphrey Monmouth; but soon concludes that there is no room to translate the New Testament "not only in the Lord of London's palace but not in all England." Therefore, in 1524, he goes into voluntary exile, and leaves the land of his birth, never to return. We find him at work in Hamburg, in Wittenberg, and in Cologne. When, in Cologne, he is about to print his first edition of the New Testament, his project is discovered, and he is compelled to flee to Worms with the printed sheets of the 3000 copies of this quarto edition. Here he issues an octavo edition of 3000 copies, and then the quarto edition. These copies reach England in 1526 and receive a ready sale, but meet with such violent opposition from the officers of the king



and the church that they are soon destroyed; only a fragment of a single copy of each edition now remains. But the work of translation has been done; England has a New Testament, accurately translated and in popular speech. Edition after edition is put forth, and in spite of opposition copies are scattered broadcast through the land.

Tyndale continues his toil, and in 1530 completes the translation of the Pentateuch. While still at work on the Old Testament he is betrayed and arrested at Antwerp, in 1535. For a year and a half he is imprisoned at Vilvorde, and October 6, 1536, is strangled and burned at the stake as a heretic. But his last prayer: "Lord open the King of England's eyes," is marvellously answered, in so far at least as it expressed the yearning of his soul for royal permission to publish the Bible in English, and thus for the permanence of the work for which he laid down his life. During the very year of his imprisonment, in October 1535, Miles Coverdale issued the first translation of the entire Bible in English—a translation however out of the Latin and German, not, like Tyndale's work, out of the Hebrew and Greek. The second edition of this Bible was printed in England, in 1537, and was the first Bible to be printed on English soil; no less memorable is the fact that it was "set forth with the King's most gracious license."

Then too, in that same year, the very year after the martyrdom of Tyndale, appeared the Bible of "Thomas Matthew", the real author of which was undoubtedly the heroic John Rogers, who himself suffered martyrdom in 1555. The content of this Bible was two thirds the work of Tyndale, and one-third of Coverdale; and yet the king who allowed Tyndale to be put to death for translating the Bible, now permits a Bible, practically Tyndale's own work, to be "printed with the royal license". This was actually the first "authorized version" of the English Bible.

The year 1539 is characterized by the publication, not only of "Taverner's Bible," the work of a lawyer, but by the production of the "Great Bible", which was named

from its size, fifteen by nine inches, and which, by royal proclamation, was ordered to be placed for public reading in every church in England; and this too in the third year after Tyndale's death.

Then, in 1560, when the English exiles in Geneva produced a Bible which has been named from the place of its publication, while the work was carefully done by scholars who had access to many other sources and versions, the work was in substance only a third revision of the Bible of Tyndale. The popularity of this Bible was very great. It was the Bible of the Puritans, and it was extracts from this version which were carried by the soldiers of Cromwell. It had but one formidable rival, the "Bishops Bible", published in 1569, by a number of Anglican clergymen, chiefly bishops. This too was a revision of the work of Tyndale; but while it was supported by the influence of the church, it was too inaccurate for scholars, and too expensive for the people. Thus, while the Roman Catholic translation of the Vulgate New Testament into English was made at Rheims in 1582, and was widely distributed, there were in England only two versions, the Geneva and the Bishops, contending for the supremacy, on the accession of King James.

Of this ruler, whose name is ever glorious because of its connection with the Word of God, it is neither possible nor desirable to speak at length. We need not be reminded of the fact that he was proud, pedantic, tyrannical; that the immorality of his court was only comparable to the imbecility of his government; that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom"; and that his learning was largely theological, illustrating the fact that theological erudition is no guarantee of morality or common sense; and yet with this, and much more, in mind, it must be frankly admitted that, to the encouragement, determination and personal influence of this same King James, we owe that superb version of the Bible, the production of which we celebrate to-day.



Of the details of the work we know but little, and with them we are not specially concerned. We remember that the suggestion of such a version was made to the King by Doctor Reynolds, at the famous, and otherwise futile, Hampton Court Conference, in January 1604. The suggestion gave the King an opportunity of displaying his theological and Biblical knowledge, and of declaring all versions of the Bible to be poor, and the Geneva Bible of the Puritans naturally "worst of all". The same year the King appointed fifty-four members of six committees, to meet, two at Westminster, two at Oxford, two at Cambridge. Forty-seven editors are known to have taken part in the work chiefly during the years 1608 to 1611. It was the task of great scholars, carefully accomplished: "We did not huddle it through in seventy-two days", they declared, "but spent twice seven times seventy-two". The work was done thoroughly, reverently, superbly, so that the result seems less like a translation from another language than like an original work.

Of this "Authorized Version" two things must be said: first, it was not a version, and second, it was never authorized. Instead of being a new version it was in reality a revision of the work of Tyndale; not more than four words in a hundred were altered. The phrase on the title page "translated from the original languages" is not to be taken too literally. It is true, these revisers drew from every possible source, and compared all existing versions; but the work of Tyndale shaped all that was done. As they declared: "We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, that hath been our mark".

Nor yet was this version ever authorized; it is true that it was published at the command and under the benediction of King James; but it was authorized by no act of Parliament or Convocation, of Privy Council, or of King. It

owed its primacy and its acceptance as the Bible of the English world solely to its intrinsic excellence and its surpassing merits; that is its glory and the proof of its worth.

As to-day we pause and call to mind the heroic and godly men by whose gifts and toil this particular version came into being, and as we shall further dwell upon its literary and spiritual influence, we should be impressed more deeply with the debt of gratitude we owe to those who so labored and suffered for us, and we should realize anew our responsibility to translate this divine book in terms of human need, and to transmute its teachings into character and life.

*Princeton.*

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.



## THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE ON ENGLISH LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

Two distinguished men of letters were recently invited in connection with the Tercentenary celebration in England to prepare papers on this subject, "The Influence of the English Bible on English Literature." Both declined, one giving as his reason that everything that could be said on the subject has been said; the other that it would take him at least twelve months to prepare anything worthy of the theme.

It was not, without hesitation, therefore, that I accepted the invitation of the Faculty two or three months ago fearing to adventure myself where the angels (or archangels) of literature fear to tread. But it is worth while sometimes if one cannot be original to repeat the best that has been said. At such a May festival as this everyone may bring his chaplet of flowers; even if they are very common flowers. Every lover of literature and of the English Bible should be ready to-day to utter his Jubilate, and join the general *Lobgesang*. Let us first of all offer our praises to Almighty God who has brought to pass this wonderful thing that by common consent the English Bible is now accounted the chief classic of our literature, as Mr. Froude says—"a literature in itself; the rarest and the richest in all departments of thought or imagination."

The supremacy of the English Bible does not need to be proved; but it is worth while to seek a clear understanding of what this means and how wonderful is the process by which it has come to its throne of power.

As to the fact, it is hardly necessary to cite authorities, for the authorities all agree—the most illustrious and yet the most unlike; not only those whose professional life is bound

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<sup>1</sup> Delivered (in substance) at the Tercentenary Celebration, Princeton Theological Seminary, May 9, 1911.

up with it, but others quite as much: Hallam, for instance—in a sentence—"Its style, the perfection of our English language"; Lord Macaulay that "if everything else in our language should perish, this book alone would suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power"; Professor Huxley that "for three centuries this book has been woven into all that is best and noblest in English history" being "written in the noblest and purest English"; J. R. Green that it is "the noblest example of the English tongue" "from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language"; the Roman Catholic Faber that it is "God's greatest gift to the many millions of Britons and Americans", the "felicities of which often seem to be almost things rather than words."

Time would fail us to tell of Carlyle and Coleridge and Walter Scott and Ruskin and among the last Mr. Watts Dunton who speaks of the "great style" characteristic of the Bible; nor is it necessary. Perhaps Professor Saintsbury of Oxford, great among living authorities, may speak for them all when he says "It is unnecessary to praise the Authorized Version of the English Bible—because of the mastery which its language has attained over the whole course of English literature."

Professor Phelps of Yale, charmed and amused us all in New York at the Tercentenary Celebration by adopting the phrase of the moment,—*"The English Bible,"* he said, "is simply the whole thing."

We are within bounds then if we say that, in a true sense of the word, English literature as a whole is a Biblical literature or, if you please, a Biblicised literature. There is but one sun in the firmament, though there may be a moon (or moons) and galaxies of stars. Milton, Shakespeare, the early dramatists, the Lake poets, the Victorian writers, the great historians, the great essayists, the masters of narrative fiction,—none outshine the sun; none can shine without the sun. Periods of comparative obscurity there may be, but the system as a whole is Copernican and not Ptolemaic. At nearly the same time



when Galileo was battling for the central place of the sun in the physical heavens, the English Bible was coming to its place in the literary firmament. Now and again some brilliant meteoric genius may seek to break loose disdaining the general law; but such are wandering stars and their fate we know. No one has yet arisen great enough to reject the primacy of the English Bible with any hope of literary immortality. This being the fact the next question naturally is, How has all this come about? By what conspiracy of benign influence, more powerful than the sweet influence of Pleiades? The answer to such a question would fill a volume and I can only hint at some things which seem especially appropriate to this festival of commemoration and to this place. We have laid such an emphasis in all our Theological curricula upon the English Bible that it is highly desirable that those who preach it should know something at least of how it came to wield such a sceptre over all other books.

First of all the linguistic pedigree of the Book considered as a translation partly accounts for its power. We are especially this year called to commemorate the Authorized or King James Version and we must not withhold the high praise that belongs to that noble company that met in Oxford and Cambridge and Westminster with such men as John Reynolds, the flower of Puritan culture on the one hand and on the other Lancelot Andrews, a rare blending of scholarship, saintliness and the fair humanities—the type of the finest Anglicanism. But their work was a finishing work and not the main work. It is impossible to understand what they did except in the light of that larger and, may we say, even greater company who began to lay the foundation two centuries and more before.

What has already been said will show you that our Bible is not a wild rose flowering in a desert, but the rarest product of the gardener's art. It has taken a long time to develop the American Beauty or the Princeton Rose. This "Rose of Sharon" retains its native wild fragrance; but

careful culture and skillful grafting have made it a miracle of finished beauty. To understand this we must know something about the gardeners and also of the soil in which it was grown and the sub-soil,—the religious life not only of England, but of mediaeval Europe. The stir and thrill of great events, the birth agony of new life for men and nations, were necessary to produce it. Our Version is thus a composite photograph in which are blended the intellectual features of the whole company that produced it. Above all others we may distinguish the cast of countenance of William Tindale and possibly behind him another in an elder day the "Morning Star of the Reformation"<sup>2</sup> who shone in that *matin prime* when Dan Chaucer was singing of April showers and unrolling his magic tapestry inwrought with a processional of Canterbury pilgrims—or in twentieth century parlance, a motion picture vivid with the life of that long gone time when "Our ost upon his styrops stode" and called on the "Persone", "for Goddes boones tel us a tale". The Persone reproved him "so synfully to swere", whereupon the "ost" exclaimed, "I smel a loller in the wind" and the "Shipman" broke in with a tale more to his liking. But later the Persone took a text in the Latin Bible from Jeremiah and preached a long sermon on "Contricioun".

When Chaucer wrote this Wycliffe's Bible was already in circulation and he must surely have seen it. The picture which he draws of the "Persone of a Town"

"Who taught Christs lore and his Apostles twelve,  
But first of all he folowede it himselve,"

seems like a sketch from the life of Wycliffe, not in his University robes and dignities, as the Master of Balliol, but as the faithful Priest of Lutterworth where as Tennyson sings—"the Word was born again."

<sup>2</sup> It is assumed that in accordance with the general tradition John Wycliffe himself was the author of at least part of the first English Bible. A contrary view is now advanced, for instance, by Alfred W. Pollard in a recent volume, *Records of the English Bible*, Introduction.



Scholars in early English tell us that through Chaucer and Wycliffe what had been a midland dialect became standard English. Such words for instance as "advantage", "person", "glory", "divine", "disciples", "reasonable", and others quite as familiar, were introduced into our language by Chaucer, the father of English poetry. Wycliffe's English was closer to the speech of the common people than courtly Chaucer's; racy and pungent Saxon, more like Bunyan in a later time. This is particularly true of his Bible translation although made from the Latin Bible of Jerome. These two great historic contemporaries stand at the very head-waters of English literature. The head-waters give character to the whole stream; Chaucer is the father of English poetry; Wycliffe perhaps cannot so definitely be called the father of English prose, but he comes near to being so. If Chaucer is a "well of English undefiled", so is Wycliffe also and, according to modern standards, of even purer English than his illustrious fellow.

What precise degree of influence Wycliffe had on Tindale is not agreed among scholars and critics. A sentence in Tindale's Preface would seem to indicate that he had no direct influence and our scholar experts, approaching it from the Biblical side so interpret it; yet, we cannot lightly set aside our American master of English, Professor Marsh, who in his admirable *Lectures on the English Language* declares that "Tindale is merely a full grown Wycliffe" and that Wycliffe "originated the consecrated dialect of the English Bible while Tindale gave it finish and perfection." Whether he did or not, he and his poor priests circulating their manuscript copies through England prepared the minds of the people to appreciate Tindale when he came and made Bible English the groundwork of the language of literature.

William Tindale evidently had translating genius. There is no better authority than Bishop Westcott and what he says of Tindale is profoundly significant. "He felt by a

happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms and enriched our language forever with the characteristics of the Semitic mind." His style of interpretation, according to the same high authority, is profoundly original and at the same time popular rather than literary. It is surely a mark of his genius that what he chose because he was bent on being understood of the common people in his own day has become the accepted classical dialect of high literature—"High Wenli", to use a Chinese phrase. Above all other translators he has given the main stuff—the *corpus* of our English Bible, not only in the Old Testament, but even more in the New, for Bishop Westcott again affirms that the substantial basis of half the Old Testament (probably) and the whole of the New is his, so that when we read King James we really read William Tindale.

This does not ignore what was subsequently done by Coverdale who as Dr. Eadie beautifully said "furnished the semitones in the music of its style," or by Rogers, for doubtless it was he who appears in what is called Matthews Bible, or by the others which I can only name, or the Genevan Version, next to Tindale perhaps most influential, bearing indirectly the impress of Calvin, certainly of the School of Calvin. The swelling current of Bible translation received the contribution of that pellucid stream, clear and cool from the alpine heights. At quite the opposite pole from the Genevan Version is the work of the Roman Catholic translators of Rheims or Douay by which in a measure our translators were influenced. Their principle of slavish adherence to the Latin which they translated, made their English at times un-English and scarcely intelligible; yet, they brought something that was worth preserving,—for instance, the beautiful phrase of our Version: "the ministry of reconciliation." It would be unbecoming at such a time to forget for a moment that the company whom King James gathered together were genuine scholars who had both the critical acumen and the true scholarly spirit of humility that made them do just enough and not too much.



With infinite pains they brought to consummation the best in all prior translations. Like good musicians they were not ambitious to shine as soloists, but to produce a grand orchestral effect, so that we have indeed a Version whose praises it would be difficult to exaggerate or over-state. It is a triumph of pure scholarship in the best sense. So highly is this appreciated, that there are those who do not hesitate to say that the English Version surpasses in places the original Scripture considered purely as literature.

Professor Benjamin Jowett took this view, and quite recently Canon Vaughan, in a notable article, who also claims Lord Tennyson as an adherent of it. Mr. Bryce, who has rendered us all such services, not only as an Ambassador to this country from the Court of St James, but by his masterly historical treatises, in a characteristic address last week took similar ground, defending the position that the Gospels and the Epistles are (in a literary sense) more impressive in the English of the age of Shakespeare and Bacon, when our language had risen to its full stature, than in the Greek of the first century when Greek had sunk below the classical level.

One hesitates to question such masters, but there is room for doubt to say the least. Apart from its bearing on our doctrine of inspiration, it is fair to ask whether it is the function of translators after all to improve on the original. A good translation is a mirror and though we may prefer our mirrors to flatter us when we look into them, we do not account them as quite fulfilling their function if they do so. If a prophet or apostle wrote colloquially, should his translator make him speak classically in the grand style? At all events it is high enough praise that these translators (*sit venia verbo*) taught Moses and Isaiah to speak idiomatic English, albeit with a slight Jewish accent,—a Hebraistic tinge which after a while became classic English usage, accent and all. This is a wonderful linguistic phenomenon. The slight Hebraisms of the Version have been so “Anglicized”, that English folk have all but forgotten that they

are anything else than Saxon. Verily Tindale might have been a theological Professor, either in the Semitic department, or that of the English Bible.

Wycliffe's Version was the first great piece of English prose. Tindale might almost be called the second, for the fifteenth century has little prose literature to boast of. Professor Marsh declares that his New Testament has exerted a more powerful influence on the English language than any other single production between the ages of Richard II and Queen Elizabeth, and J. R. Green from the historical standpoint comes to the same conclusion.

The bearing of this on the question of the influence of the English Bible on English literature need not be elaborated. At a time when literary forms were still fluid, the Moses of the English Bible showed all translators the pattern which he had seen in the Mount. He who makes the mold largely makes the product, and the growing and developing English Bible from Tindale or even from Wycliffe to King James became "the glass of fashion and the mold of form" in the highest and best sense of the word. Naturally this would be true with writers on distinctly religious subjects as, for instance, such important prose works of the sixteenth century as those of Sir Thomas Moore and Hooker, "the judicious Hooker". The sermons and treatises of the great Protestant and Puritan and Anglican divines contain material of the highest value considered merely as literature. Apart from its theological uses it has powerfully affected the general body of English literature. Who can measure the influence of Milton pealing forth his organ notes not only in epic and ode, but in lofty prose; or of Bacon not so much in his philosophical treatises which were more Latinized in style as in his immortal essays, where there can be counted seventy Biblical allusions?

Next to the Bible itself stands Bunyan, for a long period the most widely read English author, whom M. Taine, though without any faith in Bunyan's dotcrines, recognizes as a master of the English tongue, almost beyond compari-



son. "Bunyan has the freedom, the tone and the ease and the clearness of Homer."

But it is quite as signal a mark of the divine providence that was watching over English *belles lettres* and embalming it in Scripture diction, that the minor dramatists and poets, for instance ungodly Christopher Marlowe and "rare Ben Jonson", were not untouched by the potent literary influence which no one could escape. Chiefest of all stands William Shakespeare, of whose religion we must stand in some doubt; certainly not a Puritan; according to his modern appreciator and critic, Dr. Brandes, hating Puritanism; but under the spell of the Genevan Version. One loves to think of the boy Shakespeare who was four years old when the Genevan Version was published, sitting in the chimney-seat at Stratford and pouring over the Genevan Version, as later Abraham Lincoln in his still humbler cabin devoured King James. It has often been shown, and never better than in the latest treatise by Dr. Thomas Carter, how the plays reveal to the literary microscope not so much direct quotations as delicate turns of phrase and subtle phases of thought that could only have come from the Genevan Version. The divinity that shapes our ends surely was shaping English literature when it saturated William Shakespeare's mind in his early childhood with the English Bible.

We cannot follow down the glowing pathway fascinating as it is. High-souled Sidney, courtly Raleigh, quaint Herbert, pithy Fuller and the rich and varied splendor of Jeremy Taylor spread across the firmament like a milky way. The poets notably depend upon the Bible from Spenser the poets' poet, through all the high succession to Tennyson, whose abundant reference to the Bible Dr. van Dyke has drawn out in detail; and Browning even more overflowing with Biblical allusion, as Mrs. Machen has taught us in her admirable book—and latest of all Kipling, not only in the solemn Hebraic tones of the "Recessional", but in lighter measures, for instance, in "Pharoah and the Sergeant"—

a picture of how English non-commissioned officers drilled the Egyptian soldiery into an effective fighting force:

“Said England unto Pharoah, ‘You’ve had  
miracles before,  
When Aaron struck your rivers into blood;  
But if you watch the Sergeant he can show  
you something more,  
He’s a charm for making riflemen from mud.’”

or this,

“Said England to the Sergeant, ‘You can let  
my people go!’  
(England used them cheap and nasty from the  
start),  
And they entered ’em in battle on a most  
astonished foe—  
But the Sergeant he had hardened Pharaoh’s  
heart.  
That was broke, along of all the plagues of  
Egypt,  
Three thousand years before the Sergeant  
came,  
And he mended it again in a little more than  
ten,  
So Pharaoh fought like Sergeant Whatsisname!”

Evidently a knowledge of Old Testament history is necessary to understand Kipling. It sounds also as though in his uncritical simplicity, he held fast to the historicity of the Exodus. He actually seems to believe not only in Moses but in Aaron!

The great singers have all sung in this key. Creative poetic genius of every school and in every age has kindled its fire at this ancient shrine. It was true at the beginning, but it is still more true at the end of three hundred years. In prose it is not less so. The best English usage today according to the keenest critics is less Latinized and more Saxon than it was in the time of King James; more like Bunyan, more



like Tindale and Tindale perfected by the careful and judicious scholarship of the Authorized Version.

There was a time when Saxon-English—and Bible English—was not so generally acknowledged as the best, but it has become so now. Professor Cook of Yale says "that the movement of English diction, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was on the whole away from that of the Bible, now returns with ever accelerating speed toward it."

Approaching now the deeper reasons for the paramount influence of the English Bible on English literature, we must not forget that the making of the Version was part of a larger and deeper movement of which it was the exponent and expression. It might have been linguistically all that it is and never have come to its own but that, concurrently with its production, Europe was passing through the agonizing birth throes of the Protestant Reformation. Wycliffe was, as John Milton says, "the first preacher of the Reformation to Europe." The text for that preaching could be nothing else than the English Bible. But it never could have been what it was and is if the translators had been merely literati or nice textual scholars concerned merely to purvey exquisite literary delicatessen to dainty palates. They were on the contrary good shepherds bent on feeding the flock of God with the wholesome necessities of the spiritual life.

It may be truly said of them that they translated in the selfsame spirit which moved the original writers of Holy Scripture. With eternity ever before their minds they gave the English folk not only Saxon diction but supernatural ideas so that the way of life was made luminous and real to their readers. The seed which they sowed fell upon good ground for the people were hungry for the Bread of Life. It is indeed the Protestant Bible that we have, not because Protestants claim a monopoly in it, but because it is of the essence of Protestantism that the common people shall hear in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. No one

has brought out this fact more keenly than our foreign critic, M. Taine, a skeptic and agnostic, but a man with piercing insight, who draws the picture, first of the Pagan Renaissance and its amazing effect on the English people. From the Bible he says "has sprung much of the English language and half of the English manners." "To this day the country is Biblical. It was these big books which transformed Shakespeare's England." He paints in vivid colors the yeoman, the artisan, the shop-keepers with the Bible on their tables in the evening, bare-headed, listening to a chapter. Professor Saintsbury says "it soaked from every side, at every pore, into the understanding and heart of the English people."

The greatest genius in order to succeed must have an audience—a public. God raised up Tindale and his fellows and gave them such an audience—a growing multitude who feared God and could not be satisfied with mere literature, as they were hungry and thirsty for the Bread of Life. Then, too, among Tindale's most effective coadjutors were his enemies. The fires of Smithfield served to burn the patterns which he drew into the very substance of English life. People had few books; they cared for few and for none as they cared for this. Henry VIII and Bloody Mary forced the English mind and conscience to behold the realities of life and death and eternity just at the time when the Providence of God raised up a group of men to put into their hands His own Word in its naked majesty and ineffable tenderness.

History is made by the conjunction of forces and events out of the control of man and it was such a conjunction that made Protestant England and in Protestant England made the Bible the daily bread for men's souls.

Nothing was further from the thoughts of either Wycliffe or Tindale than to seek literary preëminence, but the promise was fulfilled to them; they sought first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and literary reputation was added unto them.



This is unmistakable the moment we put the English Bible into contrast with the vernacular Versions of Romanized countries in Europe. Under the shadows of the Inquisition, earlier considerably than King James, Cassiodore de Reyna toiled at the Spanish Bible as Tindale had toiled in English. He left his task unfinished, but Cyprian de Valera took it up and a few years earlier than King James the whole Bible was published. We still have it and circulate it in Latin America as well as in Spain. It is beloved by Spanish Protestants with an intensity of attachment which rivals or surpasses the attachment of Englishmen to the English Bible; but it has no relation to Spanish literature. The masters of Spanish letters know it not. Ticknor in his *History of Spain* does not mention it; though he does mention that long before Tindale or Wycliffe a Spanish monarch sought to fix the Castilian as a literary language by putting the Bible into it and that a similar attempt was made in Catalan—significant and admirable attempts, but seemingly failures because there was no disposition to read the Bible in Spain. The Valera Version is not nearly equal in intrinsic merit to King James; but it was not for that reason that it failed to reach the national mind of Spain, but because Spain quenched the light and rejected the Reformation. In France it is not very different though Calvin himself with his rare mastery of French toiled over the Olivetan Version, and there have been other Versions; but neither there nor in Italy nor in any other of the Romance languages, has the Bible any recognized relation to general literature. Dante made modern Italian by his *Divina Commedia*, turning away from the classical Latin. If he had translated the Bible, it is not likely he could have dominated Italian language and literature with it. In Germany, on the contrary, Luther made modern High German by his Version. Protestant Germany along with Protestant England has sanctified its literature, humanly speaking, because it has recognized the light of the world and walked in it. Well might Cardinal Newman exclaim in despair, "The literature of England is

against us. It is Protestant in warp and woof. We never can unmake it."

Not only the great masters of literature admit their debt to our Version, but English speech everywhere is permeated with it in incalculable ways. It is the gold basis for our major coinage; but it also supplies the smaller coin of popular phrase. Everybody talks about "highways and hedges", the "still small voice" and "the thorn in the flesh" and the "root of all evil" and "the sweat of the brow" and "coals of fire" and "pearls before swine"—the list can be drawn out *ad infinitum*.

It is striking to observe how popular Bible titles for popular novels have become. Thackeray set the example in his "Adventures of Philip On his Way through the World. Who Robbed him, Who Helped him and Who Passed him by." "Cometh Up Like a Flower" is another. The Prodigal Son has furnished, I believe, several lesser writers with titles. It is doubtful whether most of Miss Wharton's readers know that "The House of Mirth" is borrowed from Ecclesiastes. Indeed the very enemies of the Bible, when they would attack it, must sharpen their swords with the keen phrases of Job or Isaiah or St. Paul, recognizing that the English Bible has become a national habit. Mortised thus into the very framework of literature and woven into the speech and usage of daily life; shining like the sun upon the just and the unjust, it is natural that we should feel a comfortable security that it never can be dislodged or torn out of its place of supreme honor. But let us not be too confident, lest we forget what put it there, for that alone can keep it where it belongs.

The literary reputation of the English Bible is the consequence and not the cause of its power. The true cause of its whole influence is the conviction, bred into the bone of English Christendom, that it is the very Word of God—the ultimatum of Deity. If once that conviction be impaired, we need not fancy that its literary power and influence will not wane. Already we see unwelcome signs of care-



less neglect—the outgrowth of worldly living and a skeptical habit of mind. When men cease to believe in its full divine authority, they will presently find plausible reasons for denying its supreme value as literature. So in this year of commemoration, it is of the first importance that we should understand that Almighty God gave it to us, not indeed by mechanical dictation, not by poetic *afflatus*, but by a true *theopneustia*. Its power in English is a derived power drawn from its aboriginal form. Is it not wonderful that though only a translation and not indigenous to our soil, it should yet dominate our literature?

How fair it seems, our much loved English Bible, like a stately vessel coming from some distant ocean laden with rare spices and costly treasures to visit our shores!

We know what masters laid thy keel,  
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, each sail, each rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge, in what a heat,  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope.

*New York.*

JOHN FOX.

## THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE.<sup>1</sup>

In attempting to treat so spacious and many-sided a theme, within the time allotted to each of the speakers on this occasion, one can at most hope only to touch upon a few fundamental considerations. I shall confine myself to two main lines of thought, from which we may, as I trust, take a rapid yet fairly comprehensive view, alike of the general principles that underlie this subject and of their concrete expression and practical significance in the particular period of history to which these commemorative exercises direct our attention this morning. In the first place, then, let us consider the nature of the spiritual influence exerted by the Bible as such, and in the second place let us try to form some estimate of the range or extent of this influence, in the case of the English Bible, upon the spiritual life of the English-speaking people.

The Bible is emphatically the book of life. It is a collection of writings which, as a matter of observation and experience, are as vitalizing as they are vital. Directly or indirectly they all bear testimony to One who professed to come into this world that men might have life, and have it abundantly, and who, judged by the events of history, has brought life and immortality to light for a multitude whom no man can number. What the evangelist John says concerning the purpose of his own Gospel is true in a sense of all the Scriptures: "But these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in his name."

In its realization of this mission the Bible, it must be emphasized, renders its chief service to the individual. Its

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<sup>1</sup> An address delivered in Miller Chapel on Tuesday, May 9th, at the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Authorized Version of the English Bible.



message and its ministry are primarily personal. Its divinely ordained method of ennobling society as a whole is that of transforming, simultaneously indeed yet also separately, its constituent units. One by one, men, women, and children are to appropriate its treasures of truth and grace and life until, in the consummated kingdom of heaven, the race and the cosmos are fully redeemed. Even the subtle intangible yet most real and potent spiritual atmosphere or climate which we instinctively feel when we enter a community in which the human spirit has for many generations homed itself in the sacred Scriptures can and must be traced back to the influence of the Sun of righteousness upon those rivers of living water which, as the Savior affirmed, gush forth from the regenerated personality of each of his followers. Here as in every other vital process the personal factor is the determining one.

Nor is it difficult for us to understand how the Bible becomes the word of life to every one who really accepts its great message. For the unique excellence of the book is its profound, intense, all-pervading spirituality. It is the record of God's self-disclosure to his people for the benefit of the whole race, and as such a revelation it is fitted to be the bearer of a new and divine life for the children of men. Not that any magical power inheres in the mere letter of Scripture. It is the Spirit that giveth life—that same Holy Spirit who makes those whom he regenerates see with the certainty of an immediate intuition the perfect agreement between the new life that has sprung up in their own hearts and that wonderful world of spiritual truths and heavenly energies and transcendent glories which they behold in the Bible. In a word, the Spirit-led reader finds in the inspired volume as nowhere else him whom to know is eternal life. When this is said, everything is included. For as Principal Fairbairn reminds us, "Man's thought of God, of the cause and end alike of his own being and of the universe, is his most commanding thought; make it and you make the man." Does not the repeated experience of every one of us

testify that the unity of our own personal life emerges most clearly to our view when, as in the act of prayer, we stand face to face with the only true and living One? Man's relation to God is, in fact, the fruitful mother-principle that organizes the whole system of his thoughts, affections, aspirations, and purposes. Historically, as Dr. Kuyper, in his noble "Stone Lectures" has so well showed, there have been developed five characteristic expressions of this fundamental relationship between the finite and the Infinite. Paganism seeks and finds and worships God in the creature. Islam takes the antithetic extreme that cuts off all contact between God and the creature, isolating the former from human affairs and confining the latter within a realm of inexorable fatalism. Modernism in its atheistic and agnostic forms as seen in the shibboleth of the French Revolution, "No God, no master," tries to annihilate all relation to God, because he is conceived as a power hostile to the state and society. We are concerned more particularly with those other two comprehensive life-systems which have grown up side by side in our western world upon substantially the same biblical foundation, Romanism and Evangelicalism. With all they have in common, the former maintains that God enters into fellowship with man only by means of a middle-link, an external visible institution: it is the hierarchical church that stands between the soul and the source of its life. Over against this the Protestants, and notably of course that commanding constructive genius of the more thorough-going Reformed faith, John Calvin, proclaimed the epoch-making truth, that God, though standing in majestic sovereignty above all his creatures, can and does enter into immediate fellowship with them in the person of the Holy Spirit. In nothing is the contrast more striking than in the views of the two parties concerning the Scriptures themselves. The Romanist accepts the Bible as the word of God primarily because the church tells him it is such; the Protestant accepts the Bible as the word of God primarily because God himself by an immediate *testimonio Spiritus*



*Sancti* tells him it is such. To the Protestant the message of the Eternal in holy Scripture is self-evidencing. To him God here speaks directly in such wise that he is convinced that it is God who is speaking to him.

But not to dwell upon this particular application of the principle which led the Reformers to oppose the whole papal system, we would emphasize the fact that this self-authenticating revelation of God which the Bible records becomes the chief means for the divine regeneration of human life. When man finds the living God, especially as made known in the person and mission of his only begotten Son, then man also finds himself. He passes through a crisis of his spiritual being that little by little transforms from within his whole life. Standing before the holy Lord God Almighty the sinner feels his soul lacerated by the consciousness of his guilt. But the divine majesty is not completely unveiled until the white radiance of ineffable purity is seen to fall upon the Christ and then to break into the varied hues of that condescending love and redeeming grace that can stoop from the heavenly glories to the lowest abysses of human sin and shame and misery for the salvation of men. This is the marvel of marvels that the quickened soul, Spirit-led and Bible-fed, ever finds in the Gospel—God himself undertakes the sinner's cause. God is for him; God is with him; God is in him. Through the slow and oft-times painful steps of self-examination, and self-condemnation, and self-renunciation, the penitent rises, by the aid of a divine Redeemer, to the heights of true self-realization. The cross of Calvary, once the object of the guilty man's scorn and derision, becomes luminous with a hope that flashes its radiance towards all the horizons of his life and even beyond into the solemn grandeurs of the eternal world. Outside of the Scriptures, left to himself, man had lost himself amid the vague shadows of a transitory order of things; but now in the faith that is in Christ Jesus he finds himself, because he rediscovers his Father and his God and all the abiding realities of the spiritual universe. He has become a

new creation. His life has a new centre and a new circumference; new ideas and new ideals; new motives and new powers for the realization of the divine purpose that shapes his character and conduct and destiny, the attainment of Godlikeness. No wonder he calls the Bible his sacred book. For all his most precious interests whether of time or of eternity, are bound up with its life-giving words. It is the light, the inspiration, the comfort and joy of his needy soul as nothing else on earth can be. It is his chief means of spiritual grace and development, working silently day by day, like the sunshine, to enrich and beautify his life. As another has said, "It is thus the revelation of God to man; the revelation of man to himself; and the revelation of the spiritual constitution, meaning and destiny of that cosmic process by which our humanity has come into existence and by which also it will be ultimately 'delivered out of the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' "

Such, then, is the function of the Bible as "the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." Wherever, through the long centuries, the Scriptures have entered into the language, literature and life of a people, wherever their vital message has been appropriated by the human spirit, there these characteristic, life-quickenings, life-transforming, life-ennobling, life-spiritualizing influences of the Gospel have made themselves felt. And not only so, but from the day of Pentecost to the present time there has been a measurable correspondence, as if between cause and effect, between the study of these living oracles and the quantity and quality of the spiritual life of each generation.

When, therefore, we now undertake to estimate the range or extent of the spiritual influence of the Bible in its English translations, particularly in the Authorized Version, which by way of eminence has been *the* English Bible of the last three centuries, we are confronted by a fact that is as unique as it is significant: no people of the modern world have had their life more thoroughly moulded by the Scrip-



tures in the vernacular than have the people of English speech. How far this may have been due to the number and excellence of their biblical versions, or to that spirituality of mind which they had in common with other Teutons of the North, or perchance to the reflex influence of that great literature of theirs, which came to surpass all others not only in its composite richness, its intellectual maturity, its creative energy, but also in its ethical seriousness, its democratic sympathies and its religious earnestness, we need not pause to consider. The fact itself is plain enough. How then may we estimate its meaning? We might undertake a historical comparison between our English-American civilization and that based upon the mediaeval conception of the Bible in its relation to church and state. Or we might look at those more static expressions of the spiritual life of a people which we find in their literature and art. But in view of our having thus far spoken chiefly of the dynamic principles by which the Scriptures as such operate in the regeneration of the individual life, it will be more appropriate to pursue the parallel line of investigation and see how far these same principles have affected the various social institutes of the English-speaking world. We have seen that the primary service which the Bible renders is always a personal one, the spiritual improvement, amounting to a positive renewal and not a mere reformation, of every man, woman or child who truly receives its message of salvation. We now maintain that its secondary service to society as a whole is equally vital and, because of the vaster issues involved, even more important—that of maintaining and helping to realize the exalted ideals and the beneficent tendencies of those social institutions which at their best have grown up, if not solely yet chiefly, under the inspirations and the sanctions of the Gospel itself.

First, then, we have the family, the primary social institute, the cornerstone of the home, the school, the church, the state, the nation. It is, of course, based upon natural instincts of the most powerful character, "whose roots are in

the body, but whose flowers and fruits are in the soul." It secures through marriage and parentage a more intimate blending of physical and spiritual interests than does any other human relationship. While, therefore, we cannot say that it owes its very existence to the Bible, it is a truth worth our remembering at such a time as this, that the best homes that the world has ever seen have been those nurtured in the soil and atmosphere of the religious life of the countries in which the Bible has been supreme. The very words father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter, in our own language, have been expanded beyond their limits in paganism and filled with the richest, because the most spiritual content. In the English-speaking world as nowhere else is that dictum verified, "Only where Christ is crowned king is woman a queen in her home." I am aware, indeed, that the Puritans of England and New England are not now held in the same high esteem they once were. Doubtless, we realize more thoroughly that they had their roughnesses, their austerities, their temperamental limitations. But for all that, their lives were centered in God and circumferenced by the spiritual. Their abodes on the earth were sanctuaries of prayer and Bible study and sacred song, and right well did they understand that most delicate and difficult but withal blessed task of inculcating in children the fear of the Lord that is the beginning of wisdom, and that disposition of mind and heart that seeks and finds God in the common things of life and puts the spirit of divine worship into all the work of life. Here, of a truth, in the purity and sanctity of the home, we have one of the open secrets of the spiritual excellence and supremacy of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. The courtesies, the proprieties, the humanities of our domestic life, its moral strength and beauty, we owe directly to those spiritual influences that have flowed into the sanctuaries about our hearths from the holy hill of Zion, "fast by the oracles of God."

Again, consider the varied blessings that the spiritual



life of the English people, quickened and nurtured as it was by the Bible in their vernacular, has brought to their own and other lands through the manifold activities of the second of our social institutes, the church. The church is the congregation of believers, the communion of those sharing the kindred life of faith in Jesus Christ. As such she is the most spiritual of all the organized forces in human society. I can only enumerate some of her most characteristic and important achievements.

The most obvious is that magnificent missionary enterprise that has sent English-speaking heralds of the cross unto the very ends of the earth. Two events, neither of which can be rightly understood except from the point of view of the religious history of the world, prepared the way for this unique glory of the island-home of our spiritual forefathers—the wresting from Spain by England of the supremacy of the seas, and the evangelical revival in Great Britain and America in the eighteenth century. Since then the spiritual life of the English-speaking people has never ceased to blossom and bear fruit in almost every land and clime; and, as if conscious of, and grateful to God for the source of its sustenance, it has, through the British and Foreign Bible Society and our own American Bible Society spread the good seed of the word broadcast over the earth in the form of over two hundred and fifty millions of copies of the holy Scriptures.

Equally noteworthy is the service of the church in the educational world. Without attaching any undue importance to that creation of the religious life of England, the modern Sunday school, which has the teaching of the Bible as the very ground of its existence, and without dwelling upon the varied service of biblical instruction which the missionary experts abroad and our ministers at home are more and more emphasizing as an essential in all true evangelization, I would allude to that splendid chapter in the spiritual development of mankind which the church has inspired by her constant devotion to the cause of the com-

mon school, the private academy, and the higher institutions of learning. Wherever the Scriptures have been rightly used they have not only showed the inadequacy of merely intellectual discipline, aesthetic culture and utilitarian training, but have also dignified and sanctified art and science and learning by making them the true interpreters of the glory of that God who desires his children to know him in the works of his hand in nature as well as in the special revelation of his grace.

And what shall we say of the numberless humanitarian, charitable and philanthropic institutions and movements of which in all ages, and never more than in the English-speaking world of to-day, the church has been the fostering mother? With all their defects and limitations they have been among the crowning glories of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. The Gospel has heroically grappled with the problem of evil and has done much toward its solution by means of a myriad-fashioned social helpfulness. And mark you, the church has been enabled to render this service herself and to inspire even those outside of her membership to aid her in the task, only by means of that basal principle of her faith which we have emphasized: in the presence of the eternal God, the loving heavenly Father, every human life is sacred, and inasmuch as the redemption in Christ Jesus makes a brotherhood of all believers, the strong are constrained to bear the burdens of the weak, the afflicted and the unfortunate. It is because the English Bible has entered so profoundly into the spiritual life of the English-speaking people that these social duties of the Gospel have been so well understood and, on the whole, so faithfully performed by them.

Still further, it has been the church, the company of those who owning allegiance to Jesus Christ seek to realize his ideals of moral character and conduct, that has done most, by precept and example, to lure and lift the souls of men to higher planes of ethical living. By common consent the Scriptures are the most potent influence to vitalize and



develop the moral life of the race. They purge and enlighten conscience; they energize and determine the will of man for righteousness as no other force can do, because they bring motives deep as eternity to bear upon his choices and because they present as the model for our lives One who has not only created humanity's ideal of perfection but can also bestow the power that transforms his worshippers into a living likeness to himself. As read in the privacy of the home, but even more as proclaimed in the great congregation, where deep answers unto deep in the experience of the common faith, the Bible moves us, guides us, checks us, and sustains us in our efforts to realize the manifold excellence of the life that is dedicated to the high ends and aims which it keeps before us. The much praised moral earnestness and sobriety, the ethical gravity and impressiveness of our English and American literature are due chiefly to the sublime ideas and ideals of the Bible and the embodiment of these in the conduct of the men and women who have adorned its teachings by their lives.

I can only allude to the last great service which the Bible has rendered through the organized church; I mean its constant influence in keeping religion itself pure and spiritual. Divine worship is grounded in the very instincts of the soul and is therefore a universal phenomenon in human life. But we need to remember that it is the Bible above all other forces that makes and preserves spiritual religion as a living reality, safeguarding it from superstitious errors, sensuous practices and conventional formalism. It does this by means of its basal doctrine that the supreme object of our interest and devotion is a spiritual Being of infinite holiness who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, with loving gratitude and joy, it may be, but ever also in humility and purity of heart. Thus by virtue of the cleansing and strengthening currents of their spiritual influence the Scriptures have been the chief agency for ennobling and sanctifying religious worship itself in Protestant England and America.

The third social institute that reflects, and therefore helps us to gauge, the influence of the Bible upon the spiritual life of the English-speaking people is the state.

It is, of course, no accident of history that the most democratic governments, those guaranteeing the largest measure of popular freedom, have been reared in those countries in which the Gospel has most firmly established itself. For while Christianity as such favors no one political system as against another, it always and everywhere brings to bear upon a nation's life three far-reaching fundamental principles that slowly but steadily make for republicanism in the state as well as in the church. First, it makes its appeal, as we have seen, primarily to the individual, calling upon him to exercise the prerogatives of his manhood as a free agent in the highest sphere of his thought and action, the realm of his relation to his Maker and Redeemer. Secondly, it recognizes and enforces the sacredness of his own personality as a social unit, requiring him, if need be—and in England the need arose more than once—to assert against the "divine rights" of unjust kings, the diviner rights of his own enlightened conscience. And thirdly, it places all men, rich and poor, king and subject, master and slave upon substantially the same moral plane before God as the one sovereign Lord and Judge of all. Nothing short of these sublime spiritual conceptions and convictions inculcated by the Bible could ever have shattered the despotisms of caste and class and secured the political enfranchisement of the individual citizen to the extent to which we find it developed in the modern world, first of all in the Calvinistic Netherlands, then in England in the wake of the "glorious revolution" of 1688, and best of all in the constitutions of our several commonwealths and the federal government. It is because of the presence of these dynamic principles of the Gospel in our life and literature that Wordsworth's lines are true—

"We must be free or die who speak the tongue  
That Shakespeare spake."



And the best guarantee for the perpetuity of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, is found in those supplementary truths of the Bible that there is no liberty worthy of the name save that which exists in obedience to righteous authority; that there can be no just laws or ordinances among men unless they are grounded in the eternal Righteousness; and that the glory of every state, as of every individual citizen, depends upon an ever-deepening conception of, and an ever-increasing devotion to, the revealed will of the King of kings and the Ruler of all nations.

And now lastly, we have the great English-speaking race itself as the most extensive and the most important of the social expressions of the spiritual influence of the Bible in the modern world. Anglo-Saxon civilization is, indeed, a complex product, to which many forces, some of them purely material, have contributed. But its noblest features, its best tendencies, its brightest hopes are simply inexplicable apart from that Book of books, the very translations of which into the vernacular have, through the passing centuries, been the dominating force in creating the first great bond that holds the Anglo-Saxon world together, our common speech; and the spiritual revelations of which have touched these mighty sister nations at a profounder depth of their common interests than has any other factor that has ever entered into the life of either of them.

Friends, what means this universal thanksgiving and joy on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean in connection with those two series of events that are in all our thoughts to-day, in which the King of England and his humblest subject and President Taft and the rank and file of our citizenry are so deeply interested—the various celebrations being held in both countries to commemorate the publication three hundred years ago of this noble English version of the Bible, and these good substantial steps, quite unprecedented in the history of the race, that are being taken on both sides of the water to insure by means of a permanent tribunal of

arbitration lasting and honorable peace between Great Britain and the United States of America? One sentence tells the whole story: through the written word Christ the incarnate Word is coming forth into our Anglo-American civilization in the glory of his Saviorship, conquering and to conquer, after the divinely appointed order of Melchizedek, the King of righteousness first of all, and after that also the King of peace.

So to-day we give God thanks, and ascribe to him all the glory, for the remarkable influence in the past of the English Bible upon the spiritual life of the English-speaking people; and for the future, we pray, for ourselves and for all the tribes and kindreds of the people on the face of the earth

“Word of life, most pure and strong  
Lo! for thee the nations long,  
Spread, till from its dreary night  
All the world awakes to light.”

*Princeton.*

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.



## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION OF THE BIBLE IN SCOTLAND.

### I. THE RECEPTION OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

In an appendix to his *Additional Memorial on Printing and Importing Bibles* Dr. John Lee says: "In Scotland the people have been accustomed to borrow all the works used in the service of the church. They have never had a version of the Scriptures except what was borrowed. They have a borrowed Confession of Faith, borrowed Catechisms, a borrowed version of the Psalms in metre (furnished chiefly by Barton and Rous)."<sup>1a</sup> This, when viewed in connection with our exclusiveness in doctrine and polity, is one of the enigmas of Scottish ecclesiastical history. From Dr. Lee's researches it would appear that the Genevan Version of the Bible held its own with King James' Version until 1640. This was the version that had been chiefly

<sup>1a</sup> This statement, while to all intents and purposes correct, requires a word of explanation as far as a Scottish translation of the Scriptures is concerned. In 1500, Murdoch Nisbit made a translation of the New Testament for his own use. Dr. Lindsay thinks that it was taken from one of the vernacular editions of the Scriptures used by the Lollards (*Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1904) but as it was practically a private venture for private purposes it has scarcely the right of being reckoned a Scottish Version.

A much more interesting question for Scotsmen is the fact that as early as 1601 the question of a new translation was brought before the General Assembly which met that year at Burntisland, King James himself being present. Calderwood's account of the affair may be quoted:—"In the last session it was meaned by sindrie of the brethrein, that there were sindrie errors in the vulgar translation of the Bible, and of the Psalmes in meter, which required correcting; as also, that there were sindrie prayers in the Psalme Booke that were not convenient for the tyme. It was therefore concluded, that, for the translation of the Bible, everie one of the Brethrein, who had greatest skill in the languages, imploy their travells, in sindrie parts of the vulgar translation of the Bible that needed to be amended, and to conferre the same together at nixt Assemblie." Nothing, however, ever came of the proposal.

used in Scotland and was the *popular* version alike in England and in Scotland. Whatever significance may be now attached to the phrase "Appointed to be read in Churches" it would appear that it does not imply compulsion.<sup>1</sup> For on turning to the works of Scottish writers it is noticeable that even those most willing to show obedience to the House of Stewart continued using the Genevan Version. It was used by Dr. William Guild, chaplain to Charles I. In Sir James Sempill of Beltrie's *Sacrilege Sacredly Handled, that is according to Scripture only; for the use of all churches in general, but more especially for those of North Britaine* (London: 1619) the Genevan Version is used. The same is true of the *Dikaiologie* (London: 1614) and *Triumph of a Christian* (1615) both by William Cowper, bishop of Galloway. The bishop also used the Genevan Version for the texts of his sermons. In James Baillie's sermon *Spiritual Marriage* preached at Westminster (London: 1627) dedicated to nine peers and seven other courtiers of the Scottish nation the Genevan Version is always quoted. Struthers<sup>2</sup> in his *Christian Observations and Resolution for Death*, both printed at Edinburgh, 1628, follows a like course. Zachary Boyd, also, uses the Genevan Version in the *Last Battell of the Soul* (Edinburgh: 1629). William Wischart, parson of Restalrig, generally uses it in his

<sup>1</sup> The question as to the authorisation of King James' Version was raised on the issue of the Revised New Testament in 1881. Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, were inclined to regard the words "appointed to be read in churches" as implying authorisation by some competent authority. Their letters appeared in the *Times* (June 10, 1881) and are reprinted in Dr. Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*, p. 334. The subject was thoroughly discussed by Dr. Randall Davidson, now Archbishop of Canterbury, in an article in *MacMillan's Magazine* for October, 1881 (see summary of his argument in Schaff, pp. 331-333), and from the evidence he adduces there can be very little doubt that the phrase did not imply compulsory authority. The Scottish usage as noticed above confirms Dr. Davidson's contention.

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood leaves us in no doubt to which side Struthers' sympathies leaned. Time and again he refers to Patrick Galloway and Struthers as the "two pensioners" (*Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, vii.).



*Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* (London: 1633). John Abernethy, Bishop of Caithness, in his *Physicke for the Soule* quotes from the same version. And Alexander Henderson in preaching before the General Assembly in 1639 quotes his text from the Genevan Version.<sup>3</sup> From the foregoing evidence it would appear that the use of the new version was not compulsory; otherwise those who were favourable to the royal policy would have shewn their anxiety to meet it in using the Authorised Version.

When we turn, in search of evidence, to ecclesiastical courts or church formularies we fail to discover anything that will account for the position ultimately attained by the Authorised Version. No doubt it is enacted in the *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall* (1636) that: "In every church there shall be provided at the charge of the parochin, a Bible of the largest volume, with the Booke of Common Prayer and Psalmes, newlie authorized. The Bible shall be of the translation of King James; and if any parochin be unprovided thereof, the same shall be amended within two months at most after the publication of this constitution." This decree, however, is of little significance; for two years afterwards the Glasgow Assembly made short work of the *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall*. The book was condemned as "contrary to the Confession of Faith and repugnant to the established government, the Book of Discipline, and the acts and constitution of our Kirk." The very fact that the Authorised Version was recommended in this book shews that it must have had some hold, otherwise it might have been set aside in the mighty ecclesiastical upheaval which Scotland experienced at this time. The formularies adopted by the Scottish Church from the Westminster Assembly while referring to the Scriptures make no mention of any particular version which, in the very nature of things, showed the wisdom of those who were responsible for drawing up the Westminster Directory for Public Worship and the Confession of Faith.

<sup>3</sup> Lee's *Memorial*, pp. 90-92.

The Authorized version made its way on its own merits independently of ecclesiastical enactments.

The new version evidently was regarded by some in Scotland as standing in need of revision. At least, there was a proposal for revision in the following quaint terms:—

"For ye bettering of ye English translation of ye Bible (1st printed A.D. 1612) by Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Row,<sup>4</sup> 'tis offer'd. That these five things are to be endeavoured

- I. That evil and unmeet divisions of chapt<sup>rs</sup>, verses, and sentences be rectify'd and made more proper, rationally, and dexterous, w<sup>ch</sup> will much clear the scope.
- II. That needles transpositions of words, or stories, pretending to Hypall or Synchyses, be warily amended; or noted if they cannot.
- III. That all vseless additions be lop't off, y<sup>t</sup> debase the wisdom of ye Spirit; to instance—
  1. All ye Apocryphall writings; being meerly humane.
  2. All popish and superstitious prints, plates, and pictures.
  3. Apotheosing and canonizing of some (not oth<sup>rs</sup>) as Sts., St Luke: not St Job...
  4. Spurious additions, or subscriptions (to Epistles) words & Sentences.
- IV. That all sinfull & needles detractions be supply'd; and y<sup>t</sup> lies in 6 things viz.
  1. Let all sentences, or words detracted, be added in ye text.
  2. Epitomize ye contents, & chapt<sup>rs</sup> better at ye topps of ye leafe.
  3. The parenthesis ought not to be omitted, where 'tis.

<sup>4</sup> John Row was the son of Rev. John Row, Carnock, author of the *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*. He continued his father's *Historie* from 1637 to July 1639. He had been sometime Master of the Grammar School, Perth, and afterwards Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. His *Hebrææ Linguae Institutiones* appeared in 1644, the first book of the kind printed in Scotland. His *Χιλιάς Hebraica: seu, vocabularium* appeared the same year, and his *Ευχαριστια Βασιλική* in 1660.



4. Exhaust not the Emphasis of a word, (as Idols, 13 wayes exprest).
  5. Nor ye Superlative, left only as a positive.
  6. Notificatum, not noticed at all.
- V. As respecting mutation, or change, 4 things are needful; namely,
1. That nothing be changed, but convinc't apparently, to be bettr:
  2. Yet a change not hurting truth, piety, or ye text, may be just & needfull.
  3. Many evil changes are to be amended as these 9 in particular:
    - (1) When words or sentences, are mistaken.
    - (2) When ye margin is righter than ye line, as in 800 places (& more) it is.
    - (3) When particles are confounded.
    - (4) When a word plurall, is translated as singular.
    - (5) When the active is rendered as if a passive.
    - (6) When the genders are confounded: as mostly ye cantic: bee.
    - (7) When Hebrismes are omitted, in silence, or amisse.
    - (8) When participium paül is rendered as if it were Nÿphall.
    - (9) When conjugatio pyëll is English't as if Kal.
  4. (On the other hand) 9 good changes are to be warily endeavour'd, viz.
    - (1) Put ye titles of ye true God (all ouer) literâ Capitali.
    - (2) Let Magistrates correct misprinting of Bibles.
    - (3) Put more in English, (even *propria nomina*;) less in Heb. Gr. & Latin termes.
    - (4) That Ingl. words (not understood in Scotland) be idiomatiz'd.
    - (5) That all be Analogicall to Scripture termes, not toucht w<sup>th</sup> our opinion, or error.
    - (6) Something Equivocal to Keri, & Kethib, be noticed.
    - (7) That letters, poynts, and stopps, be distinctly notified.

(8) The parale places ought to be well noted, in the margin.

(9) Things not amiss, may be endeavored to be bettered.

The like is (as to y<sup>e</sup> N. T.) to be endeavored, many words wanting their owne native idiom and import, and sometime y<sup>e</sup> translation overflows in y<sup>e</sup> English; or els is defective: and some words confounded: (Ex:gr: *δυναμις*, power, and *ἐξουσία*, in 70 or near 80 places translated power wch is properly *authority*, &c).

All this has been essayed by divers able Hebritians: as Mr H: J: Mr J<sup>n</sup> C. &c whose notes, and pains are yet conceal'd in private hands, but may come to light, and publick use, in due time."

This proposal for revision like that of the Long Parliament in 1653 came to nothing<sup>5</sup> and is, as far as is known, the only proposal emanating directly from Scotland for a revision of the Authorised Version.

The only active opposition to the Authorised Version came from the Gibites or the "Sweet Singers of Borrow-stouness"—a small sect of the later Covenanting period. Their leader "Muckle John Gib" was a ship captain and from the scattered accounts coming down from this period it is evident the Gibites were under strong delusions. It is unnecessary to dwell on their strange vagaries<sup>6</sup> except in so far as to point out their attitude to the translation of the Scriptures made in 1611. The Government of the time had as little respect for the Gibites as they had for the Cameronians, with the result that numbers of them were cast into prison. In fact the Government were not slow to ascribe the excesses of the former to the latter. While in prison a number of the Gibites sent out a protest in which they say:—"It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us

<sup>5</sup> For an account of the Long Parliament's proposal see Whitelocke's *Memorials* and Wescott's *Hist. of the English Bible*, pp. 120, 121.

<sup>6</sup> "Gib's Blasphemous Papers, May 1st, 1681" are given in Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. III. Donald Cargill expostulated with these fanatics but failed to bring them to a right state of mind in divine things.



to take out of our Bibles the Psalms in metre" supporting their action by quoting:—"For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book" (Rev. xxii. 18). Concerning the Authorised Version they say:—"We, being pressed to the work by the Holy Ghost, do renounce the impression and translation of both the Old and New Testament." They offer objections to the dedication, to the divisions into chapters and verses as being of human invention—which, it must be admitted, were not the worst features of their religious insanity. They also objected to "the drawing scores betwixt the books of the Bible." The Gibites soon died out and never exercised to any appreciable degree an influence on the religious or ecclesiastical life of Scotland. Their opposition, therefore, to the Authorised Version is not recorded here because of its importance but simply as a passing incident not without interest in the history of the Authorised Version in Scotland.

## II. THE BIBLE SOCIETY OR APOCRYPHA CONTROVERSY.

The Apocrypha Controversy, though having only a distant relation to the main subject of this article, is of interest because of the prominent part taken in it by Scotsmen and also because of the great commotion it caused in the auxiliaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Scotland. It is also to be borne in mind that this Controversy may be held as directly responsible for the insertion of articles III and IV in the constitution of the National Bible Society of Scotland which this year has celebrated its jubilee. This Society was formed by the amalgamation of the National, Glasgow, and Edinburgh Bible Societies in 1861. The latter Society took a prominent part in the Controversy the memory of which is perpetuated in the articles already referred to and which are as follows:—"The only version of the Holy Scriptures, in the English language, which the Society shall circulate or hold in stock shall be the Authorised Ver-

sion; and as regards translations into other languages, only such shall be adopted as shall be in harmony with the principles of the Society, and shall be approved of from time to time by the Board of Directors (article III). The Society shall consist of all who are willing to unite in promoting its object: but none except Protestants holding the doctrine of the Holy Trinity shall be admissible to hold any office in connection with the management of the Society (article IV)."

The story of the rise of the Controversy is soon told. Robert Haldane on a visit to London called with a friend at the offices of the British and Foreign Bible Society to make some enquiries in connection with an edition of Martin's French Bible, which he had himself originated. This edition had been printed at Toulouse, at the expense of the Society under the inspection of Professor Chabrand. Forgetting his umbrella, Mr. Haldane returned next day for it and was requested by Mr. Zachary Macaulay, the distinguished philanthropist, to join a sub-committee, which was then in conference with Dr. Pinkerton in regard to the Toulouse Bible. To his great surprise he learned that the Apocrypha had been appended to this edition and also to the earlier edition of 1817, notwithstanding that his contributions had been given on the distinct understanding that these editions would contain nothing but the pure Word of God. This discovery led to a prolonged controversy which concerns us here from only the Scottish standpoint.<sup>7</sup>

The printing of the Apocrypha with the Bible was clearly against the rules of the British and Foreign Bible Society and after Mr. Haldane's protest it was thought the publishing of the Apocrypha with the Bible would cease. But in 1824 on application by Dr. Van Ess, a German Roman Catholic priest, the Society voted £500 for an intermingled Apocrypha. On 21st September the Edinburgh Bible So-

<sup>7</sup>*Lives of Robert and James Haldane* (London: 1852) p. 517. For a fuller account of the Controversy see Henderson's *The Religious Controversies of Scotland*, pp. 95-110, where a list of works having reference to the Controversy will be found.



ciety sent a letter of expostulation. Another remonstrance was sent in January of the following year. And in March of the same year a protest came from Cambridge threatening the withdrawal of the signatories' subscriptions unless the Apocrypha was printed with the Bible. The Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society fell in with the views of the Cambridge protesters and there was nothing for it now but that the Edinburgh Bible Society should take a firm stand. In 1825 they issued their *Statement Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the British and Foreign Bible Society*. Five thousand copies were printed and circulated over the country. It gave a brief summary of the events connected with the rise of the controversy, the Resolutions of Rev. W. Craig, an Episcopal clergyman, and an Appendix drawn up by Professor Paxton, shewing the false doctrines and superstitions sanctioned by the Apocrypha. While Mr. Haldane was the first to bring the matter before the Edinburgh Bible Society he did not take a public part in the controversy until near the end of 1825. At this time he issued his *Review of the Conduct of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha, and to their Administration on the Continent; with an Answer to the Rev. C. Simeon and Observations on the Cambridge Remarks*. Mr. Haldane sent forth his first charge with the appropriate mottoes:—"Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar" (Prov. xxx. 6) and "Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord?" (II Chron. xix. 2). Mr. Haldane's *Review*, says his biographer, was unanswerable and closed the first campaign in the Controversy.

At this stage the report of the Special Committee, to which the question of the Apocrypha had been referred, was given in to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Report was Anti-Apocryphist but compromising and unsatisfactory. While matters were thus progressing there appeared on the stage one of Scotland's great ecclesiastical leaders—the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh.

He was one of the most powerful debaters of his day and his appearance in the controversy gave it a new significance. Dr. Thomson took the high ground that the whole question involved the integrity of the canon and the supremacy of the Bible. He had been appointed Secretary of the Edinburgh Bible Society and the first public intimation of his appointment was the issue of the *Second Statement* by the Edinburgh Society. Dr. Thomson was assailed with unjustifiable asperity. No doubt he had struck out strongly himself but there were more personalities in the return attack than were justifiable. But those were the days of sledge-hammer blows which controversialists gave and returned in a way that would be considered out of place in modern times. This *Second Statement* of the Edinburgh Bible Society, says the biographer of the Haldanes, "fell amongst the Philo-Apocryphists like the stroke of a tempest." In a third *Statement* the Edinburgh Society gave the three points on which they could not agree with the deputation sent from London. These were:—(I) As to the propriety of an expression of regret for the past violation of what was now admitted to have been the fundamental law. (II) The necessity of breaking off all connexion with foreign Societies which should continue with their own funds to adulterate the sacred canon. (III) Some change in the membership of the London Committee, so as to ensure an administration in accordance with the laws of the Society.

Mr. Haldane's *Review* was answered by Dr. Steinkopff, the foreign secretary of the Society in his *Letter addressed to Robert Haldane, Esq., containing some Remarks on his Strictures relative to the Continent and to Continental Bible Societies*. This called forth Mr. Haldane's *Second Review*, which, like the first, passed through two large editions. This *Review* made a profound impression and was described by Dr. Andrew Thomson as "by far the most powerful essay which has yet appeared on the controversy." He also says:—"It gives such a view of the Foreign Societies, as should make every man tremble at the thought of employing them as



agents." The Apocrypha Controversy in the nature of things raised the questions of the Canon and Inspiration. It called forth, among other works, Carson's *Treatise on Inspiration* and Haldane's *Books of the Old and New Testaments proved to be Canonical and their Verbal Inspiration maintained and established with an Account of the Introduction and Character of the Apocrypha*.

One terrible blow to the British and Foreign Bible Society was the discovery that Dr. Van Ess who had received in nine years £20,000 in grants besides a salary from the Society, had all the while been acting as printer, publisher and bookseller to his own evident advantage. Notwithstanding this discovery and others of a like disconcerting kind, there was no proclamation of peace between the belligerents. The Edinburgh Bible auxiliary took up a separate position from the British and Foreign Bible Society. Dr. Thomson, the great protagonist in the conflict, as one about to lay aside his armour and surveying the field where the battle had raged so fiercely, said at a meeting held in Edinburgh in 1830, shortly before his death:—"Sir, I have fought for myself; I have been called to do so; having withstood to the face and sharply rebuked and relentlessly exposed the desecrators of God's Holy Word. . . . I have fought for my brethren, and, verily, from such I have had my reward. But, sir, I have fought for the Bible, the book of God, the record of saving faith, the foundation on which rest all our hopes for eternity. I have fought for the Bible, and there is a reward for that; there is a reward for it here (pointing to his breast); there is a reward for it yonder (pointing to heaven); and that is a reward which, be he friend or be he foe, no man taketh from me." His death was like the fall of a standard bearer in the battle, but the conflict was not to be given up, and the echo from the field of battle is still to be heard in Scotland and should not be forgotten.

Among those who took the side of the Apocryphists was M'Gavin, the editor of the *Protestant*, who wrote:—

"I wish all the world had the Bible even with the Apocrypha beside it, nay even with Tom Paine beside it. I would trust God's Word in the presence of its greatest enemy, and feel no anxiety about the consequence." Dr. Wardlaw, also, took the same side and being inspired by the conflict, lapsed into rhyme. His verses contain some sage advice to controversialists in every age what though his verse be homely. Here are two stanzas:—

"O shun the dogmatical airs of conceit!  
Forget not how little the wisest can know,  
In the twilight of heavenly science below:  
The high *ipse-dixit*, infallible tone  
Is the right of the Pope and the Council alone.

When you quote an opponent, be candid and fair,  
'Tis needful the more that the virtue's so rare;  
Disjoint not the periods to answer your end,  
Nor a word nor a syllable alter or bend,  
I always suspect—*latet anguis in herba*,  
When a man does not quote my *ipsissima verba*".

Another distinguished Scotsman who took part in the Controversy was the brilliant but erratic Edward Irving. He had risen from a sick-bed to utter his protest at a London meeting but so heated were the feelings of the audience that they refused to listen to him. When order had been restored he delivered his message from the Edinburgh Bible Society, but his eloquence had no subduing effect on his audience, for disorder reigned supreme. "I see," he said, "it is vain to speak, for you are determined that I shall not be heard. However, I have performed my duty to my Lord Jesus Christ: let those answer to Him who have withstood me. And I will say this also, I have stood alone,—alone, too, not among my enemies, but my brethren." With these words we may fitly close our brief sketch of the Apocrypha Controversy. It had to do, as will be seen, with



the printing of the Apocrypha with foreign translations of the Bible and did not apply so much to the Authorised Version, but its bearing on matters so closely connected with the Bible entitles it to more than a passing reference in any account of the history of the Authorized Version of the Bible in Scotland.

### III. THE PRINTING OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION.

In April 1568, Robert Lekprevik received a license "To imprint all and haill ane buke callit the Inglis bybill imprintit of before at Geneva." Every other person was forbidden to print during the period of his right, which was declared to be for twenty years. Lekprevik never printed a Bible, so that the people were as dependent as formerly on imported editions. The first portion of the Bible printed in Scotland, either in English or any other language,<sup>8</sup> came from the press of Thomas Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnot in 1576. This was a New Testament. When the Old Testament was finished the whole work was issued with the title:—"The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and Newe Testament. Printed in Edinburgh be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kingis Majestie dwelling at Kirk of Feild. 1579. Cum gratia & privilegio regiae Majestatis". Other editions of the Genevan Version were issued in 1601 and 1610.<sup>9</sup> The Genevan Version, though not largely printed in Scotland, was brought in in great numbers for sale, and in Scotland as in England it was the Bible of the people.

In the year 1611 when the Authorised Version was issued from the press, Thomas Findlasone received authority from the Lords of Secret Council "to imprint and caus be imprintit, all and sundrie utheris actis, statutis, proclamatiounis, letteris, and chargeis concerning his Majestie and his estait; as also the buikis of Holy Scriptour, contening

<sup>8</sup> Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies*, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> A list and description of these editions will be found in Aldis' *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* and Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies*.

the Auld and New Testamentis, in all languages, in haill or in part, and in quhatsumever volumes, grytt or small." All printers, booksellers and others were prohibited "to print, or caus be printed, within or out-with the said realme, any of the saidis haill buikis particularlie specifeit heirin, in the said Actis of Counsall or gift foirsaid; or to bring hame, or any way to sell, the samyne within the said realme, during the said haill space of twentie yearis nixt and immediatlie following the dait of thir presentis, (exceptand alwayis the Byble, the New Testament, and the Psalm Buik, quhilkis sall nawayis be comprehendit under this present gift, but speciallie reservit and exceptit furth thairof) under the pane of five hundereth merkis." This license was granted from 1612 to 1632 but as Thomas Findlasone died before it expired, his second son Walter received the right for thirteen years so that the grant ran to 1641. Dr. Lee concludes that the reservation of the Bible in the gift of Findlasone in 1612 was probably dictated by the King's desire to facilitate the introduction of the Authorised Version. Be that as it may, Findlasone never printed any edition of the Scriptures, though authorized to print them in all languages. In the license, however, he was not empowered to penalize those who printed or imported Bibles, with the result that the "heirs of Andro Hart"<sup>10</sup> printed an edition of the New Testament in 1628.<sup>11</sup> This was the first issue of any portion of King James' translation in Scotland.

<sup>10</sup> Andro Hart was both a bookseller and printer. He died in 1621; after his death his business was taken over by his wife and children and was carried on under the trade name "Heirs of Andro Hart" until 1639.

<sup>11</sup> "This edition", says Dr. Lee, "has a calendar prefixed, containing a much smaller number of holidays than were inserted in that of the Church of England. The Table of Moveable Feasts includes only *Whitsunday*, *Easterday*, and the beginning of *Lentron*. In this respect it corresponds with the edition printed at *Dort*, for Andrew Hart and the Heirs of H. Charteris, in 1601,—with this difference only, that the first day of Lent is called in that edition *Fasting-even*. Both editions omit *Advent Sunday*, *Ascension-day*, *Rogation-day*, *Septuagesima Sunday*, etc. (*Memorial* pp. 82, 83).



Another edition of the New Testament (King James' translation) was issued from Raban's printing press, Aberdeen, in 1631. In 1632 Robert Young was appointed King's printer and from 1641 he had as partner Evan Tyler. Young issued an edition of the Bible in 1633 with two issues of the New Testament, one bearing the imprint: "Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie"—the other:—"Printed by Robert Young, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty for the Kingdom of Scotland". The impression of the latter which is sometimes accompanied by the Old Testament, says Dr. Lee, is said to have been extremely limited. Mr. Aldis, however, in his *List of Books* gives the Bible of 1633 as a separate entry. It is probably to this edition that reference is made in a letter quoted in Lord Hailes' *Memorials and Letters*. The writer says:—"That you may taste a little of our condition I have sent you two of your own Scots Bibles, the New Testament only, wherein they have placed such abominable pictures, that horrible impiety stares through them. These come forth by public authority. Do you shew them to such as you think meet."<sup>13</sup> Young also issued two editions of the New Testament in 1635—an octavo and duodecimo. Two editions of the New Testament were, again, issued in 1636.<sup>14</sup> An octavo edition of the Bible came from his press in 1637 with three editions (8°, 12°, 32°) in 1638. Robert Bryson who had commenced business as a printer in suc-

<sup>13</sup> Aldis' *List of Books*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> "These pictures", says Dr. Lee, "are said to have been impressions from the plates of the book entitled, *Imagines Vitæ, Passionis et Mortis D. N. Jesu Christi*, etc., printed by Boetius a Bolswert, anno 1623. It is asserted in one of the charges against Laud, that he had brought these popish pictures from foreign parts, and that with his good liking they were bound up in English Bibles, which were called the *Archbishop of Canterbury's Bibles*. The number of plates in the original book is said to have been seventy-four, most of them finely executed. The Edinburgh Bible of 1633, in which they have in some instances been inserted, is printed in double columns, and bears a great resemblance to some London editions of the same period" (*Memorial*, p. 97).

<sup>15</sup> Aldis' *List of Books*, pp. 24, 25.

cession to the Heirs of Andro Hart in 1639 issued a 24° New Testament in 1641. Evan Tyler printed the Bible in parts in 1642 and two duodecimo editions of the New Testament were issued the same year: the one from the press of J. Bryson and the other from that of Tyler. An octavo edition of the New Testament of this year gives the printers' names as Young and Tyler. In 1643 and 1647 Tyler issued 16° editions of the New Testament and an octavo in 1648. Octavo and duodecimo editions of the Bible were printed by Tyler in 1649. There seems to have been a lull here in printing Bibles in Scotland for a number of years. No doubt the mighty upheavals in Church and State had their effect even on the printer's art. Robert Sanders, Glasgow, "printer to the toun" issued a duodecimo New Testament in 1666. Dr. Lee mentions an edition of the New Testament "printed in the letter called English Roman by George Swintoun and James Glen" in 1669.

The following year there were two issues of the New Testament—one from the press of Robert Sanders, Glasgow, and the other from Andrew Anderson's press. Anderson had been a printer in Glasgow, but removed to Edinburgh in 1661, and on 10th June, 1663, was appointed printer to the town and College. His edition of the New Testament was printed in black letter. The work was carelessly done; so carelessly, indeed, that the Lords of the Privy Council interfered. In their enactment issued in 1671 they declare that "having considered the great danger which may ensue to the Christian religion from incorrect copies of the books containing the Holy Scriptures, and that of late the New Testament hath been printed at Edinburgh, in a black letter, by Andro Anderson, printer, for the use of children at schools, with many gross errors and faults in the impression, do therefore prohibit and discharge all the stationers and others of this Kingdom to vent and put to sale any of the copies of that edition of the New Testament until the same be first amended, and a title-page prefixed thereto. And do ordain and command the printer



thereof to receive from the stationers all the copies of the same remaining with them unsold, and before they be offered again to sale, to correct and amend the errors of the same, and to prefix a new title-page thereto, bearing that this edition is corrected and amended in the year 1671 and that under the pain of payment of one hundred pounds sterling in case he fail therein." Instead of Anderson's career as a printer being put to an end by the above enactment, one is amazed to discover that within three months he obtained a gift under the Great Seal, afterwards ratified by Parliament, constituting him and his heirs his Majesty's sole, absolute and only printer. Anderson was privileged not only to print Acts of Parliament and other governmental official documents but also "Bibles in all volumes with the psalmes thereuntil thrie partes of the Bible and New Testaments in all volumes all bookes of divinity, commentaries, concordances, books of the cannon or civill lawes."<sup>15</sup> In 1673 Anderson issued an edition of the Bible "in a letter called pereill letter with notes in the volume of 12", and in the same year another "printed in the same letter without notes in the volume of 18". Andrew Anderson and his Partners<sup>16</sup> issued a duodecimo edition of the Bible in 1675, and the following year an octavo edition was issued from the same press.

Anderson died in 1676 and the business was carried on by his widow. Her appearance on the stage of affairs opens up one of the most extraordinary chapters in the annals of Scottish printing. She set herself to punish severely any attempt to deprive her of the monopoly which she enjoyed. Printers were brought to book, and booksellers were punished for importing Bibles and other books. The struggle went on for years. Had she devoted a tithe of the energy with which she pursued printers and booksellers to the more laudable work of turning out correct editions of the

<sup>15</sup> *Acta Sec. Concil.* (Oct. 12, 1676).

<sup>16</sup> This is the co-partnery of Andrew Anderson with G. Swintoun, J. Glen, T. Brown and D. French from 1671-1675.

Bible, it would have been more to her credit. As it was, some of the Bibles turned out from her press were a scandal to the printer's art. In 1678 there was issued from her press a quarto edition of the Bible. Sanders issued a duodecimo edition of the New Testament from the Glasgow press in 1686 and another in 1691. Mrs. Anderson issued a duodecimo Bible and a duodecimo New Testament in 1694. Another two duodecimo editions of the Bible were issued from the same press in 1696 and 1698.

Before making reference to later editions something must be said about the kind of work turned out by Mrs. Anderson. Here are some of the misprints:—"Righteousness" for "unrighteousness"; "he killed" for "he is killed"; "enticed in everything" for "enriched in everything"; "either" for "neither"; "would" for "word"; "perfect" for "priest"; "we know" for "we keep"; "hast slain" for "wast slain".<sup>17</sup> The octavo edition of 1694, a copy of which is in the British Museum, has a notebook attached with the following errors noted:—"Rame" for "Ramah" (Matt. ii. 18); "brackers" for "brother's" (Matt. vii. 3); "the house" for "that house" (Matt. vii. 27); "dardness" for "darkness" (Matt. viii. 12); "obey them" for "obey him" (Matt. viii. 27); "them which do do iniquity" (Matt. xiii. 41); "when" for "went" (Matt. xxii. 15); "and" for "ask" (Matt. xxii. 46); "the disciples of John and of John" for "of John and the Pharisees" (Mark ii. 18); "his eyes" for "his ears" (Mark vii. 35); "*her* right mind" for "*his*" (Luke viii. 35); "this man was" for "this was" (Luke xxiii. 47); "knoweth" for "I know" (John v. 32); "your father" for "your fathers" (John vi. 49); "peole" for "people" (John vii. 31); "then said they to him again" repeated (John ix. 26); "leadeth them *not*" for "*out*" (John x. 3); "speaking" for "speak in" (Acts ii. 6); "longed" for "lodged" (Acts x. 23); "there" for "three" (Acts xi. 11); "otion" for "oration" (Acts xii. 21); "accorning" for "ac-cording" (Acts xiii. 23); "ma" for "man" (Acts xiv. 8);

<sup>17</sup>Eadie's *English Bible*, II, 318, 319.



"spira" for "Syria" (Acts xx. 3); "Priscilla" for "Drusilla" (Acts xxiv. 24); "beaking" for "speaking" (Acts xxvi. 14); "forgive" for "give" (Roms. viii. 32); "seen Jesus" for "not seen" (I Cor. ix. 1); "wanteth" for "vaunteth" (I Cor. xiii. 4); "preached" for "reached" (II Cor. x. 14); "published" for "punished" (II Thess. i. 9); "tears" for "ears" (II Tim. iv. 4); "with stood" for "stood with" (II Tim. iv. 16); "which covereth the sinner" for "converteth" (James v. 20); "speak" for "seek" (I Pet. iii. 11).<sup>18</sup> In an edition published by Mrs. Anderson in 1705<sup>19</sup> there are five columns in which the italic *a* occurs at least seven hundred times, for example:—"And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and *a* bottle of water and gave *it* unto Hagar (putting) *it* on her shoulder) and the child and sent her *away*: and she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba" (Gen. xxi. 14). It is only just to say that the quarto edition of 1678 "is better than almost any which has been printed in Scotland of late years, except the royal quarto 1822."<sup>20</sup> But from 1678 to 1712 the different editions degenerated. The 1698 edition is indistinctly printed and full of errors such as:—"Against Satan" for "against himself" (Mark iii. 26); "bring for" for "bring forth" (Luke i. 31); "of the flesh" for "of the will of the flesh" (John i. 13); "does of the law" for "doers of the law" (Rom. ii. 13); "ye were not the servants of sin" for "ye were the servants of sin" (Roms. vi. 17); "eject" for "elect" (Roms. viii. 33), but bad as it is with errors from a typographical standpoint, it is beautiful when compared with the 1694 New Testament.<sup>21</sup>

Mrs. Anderson unfortunately had imitators, and Dr. Lee

<sup>18</sup>Eadie's *English Bible* II, 318, 319.

<sup>19</sup>Dr. Lee says about this edition, though not so full of errata, it is printed so as to puzzle the best reader who is not acquainted with the sacred text. He gives the following illustration: "Why should it be though tath ing incredible w<sup>t</sup> you, y<sup>t</sup> God should raise the dead" (*Memorial*, p. 166.).

<sup>20</sup>Lee's *Memorial*, p. 163.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 165.

has pointed out a number of misprints in nineteenth century editions. For instance, in *the Edinburgh quarto Bible, 1808*, "thereof" for "therefore" (Micah vi. 16); "hear" for "heard" (Luke iv. 28); "in" for "vain" (Gal. ii. 21); "her" for "their" (James i. 27). In a *quarto Bible, Edinburgh, 1822*:—"made" for "make" (Is. xl. 3); "hath" for "have" (Jer. xv. 10). In an *octavo New Testament, Edinburgh, 1812*:—"comest" for "cometh" (Matt. xvii. 27); "the" for "thee" (Matt. xviii. 17); "the" for "thee" (Mark x. 52); "may" for "many" (Luke vii. 21); "my" for "may" (Acts viii. 22). In an *octavo New Testament, Edinburgh, 1816*:—"comest" for "cometh" (Matt. xvii. 27); "they" for "that" (Luke viii. 14); "them" for "him" (Luke xx. 15); "you" for "your" (Phil. i. 25); "offered" for "suffered" (1 Pet. iii. 18). In an *octavo New Testament, Edinburgh, 1824*:—"comest" for "cometh" (Matt. xvii. 27); "strayed" for "strawed" (Mark xi. 8); "puffed" for "puffed up" (1 Cor. iv. 6); "offered" for "suffered" (1 Pet. iii. 18). In an *octavo Bible, Edinburgh, 1823*:—"fifty" for "fifth" (Ezek. viii. 1). In a *12mo Bible, Edinburgh, 1834*:—"cost" for "coast" (Zeph. ii. 7). In a *12mo Bible, Edinburgh, 1836*:—"four" for "your" (1 Thess. iii. 7). In a *24mo New Testament, Edinburgh, 1832*:—in Heb. vi. 17, two lines are transposed unintelligibly. It will be seen from these examples that the Bible suffered severely at the hands of printers in Scotland. The best editions of the Bible were those issued by James Watson. His smaller Bibles of 1715, 1716, 1719 and especially his folio of 1722 occupy an honored place.

The matter of incorrect editions of the Scriptures was often brought before the General Assembly, and in 1717 the Assembly instructed the Commission "to take the most effectual course to get the printing, vending, and importing of incorrect copies of the Holy Scriptures, and of our Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, stopped and prevented." The Commission of Assembly, 1719:—"Considering that the work of the foresaid Committee is not yet fully finished,



and that it is fit that a proposal tending so much to the honour of religion should meet with all due countenance and encouragement, renewed the instructions, directions, and powers given by the said former Commission to the fore-said persons, ministers, and elders." In 1793 the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr transmitted an overture to the General Assembly to the following effect:—"Whereas it is notorious that the late common edition of the Bible is printed so imperfectly, and on such bad paper, as to be almost illegible, it is overtured that proper means be used that the Bible shall be printed in such a distinct manner, and on such paper<sup>22</sup> that it may be read with ease by the common people." The Assembly gave the following deliverance on the overture:—"The Assembly feel it their bounden duty to pay every attention to the printing of the Bible; but upon considering the letter from his Majesty's printer, and having viewed the said specimens which were given in, they think it unnecessary to proceed any further in this matter at present." It would appear that the King's printer was in no special hurry to bring out the new edition of the Scriptures for we find the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr again returning to the charge and sending up the following overture to the Assembly in 1796:—"Whereas it was overtured by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr (April 1793) that the common edition of the Bible was inaccurately printed, and in many parts illegible; and whereas the Assembly inquiring into this matter, had satisfying specimens laid before them of a new edition being in the press, and which it was by them understood was to be then soon published, agreeable to said specimens; and whereas it does not appear that his Majesty's printers have made any progress in said publication since that period, it is therefore humbly overtured to the ensuing General Assembly, that they inquire into the causes of such

<sup>22</sup>"Certainly it is", says Dr. Lee, "that after that time, as well as before, the Bibles used in schools were printed so ill, that many pages had the appearance of being obliterated. The paper was said to be made of the refuse of cotton, and the substance had so little tenacity that part of it often stuck to the face of the types"—*Memorial*, p. 195.

delay, and appoint said publication to be made with all convenient speed, or otherwise proceed in this business as they shall see cause." The overture was dismissed by the Assembly "in respect that the important object mentioned in it has already been obtained by the printing and publication of a new edition of the Bible."<sup>23</sup>

The printing of the Bible was a blot on the printer's art in Scotland. It is the one book that cannot claim a number of good editions. This state of matters was largely due to the monopoly long enjoyed by the privileged printers. While in England there were three privileged presses, in Scotland there was but one. The last holders of the privilege were Sir David Hunter Blair and John Bruce, Esq., and latterly his neice Mrs. Margaret Tindal Bruce. In 1824 they brought an action against the Bible Societies in Scotland and succeeded in interdicting them from bringing into Scotland any copies of the Scriptures printed in England. The case was appealed to the House of Lords, but here in 1829, the decision of the Court of Session against the Bible Societies was affirmed. "The result was", says Dr. Eadie, "that the British and Foreign Bible Society might despatch Bibles to all the ends of the earth, but they durst not send down an English Bible into Scotland, even to their own auxiliaries."<sup>24</sup> It was this action at law that called forth Dr. Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland; Containing Remarks on the Complaint of His Majesty's Printers against the Marquis of Huntly and Others*: Edinburgh: 1824. This was followed in 1826 by his *Additional Memorial on Printing and Importing Bibles; Containing Remarks on the Answers for Sir David Hunter Blair, Bart., and J. Bruce, Esq., His Majesty's Printers to the*

<sup>23</sup> "An edition, published in the course of that year with Canne's notes (of which copies may still be found in what is called the Old King's Warehouse, and in many booksellers' shops) presents to the eye one of the most disagreeable specimens of typography in the world; and it is so far from being legible, that it is difficult to say whether it is correct or not."—Lee's *Memorial*, p. 197.

<sup>24</sup> *English Bible*, II. 324.



*Petition of George Buchan, Esq. and others. With a Continuation of the Appendix to the Former Memorial; for the Use of Counsel only:* Edinburgh: 1826. The pamphlets are a credit to Scottish historical research. They are now somewhat scarce. Both are usually bound together and make a volume of 396 pages with about 200 pages additional of Appendices. Dr. Lee has gathered together in these pamphlets an extraordinary mass of information about the English Bible in Scotland, bibliographical, typographical and historical. The work was thoroughly done and it still occupies the first place on the subject. Fortunately the monopoly was abolished in 1839, and the Scottish printers are free to publish the Scriptures, subject to the supervision of a Board in Edinburgh, of which the Lord Advocate is the head. The printer must inform the Board of his intention of putting an edition to the press and enter into a bond for £500. Each sheet is to be inspected by the Board, and not until it is passed by them or their reader is the printer allowed to issue it. The Board reserves the right of cancelling any erroneous page.<sup>25</sup>

The withdrawal of the privilege had the effect, among others, of a considerable reduction in the price of Bibles and a large increase in their circulation. The prices fell one half and this enabled many to become possessors of a Bible who had hitherto been denied the privilege.

*Wick, Scotland.*

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<sup>25</sup> Eadie's *English Bible*, II. 324-5.

## CONCERNING THE INCARNATION AND THE ATONEMENT

In *The Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1909, there appeared an article by Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard that may well challenge thought. Dr. Royce is one of the half dozen English speaking men who have attained to the greatest depth and height as thinkers in Philosophy, and he is a man of passion as well as of insight. The subject of the article is the question: "What is vital in Christianity?"

Dr. Royce discusses the claims of the different elements in a religion to be respectively regarded as vital—its cult, its religious practices, its creed, its spiritual attitude. He does not take it for granted that the ritual of a religion may not for some persons, in some stages of advance, be the most vital thing in it. But he gives his strength mainly to discussing two answers which one might supposably make to his question. One answer is that what is vital in Christianity is simply the spiritual attitude and the life inculcated by Jesus in his teachings and his example. The other answer is to the effect that the idea of the divine-human redemption for man is a true idea and is also vital in Christianity. Which is the vital thing—the spiritual life in a man, with its practical results, or the divine-human redemption? Of course the orthodox reply is that the vital thing is the spiritual life in its relations to the divine-human redemption; and that if either is to be regarded as more vital than the other, then the divine-human redemption is the more vital. We shall see how the reply of Professor Royce agrees with this.

Please to have the thesis sharply in mind. No one doubts that a Christian should possess the spiritual attitude and the life and the aims that Jesus inculcated and exemplified. This is vital. Are the incarnation and the atonement also vital?



I. Let us begin by giving attention to the phraseology in which Dr. Royce formulates the question and gives his answer to it.

In dealing with his work I quote profusely. I do this partly for the sake of being fair to Dr. Royce, by giving his ideas in his own language; but also in order to do myself the pleasure of repeating some particularly fine utterances on a great theme.

Dr. Royce says that there are two answers, especially to be considered, to the question, "What is vital in Christianity?"

"The first answer may be stated as follows: What is vital about Christianity is simply the spiritual attitude and the doctrine of Christ, as he himself taught this doctrine and this attitude in the body of his authentic sayings and parables, and as he lived all this out in his own life" (p.422).

"The second answer is as follows: What is vital about Christianity depends upon regarding the mission and the life of Christ as an organic part of a divine plan for the redemption and salvation of man" . . . . . "In brief, what is vital to Christianity includes an acceptance of the two cardinal doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement" (pp. 423-424).

He takes pains to guard these two answers against being unworthily understood. He says:

"Each of these answers is an effort to rise above the levels wherein either religious practice or intellectual belief is over-emphasized".

He says that the first answer does not indicate

"a willingness to degrade Christ to the level of a mere teacher of morals, and Christianity to a mere practice of good works".

He says that the second answer does not

"make true religion wholly dependent upon the acceptance of certain metaphysical opinions regarding the super-human nature of Christ" . . . "Both view Christianity as a faith which gives sense to life, and also as a mode of life which is centred about a faith" (pp. 424-425).

By way of defining more precisely the relations between these two answers he adds:

"The question is simply this: Is the gospel which Christ preached, that is, the teachings recorded in the authentic sayings and parables, intelligible, acceptable, vital, in case you take it by itself? Or, does Christianity lose its vitality in case you cannot give a true sense to the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement . . . ? And furthermore, can you, in the light of modern insight, give any longer a reasonable sense to the traditional doctrines of the atonement and the incarnation? . . . Is Christianity essentially a religion of redemption . . . ? Or is Christianity simply that religion of the love of God and the love of man which the sayings and the parables so richly illustrate?" (p. 425).

This statement of the question by Dr. Royce is sufficiently clear, is it not? His answer to the question is equally explicit, and is equally made unmistakable by being repeated in varying forms. If Dr. Royce had stopped with his statement of the question, I suppose that everybody would have felt certain as to how he would answer it. When you know that a man is from Harvard, and when you further know that he regards all the New Testament statements concerning the incarnation and the atonement as legendary, what can you expect but that he will deny that the religious doctrine taught in these legends can be anything very vital? Here comes in the surprise. This is not the reply that Dr. Royce makes. His reply is the opposite of this, and is as emphatic as language can make it. Note his words:

"Yet, as a student of philosophy, coming in no partisan spirit, I must insist that this reduction of what is vital in Christianity to the so-called pure Gospel of Christ, as he preached it and as it is recorded in the body of the presumably authentic sayings and parables, is profoundly unsatisfactory" (p. 426).

This proposition he argues in full, reaching conclusions which he states as follows:

"I conclude then, . . . that a simple return to" that which is "directly and fully expressed in the sayings of Christ . . . is an incomplete and therefore inadequate religious ideal. . . . The transformation of the



inner life which the sayings teach is . . . a vital part of Christianity. But it is by no means the whole of what is vital to Christianity". "What is most vital to Christianity is contained in whatever is essential and permanent about the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement". "The original teaching of the master regarding the kingdom of heaven . . . is not so vital, is not so central, is not so essential to mature Christianity as are the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement when these are rightly interpreted" (pp. 432-433).

In these statements Dr. Royce is careful to limit his adherence to the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement by the phrase, "when these are rightly interpreted". Presently we will compare his interpretation with that of the orthodox tradition. But nothing in the comparison can change the fact that in the incarnation and the atonement he finds something—something, whatever it may be—more vital than even spiritual attitude and transformation of life.

II. The significance of this advocacy of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement consists partly in the circumstance that it comes to us out of a certain atmosphere. Were it from some pen at Princeton it would be simply the thing that one might expect. But it comes from a man who accepts some of the New Testament statements concerning Jesus and his teachings as authentic, because it is easier to account thus for them than to account for them as inventions; but who rejects more than half the New Testament statements, including some which he regards as having been made by Jesus himself; whose theological views are as unlike the orthodox tradition as are his critical views; who says of himself and of like-minded men:

"The Christ whom the traditional doctrines of the atonement and of the incarnation present to us appears in the minds of most of us as the Christ of the legends of the early church,—a being whose nature and whose reported supernatural mission seem to be involved in doubtful mysteries. . . . The modern mind has come to be unwilling to accept as . . . historical . . . certain

well known legends. . . . I myself believe it to be a perfectly reasonable unwillingness" (p. 433).

Comparing the idea of Christianity as a life with the idea of Christianity as centering in the incarnation and the atonement, he says:

"On the one hand the Christ of the historically authentic sayings,— . . . ; on the other hand the Christ of legend, whom it is impossible for us modern men longer to conceive as the former ages of the church often conceived him".

"The doctrine in question seems to be, at least in the main, unknown to the historic Christ, in so far as we can learn what he taught, while both the evidence for the traditional doctrine and the interpretation of it have rested during Christian history upon reports which our whole modern view of the universe disposes many of us to regard as legendary, and upon a theology which many of us can no longer accept as literally true" (pp. 427, 426).

Dr. Royce frequently uses the word "Christ" as a proper name. He says that Jesus regarded himself as "the Messiah of his people". Yet he repudiates with contempt the position of any one who

"to-day can still find a place for the Messianic hopes and for the doctrine of the last judgment in his own interpretation of Christianity" (pp. 429-430).

In this case note that what he rejects is not something which he regards as legendary, but something which he regards as the opinion of Jesus himself. With him it is a matter not of self-conceit, but of simple sound judgment, that he regards himself as qualified to deny certain things which Jesus affirmed, and to complete certain teachings of Jesus by showing that they had implications which Jesus himself did not understand. He says that the teachings imply the doctrine of a divine-human redemption, although this doctrine was "unknown to the historic Christ" (pp. 426ff). The noteworthy phenomenon in the case is that a man who believes that the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement were unknown to Jesus, and who holds that all the direct mention of them in the New Testament is mere legend, should nevertheless defend these doctrines as being that in Christianity which is most vital.



III. Glance now at the arguments with which Dr. Royce supports his thesis. First comes the argument just mentioned, from the implications in what he regards as the authentic teachings of Jesus. I must not take time to sketch this argument, but Dr. Royce emphasizes by repetition the idea that the teachings of Jesus imply more than they explicitly state, and that the true ideas of incarnation and atonement are thus implied. To me his argument seems absolutely incongruous with his own critical presuppositions, but as an argument proving a conclusion it is lucid and decisive. The life and teachings and sufferings of Jesus, even after you have excised from them all direct testimony as to the divine-human redemption, still teach that truth by inevitable implication.

His principal argument, however, is philosophical. He starts with the proposition that "The truth about the incarnation and the atonement seems to me to be statable" (p. 438). By way of stating it he first defines his idea of God. If there is a position common to pantheism and theism, that seems to be the position he occupies. "On purely rational grounds", he says, "God and his world are one" (p. 440). He describes his view as his "own formulation of" "what is called philosophical idealism", of "the theory of the Divine Immanence".

By way of defining he distinguishes God from "the world of our usual experience", from the world "as our sciences study it", which, he says, "is but a beggarly fragment of the truth". The world which he identifies with God is

"the entire world, of which our known world is a fragment,—the totality of what is, past, present, and future, the totality of what is physical and of what is mental, of what is temporal and what is enduring". "Like the logos of the fourth gospel, this entire world is not only with God, but is God".

By way of limiting such statements as these he perpetually speaks of God as real, as living, as conscious, as "a spirit and a person", as knowing and choosing. God "is infinitely more than any finite system of natural facts

or of human lives can express". "This unity is not a dead natural fact. It is the unity of a conscious life". He speaks of the "entire world" as "present at once to the eternal divine consciousness as a single whole", as being "what he is conscious of choosing as his own life". He speaks of "the relation of the real individual human person to the real God" (pp. 434, 438, 439, 440).

Having thus explained his idea of God, he turns to the problem of evil. "Why, then, if the world is the divine life embodied, is there so much evil in it?" (p. 440). Under this question he discusses admirably the problem of human vicarious suffering. He speaks of "the true and highest values of the spiritual world" as consisting in "the triumph over suffering, over sorrow, and over unreasonableness". He says that these values appear "in our human lives in three forms". In their lowest form they appear when we practice fortitude under suffering. In a higher form they appear when we sympathize with others and become their comrades in suffering. But there is a still higher form of them—that which is exhibited by those "who are willing to suffer vicariously, to give their lives a ransom for many" (p. 443). This idea he expresses more fully in other passages.

"When one is willing to suffer vicariously . . . ills that he might have avoided, but that the cause to which he is loyal, and the errors and sins that he himself did not commit, call upon him to suffer in order that the world may be brought nearer to its destined union with the divine" (pp. 440-441).

"There is never any completed spiritual triumph over sorrow which is not accompanied with the willingness to suffer vicariously; . . . to force one's very sorrow to be an aid to the common cause of all mankind" (p. 445).

When we have before us these two ideas—first the idea of God as personal and conscious, immanent in the universe and thus identical with the universe, and second the idea of human vicarious suffering, we have the elements of Dr. Royce's interpretation of the doctrines of the incarnation



and the atonement. This principle of vicarious suffering, he declares, is a principle for the universe and for God, as well as for men.

"Perfect through suffering,—that is the universal, the absolutely necessary law of the higher spiritual life. It is a law that holds for God and for man" (p. 441).

This idea he expands into fuller statements.

"The true doctrine of the incarnation and of the atonement is, in its essence, simply the conception of God's nature which this solution of the problem of evil requires. First, God expresses himself in this world of finitude, incarnates himself in this realm of human imperfection, . . . that through finitude and imperfection, and sorrow and temporal loss, he may win in the eternal world (that is, precisely, in the conscious unity of his whole life) his spiritual triumph over evil" (p. 444).

To prevent misunderstanding he explains that the doctrine of the incarnation, as thus understood, is not merely the doctrine of God immanent in us, nor the doctrine of "the natural divinity of man". As distinguished from these it is the doctrine "that God will be born in us and through our consent", transmuting "transient and temporal values into eternal meanings" (p. 444). This idea of God being born in us he illustrates from the preaching of Eckhart the mystic. He might equally well have illustrated it from the familiar Christmas hymn of Phillips Brooks:

"No ear may hear his coming,  
But in this world of sin,  
Where meek souls will receive him still,  
The dear Christ enters in.  
O holy child of Bethlehem!  
Descend to us we pray;  
Cast out our sin, and enter in;  
Be born in us this day".

In further explanation concerning the atonement he says:

"The true doctrine of the atonement seems to me simply this: We . . . are destined to win our union with the divine only through learning to triumph over our own evil, . . . This conquest we never accomplish alone. As the mother that bore you suffered, so the world suffers for

you and through you and in you until you win your peace in union with the divine will. . . . When you sorrow, then, remember that God sorrows,—sorrows in you, since in all your finitude you still are part of his life; sorrows for you, . . . ; and sorrows, too, in waiting for your higher fulfilment, since indeed the whole universe needs your spiritual triumph for the sake of its completion" (pp. 444-445).

Such is the interpretation which Dr. Royce gives to the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, regarded as eternal and vital truths. Let us complete the account by observing where he classifies himself as compared with other thinkers, and how he regards his view in its relation to the New Testament records.

His classification of himself is expressed in the statement that the men who "in various ages of the church, and in various ways", have taught the doctrine of the "Essential Christ" as distinguished from the historical Christ "have been nearing in various degrees the comprehension of what is vital in Christianity" (p. 438).

His idea of the New Testament accounts of the incarnation and the atonement is easily understood. He regards these accounts as purely legendary, but as efforts of the religious consciousness of the early church to set forth the truth—the truth of which men in past ages have sometimes had dim glimpses, but which the modern mind is now at last able to formulate. He says:

"Whatever is vital in Christianity concerns in fact the relation of the real individual human person to the real God. To the minds of the people whose religious tradition we have inherited the relation first came through the symbolic interpretation that the early church gave to the life of the master". "I personally regard the supernatural narratives . . . simply as symbols,—the product indeed of no man's effort to deceive, but of the religious imagination of the great constructive age of the early church. . . . The truth which lies behind these symbols is capable of a perfectly rational statement, . . . is independent of the legends. It relates to eternal spiritual facts" (pp. 437-438).



"These miraculous reports are best understood when we indeed first dwell upon them lovingly and meditatively, but . . . view them as symbols, . . . and thereby learn to interpret the actually definite, and to my mind unquestionably superhuman and eternal, truth that these legends express, . . . The tale is not literally true. But its deeper meaning may be absolutely true. . . . It is the office of religion to interpret truths which are in themselves perfectly definite, eternal and literal, but to interpret them to us by means of a symbolism which is the product of the constructive imagination of the great ages in which the religions which first voiced these truths grew up. There are some truths which our complicated natures best reach first through instinct and intuition, through parable and legend. . . . But . . . we may also hope, in the fullness of our own time, to comprehend these truths by a clearer insight into the nature of that eternal world which is indeed about and above us all" (p. 435).

"Now all this teaching is old". He says that it was the earliest teaching of the church in the matter. "When later it said, 'In the God-man Christ God suffered, once for all and in the flesh, to save us; in him alone the Word became flesh and dwelt among us', the forms of its religious imagination were transient, but the truth of which these forms were the symbol was everlasting. And we sum up this truth in two theses; First, God wins perfection through expressing himself in a finite life and triumphing over and through its very finitude. And secondly, our sorrow is God's sorrow. . . . Our fulfilment, like our existence, is due to the sorrow and triumph of God himself. These two theses express, I believe, what is vital in Christianity" (p. 445).

IV. The views thus presented are open to comment.

1. A satisfactory thing is that Dr. Royce presents his view as being mainly an old one. He is simply trying to formulate more carefully certain truths which the Church has always recognized.

Note an instance or two in addition to those already given. He says that the conception of God which he defines is "the view of the divine nature which the church has always more or less intuitively felt to be true", though

some parts of his own formulation of it "have been upon occasion formally condemned as heresy" (p. 439). He says that his "solution" of the "problem of evil" "has long since been in substance grasped and figured forth in symbolic forms by the higher religious consciousness of our race" (p. 440). In regard to certain elements in the view he presents he says:

"There has always existed in the Christian church a tradition tending to emphasize the conception that the supernatural work of Christ, which the church conceived of in the form of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, was not a work accomplished once for all at a certain historical point of time, but . . . perhaps, that it ought to be viewed as a timeless fact, which never merely happened, but which is such as to determine anew in every age the relation of the faithful to God" (p. 435).

He says that though the Church has at times condemned something of this sort as heretical, nevertheless "such opinions have in fact entered into the formation of the official dogmas". He might have added that the current thought of the Church conceives of the "work of Christ" as being both "a work accomplished once for all" and "a timeless fact", the two conceptions not being contradictory.

In our time, when one is so often exasperated by hearing some inferior statement of an old truth exploited as if it were a modern discovery, it is refreshing to note how really great thinkers like Dr. Royce pursue the opposite course. In the highest degree laudable is the ambition to formulate the old truths more perfectly.

2. In the mind of Dr. Royce God is a reality, and in the incarnation and the atonement are not mere ideas, but facts, and facts of the most practical character. He has no use for "the god-concept" as a substitute for God. He does not resolve God into a notion of "the universe in its ideal-achieving capacity". Whether or no you regard his theism as perfectly satisfactory, it is at all events pronounced. To the citations already made add the following, taken from the most distinctively pantheistic passage in the article.



"In the course of infinite time a divine plan, an endlessly complex and yet perfectly definite spiritual idea gets expressed in the lives of countless finite beings and yet with the unity of a single universal life" (p. 440).

Verbally this is very unlike the answers to the Catechism questions, "What is God?" "What are the decrees of God?"; but it would be interesting to work out the question how far the two really differ.

3. Dr. Royce is profoundly correct in recognizing the fact that there is an element of symbol in our finite utterances concerning God. All thinking persons are conscious of this. In the book of Job Zophar asks:

"Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"

Finite minds cannot adequately express the infinite. If we speak of God we have to speak anthropomorphically. This fact has three bearings on such an article as that of Dr. Royce.

First, it should affect his estimate of the doctrines heretofore held. The men who have formulated or held these traditions have mostly been men who were conscious of these human limitations, and what they have said should be understood accordingly. It is not fair play needlessly to put mechanical interpretations on their utterances; though it is of course true that among the millions who have spoken on these subjects some have uttered wooden ideas. As compared with what inferior men have published, this paper of Dr. Royce is singularly free from the assumption that all orthodox thinking is mechanical.

Second, Dr. Royce is evidently aware that he himself is far from having escaped the limitations that attend human thinking. He holds that the truth behind the symbols is "statable", "is capable of a perfectly rational statement", that we may hope that it will yield to the "clearer insight" of the modern mind; but his own statement of it is not intelligible apart from symbol. The statement that "God expresses Himself in this world of finitude, incarnates Himself in this realm of human imperfection" is not a bit less

symbolical than the statement that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us". It is only by a hard struggle with phrases that Dr. Royce retains the pantheistic idea in his doctrine of vicarious suffering; his thought constantly slips the pantheistic leash. He says that God and the "eternal world" are identical; and yet he tells us that "God expresses himself in this world of finitude" in order that he may "win" something in the eternal world (p. 444). We, being parts of the eternal world are identical with God, and yet "God sorrows in you, . . . sorrows for you, . . . sorrows, too, in waiting for your higher fulfilment". We are "destined to win our union with the divine" (p. 444). Great souls willingly suffer "that the world may be brought nearer to its destined union with the divine" (p. 441).

With all its alleged advances in insight the modern mind still has to use human phrases when it speaks of the divine.

And third, an event is not necessarily legendary because it is symbolical. The doctrine of the "essential Christ" is a positive doctrine; why should it be coupled with a denial of any New Testament fact in regard to the historical Christ? If one holds that divine-human redemptive suffering is one of the eternal principles of the universe, how should that prevent his holding that the sufferings of Jesus Christ, once for all, were a unique expression of this principle? If one regards the divine-human redemption as a "timeless fact" "which never merely happened" (p. 435), but is always happening, he may nevertheless hold that it actually happened, uniquely, in one supreme instance. Some facts are as well fitted to be symbols as legend can possibly be. If the incarnation and the atoning death are facts, they are not for that reason any the less symbols of any truths for which they stand. A typical fact is a symbol of the highest order.

4. Dr. Royce's interpretation of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement includes, as we have seen, a doctrine of vicarious human suffering. What may be dis-



tinctively called vicarious suffering, by human beings for human beings, is suffering voluntarily undertaken by the sufferer, not incurred by his heedlessness or his misdoing. It is suffering to which he is providentially and divinely called, not that which he undertakes lightly or foolishly. It is suffering for the benefit of others, and it includes, often, the rescuing of men from evil consequences which they had incurred through their own wrong-doing. All that is finest in common life is more or less connected with vicarious suffering of this type; and the most conspicuous noble deeds in history have been instances of the same type.

Dr. Royce does not present this as a new idea, and it is not new. It is the old familiar argument from the analogies of experience, by which the advocates of the doctrine of the atonement have defended that doctrine when it was attacked. Barring possible differences in theistic conceptions, what Dr. Royce says concerning fortitude and sympathetic comradeship in suffering, and concerning vicarious underserved suffering for the salvation of others, has its place in the orthodox theories of the atonement as well as in the theory of Dr. Royce. Of course we all welcome this timely restatement of this truth.

5. When Dr. Royce broadens this idea of human vicarious suffering, saying that it is a law for God and the universe as well as for men, and identifying it with the Christian doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, it is less easy to pronounce a simple judgment concerning his view, or to compare it with other views that have been held. One or two points, however, are clear.

By the very terms which he uses he plants himself on the Evangelical side. He holds that the men who have advocated the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement have been in the right, however mistaken they may have been in some of their interpretations. It follows that those who deny or ignore these doctrines are in the wrong. Presumably he expects little sympathy for the view he has presented except in the orthodox ranks.

Among Evangelical teachers the present tendency is to accept a good many different theories of the atonement as presenting each some important aspect of a great and many-sided truth. Dr. Royce's view is hardly of this character. Persons who hold narrowly to the idea that the incarnation and the atonement are merely an object lesson in the duty of self-sacrifice for others will have no trouble in squaring their ideas with those of Dr. Royce. Many of us, however, have a conception of right and wrong as well as of good and evil; a conception of justice as well as of forbearance and kindness; a conception of reward and punishment as respectively expressing approval of right and disapproval of wrong; an idea of the forgiveness of sins as well as of the alleviation of discomforts. Dr. Royce's presentation does not necessarily exclude any of these, but it does not specifically include them. It is not easy to decide how far his silences indicate that his opinions differ from ours.

The New Testament and the Evangelical theology emphasize not the sufferings of Christ, but His death, His blood, the cross; Dr. Royce, like many individual Evangelical teachers, emphasizes the sufferings. We emphasize the idea of substitution in the work of Christ, the idea coming into the problem in more ways than one; how far Dr. Royce does this we need not undertake to decide further than to note that all vicarious suffering is in a very real sense substituted suffering.

However the view of Dr. Royce may compare with the Evangelical view, he claims to have proved, on purely rational grounds, that vicarious suffering is the law of the universe; that for mankind, in virtue of the truth of the immanence of God, this amounts to redemption through divine-human suffering; and that the New Testament and the Church, teaching these propositions in the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, have essentially taught the truth. If he does not accept the whole Evangelical doctrine, he at least accepts the parts of it which have



given most offense. As against all to whom the cross is a stumblingblock he vindicates its right to stand as the most vital of religious emblems.

His argument for this particular position is invincible. Independent of any differences that may exist in our understanding of the matter, he is profoundly in the right in his appraisal of the incarnation and the atonement as more vital than even the ethics of Jesus. His position is representative. A person who is really in earnest, and to whom religion is a reality cannot forever be content to think of religion as a mere sentimental annex to good morals, or as mainly a higher form of amusement which human beings instinctively devise for themselves. The utterance of Dr. Royce should be welcomed as a timely protest against the current superficiality in religious thinking, as a reinforcement to the ranks of those who are contending for seriousness and reality in religion.

6. As between Dr. Royce's doctrine and the doctrine as commonly held by Evangelical people, there arise questions of relative utility. From the point of view of one who agrees with him in regard to the incarnation and the atonement, is there anything better for an ordinary person to do than simply to accept these doctrines as they are stated in the New Testament? Is there any better way of stating them—stating them for the purposes of a religion for persons of all sorts and conditions—than the New Testament way? Religious statements are needed for persons of all types of culture; Dr. Royce would not claim that his own statements are suited to any persons save those of one type of culture; how would he make provision for others? I think that he would be surprised if he found as much as one person who should understand what he has said exactly as he himself intended it. I think that he would not be surprised if many intelligent persons, reading what he has said, should have a different understanding of it from that which he intended. This is not indicative of lack of lucidity on his part, but of the difficulty of making

our ideas intelligible in these regions of refined thinking. If the conclusions which Dr. Royce has reached are true, there is need that these truths be made intelligible to persons unaccustomed to speculative subtleties. One can hardly be sure whether Dr. Royce would not be content to express the doctrine of the incarnation and the atonement in the forms in which the Church has commonly expressed them, provided it were understood that the expressions are symbols rather than absolute statements of fact. The New Testament statements and the other orthodox formulas have always been regarded as attempts to express the infinite in finite language, and therefore as having a certain symbolical character. They are pedagogically adapted for being held in the memory, so as to be mentally digested. Dr. Royce finds that, as symbols, they convey to his mind the great truths of the divine-human redemption. He would doubtless join in the affirmation that millions upon millions of persons who were not up in the mysteries of pantheistic theism have to some extent assimilated the biblical teachings concerning the atonement and the incarnation, and have found them spiritually nourishing. Is there anything better than this for most persons to do?

7. One more point. How do the conclusions of Dr. Royce agree with his presupposition that the parts of the New Testament which speak of the incarnation and the atonement are legendary? Is he correct in regarding these as legend, having only a symbolical value; or is the Evangelical tradition correct in regarding them as true to fact, though having also the value of symbol through their being the expression of infinite truths in finite language? Are these parts of the Jesus narrative fiction, or are they typical fact?

The passages which teach this doctrine of a divine-human redemption, of the incarnation and the atonement, are not confined to the Gospel of John, or to parts of the New Testament which the critics of any school may regard as the latest. To say nothing of the Synoptic Gospels,



these passages are found in the Acts in the record of the earliest teachings of the apostles, and in several of the earlier Epistles. On strictly critical grounds there is no reason why one should regard the record of the ethical teachings of Jesus as authentic, but the records concerning the incarnation and the atonement as legendary. No one can adduce any strong reason for regarding them as legendary except as he first assumes that the superhuman element in them renders them incredible.

But Dr. Royce says that the superhuman fact in them is not incredible. He affirms, "on purely rational grounds", that what we know concerning the incarnation and the atonement is "unquestionably superhuman and eternal truth" (p. 435). In the wide margin which he recognizes between the "entire universe" and the fragmentary universe known to our science there is plenty of room for the superhuman, no matter what theory of miracle one holds. To him the spiritual nature of God and the divine-human redemption, as set forth in the New Testament, are not incredible, but are indubitable facts; to this extent these alleged legendary parts of the New Testament are true to fact. Where, then, in these passages, shall one draw the line between what is fact and what is fiction? One who disbelieves in the superhuman may well count these passages as legendary, but how can Dr. Royce count them so?

When he says that these great truths of the incarnation and the atonement are implied in the teachings and the conduct of Jesus, so that a modern man can reasonably infer them from those teachings and that conduct, but that they were probably unknown to the historical Jesus, he says something that will seem more improbable the more you consider it. If Jesus lacked some of the advantages which the modern man has, he had nevertheless a greater mind and keener insight than most modern men, and he knew what his teachings implied quite as well as any modern man does.

If divine-human redemption is a fact. so also its being

made known to men is a fact. How was it made known? Clearly it is in some sense a revelation from the Supreme Power. The Evangelical view is that the Supreme Power especially revealed it through the words and actions of certain exceptionally gifted persons, namely Jesus and his first disciples, and that we have the authentic record of these; Dr. Royce says that the record is not authentic, but is "the product . . . of the religious imagination of the great constructive age of the early church". When he says this he is not very intelligible. If a person regards the ideas of the incarnation and the atonement as themselves fanciful, he may naturally attribute them to the fancies of everybody and nobody; but if he regards them as vital truths he is precluded from disposing of the matter in this light way.

What is the "imagination" of an "age" save the imagination of the persons who live in that age; the imagination of a few leaders supplemented by that of many followers? And who are more likely than Jesus and Paul and John and the others to have been the leaders in whose imaginations these pictures arose?

If these alleged legends were constructed for the purpose of teaching the great truth of the divine-human redemption, how about the question whether the men who constructed them knew that truth? Which was the earlier in their minds, the truth illustrated or the story by which they illustrated it? Could they have invented the story without having first perceived the truth? The more you think of it the surer you will be that these records did not originate in the dead level of a gregarious myth-making imagination, but that they have reached us as the product of one or a few great constructive minds, stirred by an inspiration not paralleled elsewhere. How else could they have taught these vital truths, nearly two millenniums before the Modern man arose to expound them?

If you feel contempt for the doctrine of a divine-human redemption, you may perhaps make that a reason for repudiating the passages that teach it. But if you accept



the doctrine have you any really valid reason for doubting the authenticity of the passages? It will hardly be claimed that the critical details are decisive except as one marshals them under the lead of some historical or theological theory. Unless you regard their religious teachings as absurd, why should you regard these parts of the record as unhistorical? You accept the parables as the correctly reported utterances of a real person, because it is easier to account for them thus than in any other way; on the whole does not the reasoning apply equally to the parts of the New Testament which make the bringing in of the divine-human redemption to be that which is most vital in the mission of Jesus? If you reject the redemption idea, that will of course involve your rejecting the statements that affirm it; but if not, what ground have you for denying that the statements are true to fact?

In fine, Dr. Royce has made good his position. To minds that accept the Christian idea of God, and that have centuries of Christian heredity and training back of them, it is possible for Philosophy to prove that the divine-human redemption is the most vital thing in religion. Whether Dr. Royce would have been able to prove this if it had not first been revealed in the Scriptures is another question. On another point there is no room for question. Philosophy has taken possession of this citadel in the name of the Evangelical truth. It cannot hold the citadel unless it is willing also to defend the outworks—to defend the other essentially connected Evangelical doctrines, including the doctrine of the truthfulness of the Scriptures.

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## REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

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### PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

THE WORLD A SPIRITUAL SYSTEM. An Outline of Metaphysics. By JAMES S. SNOWDEN, D.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 316. Cloth 12 mo. Price \$1.50 net.

The closing paragraph of Rudolph Eucken's great work, *The Problem of Life*, is an eloquent and timely plea for the study of Metaphysics.

"We feel", he says, "with increasing force the need to synthesize life afresh; the need of some unifying, sustaining system of ideas . . . We must have recourse to Metaphysics."

It is certain that our intense and absorbing devotion each man to his own special, and mostly narrow, field has made us near-sighted. Or in the familiar figure "We cannot see the wood for the trees."

We hear a good deal of the revival of interest in philosophy, but the evidence of such a revival is not abundant. The fruit of such revival as there may be is not very satisfactory. Much of it is unsatisfactory because it is so evidently partial and partisan; often a mere scrap of metaphysics dragged in to flavor a novel or sustain some scheme of sociology or therapeutics.

Many of the most readable contributions to the discussion of philosophic subjects are the work of enthusiastic amateurs who take us on pleasant excursions, but keep near the shore and avoid the high seas of Metaphysics very carefully. Even the best of our philosophers seem to have lost heart and are ready to leave the high seas altogether and settle down in some snug harbor, like Pragmatism, for the rest of their days. Others drift over the line that separates philosophy from poetry, and cruise about in the pleasant waters of verse.

Still the situation is not hopeless. Indeed it is the more hopeful because it is so unsatisfactory. The need of more serious, sane and patient study of Metaphysics has become obvious; and the world's need is ever the scholar's opportunity, therefore we hope for better things in the near future. The psychologist and physiologist and moralist and physicist are crying aloud for the metaphysician to put their work together—to show the plans and specifications of the world.

And we have not only hope, but some achievements to encourage us. Such men as James and Paulsen and Eucken are a great deal to have in one generation. And it is with joy as well as hope that we



see one of our sanest and boldest thinkers taking his pen in hand in this good cause.

He gains our good will, first of all, by writing English that can be read with pleasure. We may not be able to agree with all he says; but we can at least parse it, and that is a good deal.

His thinking is straight and consistent. It is not all easy reading of course—it requires more than large type to enable one to read Philosophy—but the reader who brings an earnest mind and fair intelligence to the reading will have no trouble and much pleasure.

He has the courage of his convictions; does not evade the difficulties; does not select his ground, but comes out into the open and defends his positions fairly.

He is devout and shows a fitting reverence for the sublime themes which he discusses. It may be only our taste, but we dislike the fellow who makes jokes about the solar system or is "smart" in his remarks on the universe.

The doctrine taught is distinctly idealistic monism; or as he would prefer to call it, personal monism.

The purpose of the book is expository. It does not attempt to review all systems of philosophy, but to present and expound the truth as he sees it.

About half of the book is a statement of the idealist's view of the universe. This is admirably presented under these chapters.

1. The Nature of Metaphysics.
2. The World from Different View Points.
3. The Subjectivity of Sensation.
4. The Subjectivity of Space.
5. The Subjectivity of Time.
6. Subjective Reality.
7. How we reach Objective Reality.

Thus far he keeps the main road, following Paulsen for the most part, and aiming only at making intelligible the doctrine taught by idealists generally.

Chapter eight, on the Nature of Objective Reality is, perhaps, the most original and valuable part of the book. The World as Life. The World as Thought, The World as Sensibility and the World as Will are great essays on these great themes.

Chapter nine is the culmination of the work. Here he discusses the World and God and reaches conclusions that are momentous, e. g. "The material universe is a mode of divine activity". "The soul is derived from God. . . . The soul comes into being in the phenomenal world by a process of evolution. . . . Human souls have reached a point of separation from the divine mind and have passed into personality. . . . Yet we are not to suppose human souls ever become ontologically separate from God. . . . The relation of God and finite spirits is one of reciprocal immanence; God is in all souls and all souls are in God."

The closing chapter on Application of Idealism discusses five subjects.

1. The Relation of Mind and Body.
2. Immortality.
3. The Problem of Evil.
4. Idealism and Religion.
5. Idealism of Life.

These, especially 2 and 3, are, perhaps, the best written portions of the book, but perhaps also the most open to attack on philosophic grounds.

It is not for the critic to determine the question whether the author sustains his thesis. This is the function of the jury of intelligent readers. But as judge charging the jury we may remark.

1. It is not possible to present a complete system of Metaphysics and also to defend it at every point in one small volume. This book presents such a system clearly, consistently and in fair proportions; it does not attempt to prove everything, and necessarily assumes a good deal that will be disputed by those who are not idealists.

2. The advocate of idealistic monism labors under a great disadvantage in that he must present his case in language that is thoroughly dualistic. It is impossible to find words that are neutral for many of his most fundamental ideas.

3. The unsettled state of psychology is also most embarrassing. No system of Metaphysics can be established without a clear definition of the soul. It must be regarded as either a substance—thing-in-itself—or a stream of consciousness. This question is especially important in a system which rests fundamentally on the soul as the one and only "bit of reality" known to us directly.

4. The difficulty of avoiding the conclusions of pantheism is a real difficulty. Having accepted matter as "a mode of divine activity" it is not easy to find firm ground for personality. In this work the most difficult pages are 205 ff, following the conclusion of 204.

5. The fact that many—perhaps the majority—of our greatest students of philosophy are idealists and mostly monists, does not go far to prove that idealism is the true view; but it does establish a presumption that it is not an absurd theory to be laughed out of court, or treated with contempt.

It may be that the reaction from positivism and practical materialism has carried us too far; but this remains to be proved.

6. The chief practical value of Dr. Snowden's work is its adaptability to the needs of all men who have an interest in philosophy, but are not deeply read in the subject. The book is not merely elementary, but it is distinctly preparatory and introductory; an ideal book for use in colleges, provided they are not afraid of "corrupting" the minds of students with the visions of idealism.

S. A. MARTIN.

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### APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. By EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the University



of Chicago. 8vo.; pp. xii, 428. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1910. Price, \$2.50 net.

"This work," in the words of the author, "undertakes an investigation of the religious aspect of normal human experience. The point of view employed is that of functional psychology, which is necessarily genetic and social. The method adopted involves the use of much material from anthropology, the history of religion, and other social sciences, but an attempt has been made to organize this material and to interpret it from the psychological standpoint. This hypothesis that religion is the consciousness of the highest social values arose from studies in these fields, and this conception has been strengthened by further investigations. These highest social values appear to embody more or less idealized expressions of the most elemental and urgent life impulses. Religion expresses the desire to obtain life and obtain it abundantly. In all stages the demand is for 'daily bread' and for companionship and achievement in family and community relationships. These cravings constitute the inner continuity and identity of motive in all the diverse types of religion, primitive and modern, Pagan and Christian. The social consciousness arises in every group in the mediation of these needs, in the struggle for existence, and in the aspiration and endeavor to make life more varied, more adequate and more ideal. In their simpler expressions among primitive peoples these cravings struggle blindly, being dominated by rigid custom and by magic. In higher forms they are gradually freed from superstition, and guided by tested experience, and are incorporated in more elaborate symbols."

Dr. Ames's discussion falls into four parts. Part I gives "The History and Method of the Psychology of Religion." This is valuable specially for its full and illuminating presentation of the aim, the process and the characteristic of Functional Psychology. Part II investigates "The Origin of Religion in the Race." This origin it finds in the social customs which had their impulse in food and sex. With regard to these customs the author takes issue with such writers as Jevons and Frazer and Lang. Thus, instead of maintaining, as they do, a radical opposition between magic and religion, Dr. Ames agrees with William Robertson Smith in "finding the distinction between religion and magic only in the fact that the former is social and the latter individual." So, too, with regard to spirits he differs from Tylor and all who, like him, wrote under the influence of the old rational psychology, in that he denies that "man is directly conscious of himself as a spiritual agent and also that this conception of the human soul is the very 'fons et origo' of the conceptions of spirit and deity in general." "The fact seems to be," he says, "that both self and object are fused in one activity and are not contrasted in the actor's mind." "A spirit is an object, sensation, or image, which strikes the attention forcibly." He takes issue again with Jevons and writers like him "who deal with the earliest forms of sacrifice in terms 'of worship'." "Worship," he holds, "suggests an attitude of

reverence and trust toward a 'high God,' which is quite impossible in the primitive stages of human experience." "The idea of the victim being offered to the god is a late development." "The true idea is that it is the god which has been slain in order that his followers may share his life." The conception of sacrifice as an atonement for sin is very late. Even the piacular sacrifices of the Hebrews emphasize rather ceremonial contact with sacred objects. Prayer is stripped of its ordinary significance. "It is as possible to have prayer which is not prayer 'to' some person or thing, as to have sacrifice which is not sacrifice 'to' some person or thing." "No more than speech does prayer presuppose some theory concerning the nature of that to which it seems to be directed." "The earlier prayers were in reality charms operating magically, and lacking for the most part the elements of conversation between persons in the way in which it is usually interpreted."

Part III discusses "The Rise of Religion in the Individual." In this section of his book the writer draws largely on, and in the main follows, such well known authors as Starbuck, James, Coe, King. He denies, for example, "to the mature individual," and much more to the infant, "the possession of a 'soul' in the sense of a substantial and static entity within him." "To believe in infant regeneration he regards as inconsistent and unscientific." Adolescence he holds to be *the* time, if not the only time, for religious awakening, and the reason for this he finds in the marked development during this period of the sexual instinct on the social side. He condemns "the old theories of natural depravity and perversity." Conversion as commonly understood he considers abnormal and reprehensible.

Part IV treats of "The Place of Religion in the Experience of the Individual and Society." This is, perhaps, the most interesting section of the volume. Religion is rightly presented as "involving the entire psychical life." Nevertheless, there is a strong tendency to minimize the intellectual element. Even the importance of the idea of God is depreciated. "The truth of the matter may be put this way: *God is not known, He is not understood; He is used*—(italics the author's). "The 'attributes' in the conception of God are as numerous as the ideal interests of those who use it, for it signifies the totality of our purposes and values." "Doctrines are but working hypotheses, subject to constant modification and revision in the light of further experience and reflection." The same minimizing tendency appears with regard to the place of feeling in religion. As Starbuck and Pratt subordinate ideas to feeling, so Dr. Ames would make both "secondary to the activities of the organism;" and he would regard these as "instinctive and organic and as arising within the life process in the course of the adjustment which it involves." Genius and inspiration he identifies, and he makes them simply the highest result of such adjustment. This he attempts to illustrate and in so far forth establish in the case of the Hebrew prophets. In his own words, "the genius, whatever the sphere of his activity, is an individual of remarkable native ability, profoundly saturated with the social consciousness,



and operating effectively to bring that consciousness to greater clearness and efficiency." On the other hand, "non-religious persons are those who fail to enter vitally into a world of social activities and feelings." That is to say, "the social consciousness, in its most intimate and vital phases, is identical with religion." An interesting, if not always an illuminating, chapter follows on "The Psychology of the Religious Sects." "Each denomination represents a type of personality, a social stratification, which is determined in its original pattern by the economic forces and the personal leadership which fashioned it. Afterwards it aggregates like-minded people to itself and stamps its members with its own marks." The closing chapter is entitled "Democracy and Science." In it we are shown that as "the two most characteristic features of the aspiring life of the present period are the democratic and scientific tendencies," so the distinctive "significance of democracy and science is religious." Hence—and this sums up this whole treatise—"There will be creeds, but they will affirm no more than is really helpful to believe, ritual, but only what is beautiful or edifying; everything must justify itself by function." In a word, pragmatism is the explanation because the essence of religion. It works: that is why it is, and why it is what it is.

Adequate criticism of so large a book as this of Dr. Ames is, of course, impossible within our limits. We can remark only in a general way as follows:

1. The functional psychology, if used as an explanation of religion, is open to the same criticism to which pragmatism in general is exposed as a philosophy. That is, it itself demands explanation. Thus pragmatism finds the test of truth in workability: what will work is true. But what is meant by workability? That depends on the end in view. If it be righteousness, it will be one thing; if it be happiness, it will be another; if it be self-realization, it will be something else; if it be material prosperity, it will again be different: in a word, your conception of workability will be determined by your theory of the highest good. Thus pragmatism, to be a philosophy, must call in another and deeper philosophy; and so it itself is really not a philosophy. Precisely so is it with functional, which might be called pragmatic psychology. This, as our author maintains, is characteristically "voluntaristic." In its lowest terms it is the study of strivings. Strivings, however, mean nothing apart from an end. They are good or bad, they are high or low; and, hence, they are significant and worthy of study, only in view of what is striven after. Nor is this all. They can not be studied simply as strivings, even if we could overlook the unprofitableness of such study—they can not be studied simply as strivings, unless we know what strives and what is striven after. The striving of a dog will not be rightly interpreted even as mere striving, if it be studied as if it were the striving of a man. The hypothesis that religion expresses the effort after adjustment to environment in view of "the highest social values" is unfruitful by itself. We must start with a social being and we must know what are the highest social values. Our standpoint must embrace

the static and the ideal as well as the functional. In a word, even within the sphere of psychology, our author's method is impossible.

2. The problem which he would solve and which he believes himself to have solved is not the problem to be solved. For example, holding as he does that "the origin of religion is to be found in the origin of the social consciousness," he thinks that he has explained religion when he has explained the social consciousness. The fact is, however, that the religious consciousness and the social consciousness are not identical. Doubtless, that is a poor kind of religion which is unsocial, but who has not seen exceedingly religious persons who were very unsocial and social persons who were not religious? That is to say, in becoming social man does not necessarily become religious. On the contrary, the distinguishing mark of all religion, the lowest as well as the highest, is the sense of relation to the Supernatural. Where we have this sense we have religion. When we do not have it, we do not have religion, unless religion be taken in a meaning other than its historical and common one. Now, nothing is more characteristic of Dr. Ames's whole discussion than the way in which he ignores the conception of the Supernatural. He writes a long chapter on "The Development of Religion," including Christianity, and so far as we can discover, there is in it not one reference to the conception of the Supernatural. That is to say, what needs most to be explained he does not try to explain. Because the social consciousness has much to do with determining what objects shall be regarded as supernatural and what shall be the attributes of the Supernatural, he seems to think that the social consciousness is all that there is to account for. He makes the same mistake as does the Associationist Theory of Morals. This may explain why this rather than that is regarded obligatory, but what is to be explained is the idea of obligation; and precisely so, the social consciousness may throw light on the kind of religion prevalent, but the real problem is as to the fact of religion itself.

3. The generalizations and the arguments of our author seem to be determined not so much by facts and logic as by the theory to be supported. Our limits permit only an example or two. Thus he says (quoting Starbuck): "*'One of the most pronounced characteristics of the religion of childhood is that religion is distinctively external to the child rather than something which possesses inner significance'*" (italics his). In the replies I received to the question, What impressions did the church services and the Sunday School make? the most frequent answer was that they made little or no impression at all. 'Up to the age of twelve, I know of no definite impression the church service made on me. I took it as a matter of course.' This, it will be observed, is simply testimony; and it is testimony whose value as proof must be considerably lessened by the fact that those whose experience was different, if there were such, would for that very reason have been unlikely to give their experience. Even the questionnaire of an eminent psychologist of religion would not dispose them to expose anything so sacred. For himself, however, the writer is willing to say under the circumstances, that the sermons which im-



pressed him most, and most inwardly as well as permanently, were those to which he listened before he was twelve years old; that his twelve years in the pastorate convince him that his experience in this respect was in no wise exceptional; and that he does not see why this testimony of his, even as the basis for scientific generalization, is not as good as the opposite. Again, we are told that "the fact that the Bible was the book most commonly printed may be regarded as the cause almost as much as the result of its authority. 'It became at once a primer, a history, and a law book.'" But why was it most commonly printed? It was not the only book. Our author is so bent on denying the supernatural authority of the Bible that he overlooks, if he does not try to obscure, the fact that the Bible was most commonly printed just because of its general acceptance as the supernatural authority; and that the universal circulation of it thus promoted would rather have tended to expose and to refute its claims, had they been false. Once more, Dr. Ames writes: "There is abundant evidence that primitive customs and taboos do not arise from ideas or from systems of belief, and modern psychology has made it possible to account for such usages upon other and far more convincing grounds. Many lines of proof support this view. For example, the replies of savages themselves to inquiries concerning their customs are good evidence that their conduct does not issue from 'ideas' nor depend upon 'reasons.' They simply say, 'It is our custom.' One soon gets tired of the everlasting answer that meets your questioning at every turn, 'It is our custom.'" Because, however, this is the answer given, it does not follow, as Dr. Ames holds, that it must be the true explanation. Doubtless, many customs, whether in the case of savage or of civilized men, are only "reactions to felt needs." We may not, however, conclude from this that they are "non-rational." The appetite to which the custom is a response may be non-rational, as hunger, but the response with which the custom began could not in the case of man be non-rational; for he is essentially a rational being. He must, therefore, in the first instance at least, even take of a particular kind of food because he has the *idea* of the taking of it as fitted to gratify some particular appetency. This is so because his nature is rational and he must act according to his nature. Made to receive ideas and to respond to them, the only final and valid explanation of his acts and even of his customs must be the intellectualistic one. This is confirmed, rather than controverted as Dr. Ames thinks, by "the fact that many different myths or stories will be told by the same savage at different times to account for his custom." This may indicate that "he has no definite theory with reference to his customs," that he cannot recall the ideas in which they originated; but does it not certainly indicate also that there must be a theory, that the custom must have had its genesis in an idea? Were it not so, why would the savage offer so many explanations? Though he cannot suggest a rational one, he feels that there must be one.

4. This whole functional and voluntaristic psychology is as unsatisfactory, to say no more, as it is clever. It aims to show, and to the

merely superficial observer it may show, how even the highest religion is developed out of "the impulses" toward "food and sex." It has not shown, however, and it can not show, why it is that, though all animals are at least as impressionable to "impulses" toward "food and sex" as man is, yet man is the only animal who rises to religion. Is not this the thing to be explained? Can it be explained otherwise than that man is the only animal to whom God has revealed or could reveal himself?

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. A Contribution to the Scientific Study of Christian Experience and Character. By HORACE EMORY WARNER, M.A., D.D. With Introduction by JOHN R. MOTT, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 401. Fleming H. Revell Company: New York, Chicago, Toronto, London, and Edinburgh. 1910. Price \$1.50 net.

"This is exclusively a psychology of the *Christian* life." It is more. It is an argument for the supernaturalness of that life based on its psychology. "It does not, therefore, purport to be a treatise presenting merely a disinterested discussion of phenomena, without definite conclusions reached, or positive positions taken. Its aim is to show that an intelligent study of all the facts embraced in the field outlined leads to one inevitable culmination: the postulation of supernatural origin to specific psychical processes involved in Christian experience, constituting the experimental Christian life a distinctively supernatural life—it being expressly understood that this supernatural origin is not disorderly or capricious, but evidently acting under some spiritual order well beyond all range of the natural order with which we are familiar. Such supernaturalistic view seems to the author to be the only position tenable, and this conviction gives purpose and form to the entire discussion." Beyond this, the psychology and the argument based on it are distinctively "*Christian*." That is, they admit "the validity of Scriptural insight as a source of reliable information in the psychical area." There are two books: Book I treating of "The Inner Life" of the Christian and Book II, of his "Outer Life." Book I, again, falls into two parts. Part I sets forth "The States of Christian Experience." These are four: first, the "Antecedent States," or those prior to conversion; second, the "Cataclysmic States," or those when "salvation comes through cataclysm;" third, the "State under Christian Nurture," or those when Christian life is experienced through Christian Nurture; and, fourth, the "States in Ascent," or those which express themselves in the progressive stages of growth in grace. Part II takes up the question of "Origins." These it locates in the subliminal consciousness. As they are thus "beyond observation," they must be learned either by psychological inference or from the testimony of Scripture or from both sources. "The Availability of Psychological Inference" is, therefore, considered and established. It is found that the phenomena of the Christian life already set forth warrant three inferences: that "forces are at work in the sub-con-



scious region;" that "they operate under fixed laws;" that "they manifest intelligent qualities." It is also shown that four "erroneous inferences" are drawn: (1) that the phenomena of conversion are "the outcome of adolescent change," which is a conclusion not warranted by the data; (2) that parallel phenomena prove the phenomena of conversion to be "reactive," which phenomena are not really parallel; (3) that incapacity demonstrates these phenomena to be structural, but genuine incapacity is very rare and it warrants no such inference as alleged; (4) that the phenomena originate in "hypnotic suggestion," but this is set aside by "the deplorable results of hypnotic action." Thus we are thrown back for the answer to our inquiry on "Scripture insight." Can, however, the reliability of this be established? It would seem so. It is confirmed by four credentials. Its "diagnoses of psychical disorder," its "prescription for relief," its "definition of processes of relief," its "familiarity with conditions involved"—all prove "the unerring accuracy of Scripture insight in the region of consciousness," and this establishes its "claim upon our credence whenever we find it to speak concerning such occurrences as take place in the depths of the subconscious." "For the difference between these two classes of psychical occurrences, those transpiring in consciousness and those in subconsciousness, is one evidently arising in the limitations of the ordinary powers of human insight. Both are occurrences in the psychical field of kindred, if not identical, nature; their differentiation is one of location, one class transpiring under the light of consciousness, the other in the obscurity of subconsciousness. Indeed, the difficulties arising in the analysis of conscious occurrences are often as insurmountable for ordinary insight as are those pertaining to subconscious processes. A penetration equal to the task of clearing away all such difficulties with reference to conscious psychical activities, as we have seen Scriptural insight to have, may as well be able to do the same for subconscious spiritual occurrences. It should, therefore, be no strain upon the most scrupulous investigation to concede to Scriptural insight the right to speak with authority concerning the subconscious conditions involved in Christian experience, should it so choose." Now this it has done. It testifies, that "the Holy Spirit abides in the psychical field"; that He is "beneath good impulse"; that "He alone regenerates"; that "He confers life and power"; that He "transforms in Christian growth." Book II sets forth "the Outer Life" of the Christian. This is found to correspond with and so to evidence its inward change and power. Christian character and conduct manifest themselves along three lines; personal, evangelistic, sociological: these developments are unique: and through their reaction on psychical facilities and psychical perceptions they point to a future of human progress and glory that must be the eternal demonstration of the wisdom and power of God Himself. Such in brief and very imperfectly is the outline and argument of Dr. Warner's, to say the least, remarkable book.

The following general criticisms are submitted:

1. It is well that this work has been done. During the last ten or

fifteen years treatises on the psychology of religion have been so numerous and so able, that the names of Starbuck and James and Pratt and Hall and Coe and Ames are on the lips even of college students. These writers, however, have approached their subject from a non-Christian standpoint, and it can scarcely be doubted that the influence of their publications has, on the whole, been anti-Christian. Psychological processes are coming to be regarded as explaining away the supernatural in Christian experience. It is, therefore, high time that the "psychology of the *Christian* life" should be set forth, and that this should be done by one who studies it and who portrays it as a Christian. As Schmidt has shown in his *Die Verschiedenen Typen Religiöser Erfahrung und die Psychologie*, "we cannot reach the specifically religious feeling by way of examination of merely assumed kindred moods, analogous feelings, fixed ideas, morbid states of mind." "No one can pass judgment on such a phenomenon as religion"—and this applies preëminently to the Christian religion—"except one who knows it from his own experiences."

2. It is well that this necessary and difficult work has been done so carefully and in the main so satisfactorily as Dr. Warner has done it. He writes out of ample and generally accurate information. He has brought to his task a mind which has had the best modern educational advantages. He has kept abreast of research and discussion on his subject. He shows familiarity with the results and even sympathy with the methods of the masters of the new science of the psychology of religion. "Above all, he has had the absolutely invaluable corrective of a long and fruitful career in the Christian ministry." "His whole life has been spent, therefore, in what might be called the laboratory of Christian observation and experience." His position, moreover, on psychological questions is sound, sounder sometimes than that of his masters. For example, he never falls into the error of many revivalists that God reveals Himself directly in the soul. "In all this wonderful achievement"—he is referring to regeneration and sanctification—"the Holy Spirit," he says, "does not appear in consciousness. There is no direct perception of Him as a person; nor is a single stroke of his actual work perceived in consciousness." The supernatural results necessarily presuppose supernatural activity. The "new creation" demonstrates the Creator, but we do not see or hear him. We are conscious of what must be his direct work, but we are never conscious of him himself. Again, our author avoids the mistake of the many psychologists who would make religion originate in feeling. On the contrary, with Prof. Francis Bowen, he regards "feeling as a state of mind consequent on the reception of some idea." Hence, he says, "Emotion is a psychical reaction occurring on the occasion of the presence in the mind of definite, correlated, perceptive states." So, also, he is sound and clear in his account of the relation of conduct to character. "Mere verbal assertion cannot make character, he says; "persistent profession will not issue in character; conduct alone produces character." His argument, too, impresses us as valid. He meets squarely, as we have seen, the



four inferences on which psychologists rely to explain away the Supernatural in Christian experience, and he proves the worth of Scriptural insight in its affirmation of the Supernatural in Christian life. The "proven accuracy of Scripture insight" in the region of consciousness entitles it to credence when it speaks, as it does, concerning the subconscious. At least, it puts the burden of proof on those who deny its trustworthiness in the latter sphere. It brings it up to the psychologists to show that this sphere differs radically from the other, and this they can not do just because it is subconscious. The case is as though a traveler who had been found to be always and most strikingly correct in his statements regarding a country to which we could go ourselves and so verify them were to tell us of a land which he said that he had visited but to which we ourselves could not go. We should still be bound to believe him, unless it could be shown that what he said was intrinsically incredible. In claiming or in admitting this, moreover, the utmost caution would be necessary. To the Siamese Emperor the statement that there were lakes, the water of which sometimes became so solid that elephants could walk on it seemed impossible. Now the only ground on which the activity of the Supernatural in the subliminal consciousness can be pronounced incredible is the denial of the Supernatural itself. But to deny the Supernatural is to beg the very question at issue. Beyond this, the Christian cannot interpret his experience as he does; i. e., as expressing new spiritual life out of spiritual death, and his causal judgment not insist on a supernatural explanation: and the non-Christian, if logical, must estimate the experience of his Christian friend in the same way; for "an interpretation that conceives of the process of Christian experience as purely automatic, mechanical, unvolitional, save as harmony with the most arbitrary law may be seemingly volitional in a delusive way, takes all sense of direct personal contact with the Spirit of God out of Christian experience, strips it of all warmth of spirituality, leaving it cold and formal, though perhaps admirable as an exact chemical process would be." That is, the purely psychological explanation of Christian experience destroys its character as *Christian* experience. But this at once stamps it as an illegitimate explanation: that can not explain which wipes out what it would account for. In a word, not only does the supernaturalistic explanation given by Scriptural insight seem to be justified by the facts which establish the competency of Scriptural insight, but by the very nature of the case this is the only reasonable explanation. Hence, our author is right when he adds: "We confidently close this study with the conclusion that the final word has been spoken by Scripture insight, and that the ultimate power operative in Christian experience, is the Holy Spirit."

3. And yet this admirable book has defects; and just because it is so admirable, these should be at least pointed out. Thus, it claims too much for its own argument as over against the other arguments for the Christian religion. For example, it is not true that "even if all historic factors were to prove fallacious and be abandoned there

remains a Christ born within." Could there be a Christ born within, if there were not a Christ to be born? And could there be a Christ to be born if the Eternal Son of God had not "become flesh" and "fulfilled all righteousness" among us and died and risen and ascended? Is not this what the Scripture means—and Dr. Warner cannot impugn it and not overthrow his own argument—is not this what the Scripture means when it says: "If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins" (1 Cor. xv:17). Again, it is not the fact that the miracle of Christian experience has set aside "the ancient miracles." It is true that the experience of the Christian is miraculous in itself. When we understand what it is, the causal judgment, as we have seen, insists on its supernatural nature and origin. But the difficulty is to make others or ourselves understand what it is. We refuse to recognize its supernatural elements; and it is not strange that we do so, if the Supernatural in nature and in history, i. e., miracle and prophecy, is denied. The truth is that no one argument for Christianity is unimportant. Still less is any one enough. We need them all. It is in and by its *system* of evidences that Christianity makes good its supreme claim. Again, our author's representation of Christian experience and of its implications is not errorless. Thus the reason which he gives why "the states under Christian nurture" differ so radically from the "cataclysmic states" is that "no sin having been committed, there is no forgiveness, no cleansing. There having been no distortion of the spiritual nature by reason of indulgence in sin, there is no regeneration. The soul having never separated itself from the heavenly Father and his family by disobedience, there is no adoption. All that is wrought now in the sub-conscious by the Holy Spirit is consistent with what remains after the complete elimination from the situation of all those conditions which only occur as consequent upon habitual sin. The child fully responsive under Christian nurture needs no conversion and never has any." It would be difficult to find a paragraph more packed with serious mistakes. To refer only to some of those on the surface, we are born "sons of God" instead of being, as Paul says, "by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (Eph. II. 3); when Jesus said to Nicodemus: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God" (John III. 3), he should have added that this assertion, though unqualified, had no reference to those brought up in Christian homes; sin is the cause rather than the consequence of corruption of nature; etc., etc. Of course, between the experience of the sinner snatched into the kingdom out of the gutter and the child trained up for the kingdom under Christian influences from the first there will be and must be a great difference, but this will not be because the former has been regenerated and the latter has not been. It will be because the contrast between death and life must in the former, from the nature of the case, reveal itself suddenly and sharply; whereas in the latter it will often do this so gradually and easily as to seem, if we disregard its results, to be only natural. In both, and in both equally, however, the change is essentially the same. It is the passage from the con-



demnation and spiritual death of sin to the glorious liberty and life of the Gospel. Having made these strictures, the reviewer should mention that this paragraph is very exceptional and that the doctrinal trend of the writer is far from being what from it might have been expected.

It remains only to add that the publishers of Dr. Warner's book have done their work well, and that its usefulness is much enhanced by an excellent index and by many diagrams which really illustrate.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF RELIGION. By SIMON N. PATTEN, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Pennsylvania, Author of "The New Basis of Civilization", etc. 8vo; pp. xviii, 247. New York: The MacMillan Company. 1911. Price \$1.25 net

"This book is not an apology for religion, but a constructive defence." It is demanded because the old defence, especially of Christianity, has become invalid. This defence was on historical grounds, and "through the increase of knowledge and through better methods of investigation" the historical setting of our religion has been lost, and so the plan of salvation based upon it has fallen into disrepute. Hence, the necessity of a new apologetics and of its transfer from an historical to a social basis. Though the facts have been discredited of which the Christian scheme of redemption has been regarded as the interpretation, its doctrines are as valuable as ever; they meet the most enduring social needs: in a word, Christianity works socially; this is the new and the true apologetics.

We are compelled to take exception to it on the following grounds, not to mention many others:

1. We deny that the Christian plan of salvation has fallen into disrepute. Never since the apostolic age was missionary activity so great as now, and it would seem to be constantly on the increase.

2. We can not admit that the historical basis of Christianity has been undermined. Because our limits forbid any discussion of a subject so big as this, we must simply say that "through the increase of knowledge and through better methods of investigation" this basis seems to have been established more firmly than ever.

3. Were this not so, the philosophy which underlies and determines this new apologetics is false in itself and equally false in its method.

This is so as to its conception of truth. "Truth is to be measured by its effects" (p. 43). "The final test of truth is utility" (p. 53). "There is no criterion of truth except that it is good, and none of error except that it is bad" (p. 47). All of which means, if truth is to be regarded as the correspondence of thought with reality, that there is no truth. The same is the case with our author's conception of the mind. "It is an error to think of the mind as having a definite constitution either in a material or in an immaterial sense. It is not a unit with definite predetermined expression, but is a series of developing functions forced into an imperfect unity by organic growth and external pressure" (p. 151). All of which means that there is no

mind. It is not otherwise as regards the concept of sin. "Evil and sin are either the result of defects in human nature, and hence without a remedy, or they are due to external, that is, economic conditions, that mar human nature by producing abnormalities" (p. 48). All of which means that while there is evil, there is no sin; for sin entails guilt, and guilt is impossible with respect both to what has been created within us and to what results from what is without us. It is the same, too, in the case of the concept of God. "God and man are not distinct in kind" (p. 49). "God is the eternal purpose that runs through events, and not the force that initiates them" (p. 76). "The social God is real, not functional, and is made manifest in the progress of men and not in their failures" (p. 76). All of which would seem to mean that God is just the ever ascending and enlarging aspiration of human society: that is, He does not make and govern society, but society makes and governs Him; and this implies that, as commonly understood, there is no God. Finally, it is thus also as regards the concept of salvation. "The new birth will come of itself, if men are made normal" (p. 221). "Health, wealth and efficiency are the basis of normal life" (220). All of which means, that misery is the cause of sin rather than sin the cause of misery; that salvation consists in delivering men from misery rather than from sin; and that political economy rather than the Gospel is the truth that makes men free.

We have not space in which to argue the falseness of this philosophy, but we may not pass on without one remark. Whether there is or is not the correspondence between thought and fact which we call truth; whether the mind is or is not a real substantial unit; whether or not there is such a thing as "want of conformity unto or transgression of the law of God"; whether there is or is not an intelligent personal first cause and rational governor of the world; whether He has or has not, through the sacrifice of His Son, provided for man a way of escape from the consequences of his violation of the divine law,—these questions may properly be debated, and either position with regard to them may fairly be held: but to speak of truth when you deny that there is truth; to name that the mind which is the contradiction of it; to describe as sin what rules it out; to talk of God when you have just identified Him with man; to call that the cause of salvation which is its result,—this is to play fast and loose with words in a way that would not be tolerated in business or in politics.

4. The new apologetics' conception of Christianity is as false as we have seen to be the philosophy on which it itself rests. Were its defence valid, it mistakes to the extent of contradicting what it would defend. It conceives of Christ as only a social reformer and of Christianity as merely a social programme. To see in Him "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" it pronounces impossible. "It is difficult," it says, "to associate Christ with a purely social religion because his teachings have been overshadowed by the striking events of His death. For this reason we do not see the fundamental opposition between what He taught and what His death has been



made to teach. If Christ's doctrines had been handed down to us by a Plato instead of a Paul, or by one who knew only of His life and not of His death, Christ to us would be a social leader, preaching salvation only in terms of love, coöperation and service. Salvation through sacrifice, especially through a blood atonement, would be a repugnant doctrine from the dread of which He wished to free the world. There is nothing more paradoxical in history than the rise of the dogma that a gulf is placed between God and man, which can be bridged, not by love, but only by the death of one who strove to fill the gap in the other way. This glaring antinomy in religious thought must be removed before social religion can be put on a sound basis" (p. 196). Christ, however, was foretold as the divine sacrifice for sin (Is. liii). He was announced as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" (St. John i. 29). He said of himself that he came "to minister and to give his life a ransom for many" (St. Matthew xx. 28). At solemn crises in His life He pointed forward to his sacrificial death as the supreme purpose and not merely the close of His earthly career (St. Mark ix. 31). His apostles, in whom and through whom He claimed Himself to speak, constantly referred, as even our author implies, to Christ's sacrificial death as the meaning of His life. It is as "the Lamb that was slain" that the innumerable host of heaven are represented as adoring Him forever and ever (Rev. v). To regard the Gospel, therefore, as simply a scheme of social reform is what is impossible, and to present Christ and not set Him forth as above all the divine atonement for sin is to give Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

5. As might have been expected, the new apologetics ends by substituting another gospel for that of Christ. "There are bound up," it says, "in Christian thought two distinct plans of salvation. The orthodox view has the degenerate conditions of the Roman world as a background. It appeals to the emotional type of man these conditions produced. If instead of saying Christ died for sinners we say He died to redeem the degenerate, we put the problem of this religion in a scientific form. Its emotional awakening creates character and wakes motives, causing the spiritual to dominate over the degenerative forces of a world of deficit. It was this religion that gave new life to the Roman world and supplied the impetus carrying civilization from the pessimistic South to the optimistic North. It is almost a universal religion because degeneration is so widespread and its emotional psychology so deep-seated. It must, however, be regarded as a temporary necessity, approved as a last resort and not as a chosen plan. It does not reflect the religion of the normal man, nor does it manifest the social spirit of Christ's teachings. Another and purer religion lies in the background. This is obscured in the Old Testament by the devices of priests, and in the New by the enthusiasm of Paul's disciples. The normal life of a stabler civilization is helping us to reconstruct it and to put in practice doctrines distinctly Christ's. The Holy Spirit He promised is with us as the social spirit. In it we have a natural guide to conduct and an effective stimulus to coöp-

erative action" (p. 202). That is, the religion to which we are coming is not that which gave new life to the Roman world and supplied the impetus carrying civilization from the pessimistic South to the optimistic North. That does not reflect the religion of the normal man, nor does it manifest the social spirit of Christ's teachings. Another and a purer religion lies in the background. It is obscured in the Old Testament by a ritual which we had supposed that God had revealed and in the New Testament by enthusiasm which we had been taught that God had inspired. Instead of this, it is "the normal life of a stabler civilization which is helping us to reconstruct it; and instead of the divine Spirit, it is the social spirit that is to guide us into all truth."

Verily, this new apologetics does not seem to us to aim to be a "constructive defence" of Christianity so much as a destructive construction of it; and we are led to wonder whether an argument which fails to distinguish between defence and destruction is not likely to do no more than destroy itself.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF HIGHER BUDDHISM. By TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D., Litt.D., English Baptist Mission, China. 8vo; pp. viii, 275. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1910. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.

In his invaluable Handbook of Comparative Religion the lamented Dr. S. H. Kellogg emphasizes the difference between the Southern or Orthodox and the Northern or New Buddhism, and shows how the latter "has evolved for itself a doctrine of salvation which bears a considerable resemblance to the Christian doctrine" and also how the same is true of its doctrine of the last things. In these two respects, at least, Dr. Kellogg believes that "we may justly trace an historical connection with the gospel doctrine, which before the chief scriptures of the New Buddhism were written had been undoubtedly preached in India." These scriptures Dr. Richard puts before us in the most attractive form made possible by the art of the modern bookmaker, and he has himself done all that could be done to commend them to us by a translation of the text presumably exact and elegant, by helpful comments, by introductions that really introduce and by an accurate index. The preparation of this work has evidently been with him a labor of love, and we congratulate him heartily that he has left nothing to be desired in his presentation of Northern or Higher Buddhism to the Western world. That it is many degrees nearer Christianity than the Southern or Orthodox Buddhism of Siam and Ceylon, we think that all must readily see. That it contains much and valuable religious truth, we are sure that most will be glad to admit. That, however, it needs "modern Christianity only to be the winnowing fan which separates the chaff from the wheat," we cannot grant. It needs the Gospel to *reveal* the "only name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved." The doctrine of the Amitabha Buddha may be a reflection of the preaching of "Christ crucified," but it is very vague. It needs, not only to be discriminated



from error, but far more to be replaced by the reality itself. The reflection of a truth does not always reflect the truth.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

TRUTH ON TRIAL. An Exposition of the Nature of Truth. Preceded by a Critique of Pragmatism and an Appreciation of its Leader. By PAUL CARUS. 8vo; pp. v, 138. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. London Agents: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1911.

This is a collection of six reprints from the *Monist* of the years 1908, 1909 and 1910. They find their unity in this, that they aim to establish the truth as to truth both by refuting pragmatism and by expounding the nature of truth. The book is dedicated "To the memory of Professor William James, who with the best intentions put truth on trial and by his very errors advanced the cause of truth, in friendly remembrance of courtesies exchanged in spite of radical difference of opinion." The author's judgment of pragmatism and his appreciation of its leader is well summarized in the two following extracts: "With all due respect for Professor James, for whose extraordinary and fine personality I cherish an unbounded admiration, I must confess that I would deem it a misfortune if his philosophy would ever exercise a determining and permanent influence upon the national life of our country." "Professor James' book talks about truth, but never and nowhere does it clinch the problem. We grant that it combats many errors, although we must add that frequently what it combats are but straw men of the author's own making. But whatever errors pragmatism may be guilty of, Professor James was a man of great vigor and ingenuity. Though we would say that Professor James made serious blunders and was sometimes unfair to his antagonists, though he misconstrued the philosophies of the past, though he lacked clearness of thought, the first requisite for a philosopher, his writings possess a charm that is unrivalled. He may have been wrong in all his contentions, but he was never dull."

Dr. Carus justifies his estimate of pragmatism. By a running fire of criticism directed chiefly at its subjectivity and at its resulting conception of truth as inherently variable and impermanent he reduces it to an absurdity. On the other hand, he impresses us as no less successful and happy in his exposition of truth. With Thomas Aquinas he holds in general that "truth is the agreement of thought and thing." He believes that "truths are discovered, they are not invented. Though truths belong to the mind and exist only in the mind in the thinking subject, they have an objective significance and describe conditions which obtain somewhere or somehow independent of the mind." Hence, while pragmatism does not believe in "verities and in the consistency and unity of truth," Dr. Carus maintains that "truth reflects and reveals the eternal." Could anything be better than this as far as it goes? The trouble is, however, that it does not go nearly far enough. Dr. Carus' *enteism*, as he calls it, makes God impersonal. He is, as we are told, the sum or "oneness of the universe, the correspondence

between thought and it." But, as it has just been said of all the verities of existence, "truths belong to the mind and exist only in the mind in the thinking subject." How, then, can there be truth that "reflects the eternal," that agrees with the eternal verities, unless there be an eternal thinker, an absolute person? In a word, if Dr. Carus has shown Prof. James' pragmatism to be absurd, his own theism seems to us to be impossible.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY, being an Examination of the More Important Arguments for and Against Believing in that Religion, compiled from various sources. By Lt. Col. W. H. TURTON, D. S. O., late Royal Engineers. Seventh Edition, Twentieth Thousand (Carefully revised throughout). 8vo; pp. vi, 604. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27-29 West Twenty-third Street, 1910. \$1.25 net.

This admirable work was reviewed by us at so much length and with so much detail in the October number, 1900, p. 690, of The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, the immediate predecessor of The Princeton Theological Review, as to make additional criticism superfluous. We may only express our gratification at its increasing popularity. In spite of its Arminian standpoint, it impresses us still as much the best of our hand-books of Christian evidences.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE DEVIL'S REBELLION AND THE REASON WHY. By CHARLES F. MAY. 8vo, pp. 227. The M. L. & I. Co., May Building, Main Street, Lakeport, California. 1910. Price, post-paid, \$1.25.

This grotesque book is the work of a man who claims to know everything as to the origin of evil and as to the future, even as to the things which "the Father has put in his own power." His style, however, is so involved and his grammar so wretched, except when he is quoting Scripture, that it is impossible to tell whether he knows anything.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE MASK OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. A History of the Rise and Growth of the System, together with a Comparison of Metaphysical Healing with Matters Scientific, Christian and Biblical. By FRANCIS EDWARD MARSTEN, D.D., Author of the Freedom of Christ, Songs of Life, etc. 8vo; pp. 192. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York. 1910.

The title of this book is sufficiently descriptive. It is a vigorous and telling exposure of Christian Science and of its prophet and founder Mrs. Eddy, and it should do great good. Some may criticize its argument as lacking in logical development and philosophical spirit. To us, however, this seems almost inevitable in view of the subject. It is questionable whether even Plato could have maintained his usual high level, had he discussed what was essentially inconsistent and absurd.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.



THE GOSPEL AND THE MODERN MAN. By SHAILER MATTHEWS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. xiii, 331 (with index). Price, \$1.50 net.

This admirable book is an attempt to present an outline of an apologetic argument from the point of view of the spirit of contemporary thought. It is true that the author does not very particularly define "the modern man." Apart from the statement that he principally means "the modern man" who "has religious interests," he is somewhat vague in formal indication of what he has in mind in the expression in question. But his actual point of view is evident. He clearly means by "the modern man" the twentieth century man who is dominated by the western spirit. And to our mind he has given us a very helpful book,—betokening a high scholarship, with a strong grip of logic, and in a forceful and lucid English style,—in support of the thesis that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is credible from the viewpoint of modern philosophy, and that it is practically workable in the cotemporary individual and social state.

It does not subtract from our high estimate of Dr. Matthews as a thinker in this highest realm of thought to say that in his presentation of the contents of the Gospel he goes beyond the mere *letter*, and rests upon the *spirit* of the Christian Revelation. He plainly regards as the Soul of the Gospel the historical Jesus Christ—his personal character, his atoning sacrifice, his resurrection and his twofold message—embodied and verbal. God in Jesus Christ would seem to be his summary of what he means by "The Gospel."

The plan of the work is splendid in its simplicity. It consists of three parts, which work up to a climax: I. "The Problem of the Gospel"; II. "The Reasonableness of the Gospel"; III. "The Power of the Gospel." The three chapters which form Part III. are to our mind particularly powerful. Their titles are, "The Test of Life," "The New Life in Christ," and "The Power of the Social Gospel." The chapter on "The Deliverance from Death," in Part II., wherein personal immortality in the light of Evolution is discussed, and wherein the possibility of an ultimate scientific demonstration of the future life is enlarged upon, is also deserving of special comment.

The book abounds in quotable passages. As illustrations we venture to give two of these. "We see the Gospel powerful in individual lives. What triumphs it has won over debased souls! Drunkards and liars, prostitutes and thieves, yes, even hypocritical sinners of so-called respectable classes, who would otherwise be found among the miserable outcasts denied admission to the New Jerusalem, have been transformed by its power and made fellow-heirs with the saints of all the ages! We sometimes say that the age of great religious revivals is past, but the facts give the lie to the assertion. The past few years have seen not only innumerable revivals of the type men said were no longer possible, but they have seen also an extraordinary response the world over on the part of individual men and women to the appeal of Jesus for that sort of life which he himself lived. Evangelism itself is being filled with the social spirit. If we admit, as I believe

we must, that as yet the life of Jesus cannot be lived in our social order without self-sacrifice, we must also admit that the socialization of the gospel is proceeding, and that the plain man finds it easier today to embody the principles of Jesus than he did ten years ago. This I admit is a statement that must bear the test of facts. I make it not hastily, but in view of what seems to me to be the indubitable evidence of the new appropriation of the Gospel by the men of today. Give the tendencies everywhere discoverable another decade of development, and its truth will be less open to question." (P. 262.) True; and admirably said. Again: "The legalist makes acts the end of life; the Gospel makes acts the expression of personality. The one looks to separate deeds that men have agreed to call good; the other looks to a life which must express itself in deeds that are good because they spring from a life that is like God's, because it comes from God. In the very nature of the case, the Christian must champion the new life that blossoms out in impulse and finds fruitage in good deeds. We are not saved because we are good. We are good because we are saved. Good deeds are the result of our new life. The good tree must bring forth good fruit" (p. 289).

We hope that this book may obtain a wide reading. It has tonic power.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE END OF DARWINISM. NOT CHANGE BUT PERSISTENCE IS CHARACTERISTIC OF LIFE. *Every Change is Essentially a Persistence; Only What Persists Can Change.* An Essay. By ALFRED P. SCHULTZ, M.D., author of "Race or Mongrel," "The Children of Everybody," etc. Montecello, Sullivan, County, New York: Alfred P. Schultz. Price, 50 cents.

This essay illustrates two unfortunate tendencies; the first is to consider Evolution as it is at present so widely taught and believed as little more than "Darwinism", the second is to hold that Evolution is Atheism. Both these positions seem to be held by Dr. Schultz, and both are erroneous.

The Theory of Evolution has been widely developed since the appearance of the "Origin of Species;" and while it is not demonstrated as true, an immense amount of corroborative proof has been discovered to support its general outlines. There remain great gaps yet unbridged, it is true, but the normal modern mind that has had the privilege of any thorough scientific training thinks in terms of the evolutionary hypothesis and uses it as a working basis.

It is, therefore, very unfortunate that defenders of religious truth still are so far from comprehending the truth contained in this theory, and also its necessary limits that they blindly and dogmatically attack that which they do not understand, and spread the most unfortunate impression that no Evolutionist can be a real Christian, and no real Christian can possibly believe in Evolution.

Those who, with Dr. Schultz, emphatically disbelieve in any organic



evolution, may enjoy reading this essay. As an attempt to "end" Darwinism it is a complete failure.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CELL THEORY. By GUSTAV BJÖRKLUND. Translated from the Swedish by J. E. FRIES. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1910.

The attempt to demonstrate the existence of the soul, or its immortality, is as old as the history of rational man. Both the facts and the theories of science have been called upon to substantiate each side of the great argument, while science, as a whole, has remained neutral, rightly considering that religion is not within its province. Dr. Björklund enters the ranks in the war against materialism, and believes that the immortality of the soul is demonstrated because the cells are the inherent living units of the body and the soul is absolutely connected with them. The detailed argument is a combination of semi-scientific information and philosophical theory. To one who, like the author, is a close follower of Jacob Boettröm, it may prove conclusive. But the most recent scientific research tends to invalidate the position that spontaneous generation has always been impossible or even improbable. While the existence of the soul in the cells is not proved by this book, it is practically assumed. The complex relations of Science and Psychology to Revealed Religion still require careful investigating, but only those who have a *thorough* knowledge of both sides can really be expected to produce works of lasting merit.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

THEOLOGY AND HUMAN PROBLEMS. A comparative Study of Absolute Idealism and Pragmatism as interpreters of religion. The Nathaniel William Taylor Lectures for 1909-10 given before the Divinity School of Yale University by EUGENE WILLIAM LYMAN, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Bangor Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

"There are in general two methods open to the worker in the field of theology. They are the method of the cloister and the method of the clinic. . . . The one seeks primarily to protect religion. The other strives mainly to develop religion. . . . The object of these lectures therefore, is to determine the relative merits of the cloistral and clinical methods, and then to apply the one adopted to certain great themes of religion."

These words of the author, quoted from the preface, indicate clearly the purpose of these lectures. The theme has the following development. To study anything, to make real progress to any goal of knowledge, the student must follow one of the "great highways of thought." He must travel on the highway of Absolute Idealism or the highway of

the critical Philosophy or the highway of Pragmatism. The student of Theology is forced to move along one of these paths. Each path is then discussed as to its ability to serve the ends of theology. While great truths are recognized in the first two they, by their very nature, are not completely satisfactory. Pragmatism, however, is superior to Idealism or Kantianism as a highway as it presents the following advantages. "It makes religious experience an irreducible source of truth, which Absolute Idealism fails to do. At the same time, it does away with the dualism between faith and knowledge by which the Ritschlians are still hampered, despite their emphasis upon faith as a source of truth. Further, it makes it possible for us to conceive of God as one who is genuinely immanent in history, which absolute idealism, though standing sponsor for the conception of immanence, cannot really accomplish. Finally, it does justice to the historical character of religion, and brings out the immense practical importance of the study of religious history" (p. 57-58).

Having thus chosen one highway of thought, we proceed along it and study "Man's Experience of the Eternal". Our experience may come from within; may be a personal "apprehension of God immediately and without the admixture of any other experience." The faults of this system are clearly shown. Again, our experience of God may be gained through historical revelation. The objections to regarding this as our sole source of religious information are scientific and religious. For, on the one hand, science must use the same methods of investigation in the case of the Scriptures as in all other historical study, while, on the other, such a conception of divine revelation did not accord the men of the present any real experience of God at all. "All knowledge in the religious realm is conditioned by faith" and by faith we see in Jesus the revelation of God. The revelation of Christ is historical in the sense that this disclosure of the divine life was wrought out in and through a participation in human history."

Pragmatism finds an "experience of the eternal in the development of moral responsibility. Through the conception of the Spirit as 'the product of the transformation effected in Paul by the life and death of Jesus Christ,' we are led to see two blended elements,—the fullest and richest moral activity and the consciousness of the in-dwelling presence of God."

Jesus shows the connection between morality and religion by giving to every aspect of religion an ethical meaning and by carrying the religious consciousness into every experience and function of life. Jesus "*effected a synthesis between the religion of divine immanence and the religion of ethical personality.*" Thus we have our experience of the Eternal.

Dr. Lyman then discusses the "One Increasing Purpose" of the world. The world is not aimless nor is the universe static. When we obtain the proper standards of truth and value, we see that it is evolving continually to what is better and nobler. The problem of moral evil is analyzed and the solution offered by the Idealists is found to be



faulty, while Pragmatic Theology reveals the continually atoning God at work to conquer and extirpate sin. In the atonement which God is always making for sin we have the promise of final complete victory; for not only will the corruption of sin be done away but its evil effects will be completely neutralized. With this cheerful outlook these lectures are concluded.

Dr. Lyman's book is interesting and contains much, very much, that is of great value. But it does not give a fair picture of historic, orthodox Christianity, and rests too heavily on evolution. To most Christians philosophy is a much dreaded word, and there has been far too much ground for this fear. Any system which seems to put the theories of man above the revelation of God—which interprets facts which we possess, or seem to possess, according to what we think would be best and not according to the facts themselves—must be injurious to all religious truth. We must answer the question whether we have actual truths which we certainly know in the sphere of religion. If we find that we have, we must try to harmonize them with themselves and with other facts known in other sciences. If we then logically come to certain conclusions and have data enough on which to go, these conclusions must be authoritative like the laws of physics and chemistry which are not affected by the varying tides of philosophical theory. To say that certain doctrines of our faith are untrue because they do not benefit us is exactly on a par with denying the existence of known facts in other spheres of knowledge which do not seem to have any direct bearing on our present lives. Pragmatism in endeavoring to make theology practical falls into this error and in so doing reduces it from a logical expression of known truth to a moral discipline with only a regulative value.

The author's work is both stimulating and instructive, but in it the foundation of our faith, or at all events its interpretation, seems to rest too much on the eddying currents of contemporary thought. Philosophy may, to certain minds, prove a good interpreter of religion; but it will always bring with it the danger of alienating those who belong to other schools of thought and of those also who not unnaturally distrust all philosophy, believing that through it not truth but mere theory is alone attainable.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

WHAT NATURE IS. *An Outline of Scientific Naturalism.* By CHARLES KINDALL FRANKLIN, author of "The Socialization of Humanity" and "The Future of the Human Race." Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Price, 75 cents net.

In the last chapter of this brief essay the author states what Nature is in the following words, "If we wish to understand Nature in all its forms, it must be constantly kept in mind, that there is nothing but energy; that it has two forms—radiant and gravitant; that gravitant energy produces the forms, and radiant energy conditions them. It must never be forgotten, that Nature is a process; that Nature is always going; that there is nothing but change; and that

the fundamental law of Nature is the Law of Repetition. All the various forms of matter—the inorganic, the organic and the social—are but repetitions of the forms of matter that have gone before them as determined by radiant energy in its various manifestations.

The object, then, is to explain and vindicate the claim of "Scientific Naturalism" to be the only true philosophy for the educated man, of today or of the future. Great prophecies are made as to the Golden Age when all men shall truly understand man and nature as one, and shall live in a state of the complete conservation of all social energies.

All the arguments and objections that apply to materialism apply with great vigor here. The author's position is one of surprising dogmatism for a seeker after truth, and truth alone. It would be wise for those who read this work to verify the statements as to those things which are now accepted as proved by men of science, as it certainly seems that matters still under most vigorous debate are here regarded as settled finally.

It can also be safely assumed that no philosophy can be permanently accepted which fails to explain, or try to explain, why the universe is here or where it came from or whither it is going. The statement that all are due to "Law" or to "Process" simply leaves the mind inquiring where the "Law" and "Process" originated.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

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## EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

ISRAEL'S IDEAL OR STUDIES IN OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By REV. JOHN ADAMS, B.D. Inverkeilor; Author of "Sermons in Syntax", "Sermons in Accents", etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1909. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo; vii, 227. \$1.50 net.

In these studies in Old Testament Theology an attempt is made to present in popular form the gist and trend of development of the main Old Testament doctrines. The principle of revelation is recognized, but, as the title "Israel's Ideal" indicates, in a subjectivized sense. Besides this, the critical conclusions of the Graf-Wellhausen School as to the dating of the writings are accepted. The author seems to be of the opinion that this may be done without detriment to or serious modification of the supernatural content of the Old Testament. His own methods, however, furnish to our mind a most convincing illustration of the impossibility of this. He adopts from this critical school not merely its chronology but also the tenet that ethical monotheism is the differentiating principle of the Old Testament religion. Hand in hand with this goes the acceptance of the antithesis of the ethical and the ritual as constituting the two poles between which the development revolves. As others have done before, Mr. Adams helps himself with carrying this antithesis, which according to the critics is prophetic in its origin, back into the mind of Moses. The result is a curious revival



of the old patristic, semi-gnosticizing view (later held by Coccejus and Spencer), that the ritual institutions were an afterthought in the Mosaic religion occasioned by the lapse of the people into idolatry. Moses is represented as in a burst of indignation and disappointment casting the two tables of the law beneath the mount and postponing his entire programme to the unknown possibilities of the future, and as having to consent to a compromise of his ideal with the ritual. To be sure, this is not the Moses of the critical school; much less is it the Moses of the Pentateuch; it is a new Moses copied after the figure of the prophets as the modern school conceives them, and so it is after all a Moses in accord with the critical ideal if not in accord with the critical history. At any rate by this scheme the legitimacy and continuity of the higher ethical religion are saved. To some extent the author dates this religion back even into the patriarchal period, although he has to say so much about the "hinterland" of Semitic paganism, that the figures of the patriarchs do not stand out very definitely on his canvas. Our main grievance is that the ritual finds so little favor in the author's view. It would be going too far to say that the antithesis between ethical and ritual is identical with that between an unredemptive and redemptive interpretation of the heart of the Old Testament religion; for there is a strong redemptive strand in the prophetic part of the Old Testament, altogether apart from the ritual. Yet one cannot help feeling that where the ethical is thus pointedly put over against the ceremonial, as the critics are accustomed to do, that there, together with false ritualism, also that true ceremonial, which embodies so much of the Old Testament Gospel, must suffer from the damage wrought. After all, valuable though the ethical monotheism be as a unique acquisition of Israel, we cannot acknowledge that it is the heart of the Old Testament religion. This must always lie in the doctrine of salvation and the recognition of this must inevitably lead to a different and higher appreciation of the ritual than Mr. Adams is able to accord it from his premises.

*Princeton.*

GEERHARDUS VOS.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH THE BOOKS OF DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, being supplementary to Zarathushtra, Philo, the Archaemenids and Israel. By Dr. Lawrence H. Mills, Professor of Zend Philology in Oxford. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1908.

The most striking fact brought out by the learned author of this work is that we should make a distinction between the Persian theology as it is found in the Achaemenian inscriptions and as it is more fully explicated in the Zend Avesta; and that the only safe course for us is to form our judgments as to the two schools of Persian theology from the actually surviving writings,—to wit, the Inscriptions and the Avesta. We wish that Dr. Mills had made a more thorough comparison between the two schools whose existence he has thus, and we think rightly, asserted to exist. His failure to do this is the fundamental error of the book, as far at least as his comparison

between Daniel and the Persian ideas is concerned. While not pretending to the special knowledge of the language and religion of the Avesta which the writer of this book certainly possesses, yet we may presume to suggest that the Persian names in Daniel, such as satrap (*Akhashdarpan*), have the exact forms of the inscriptions. The presence of the *kh* in Daniel would indicate that the words had been transferred from the Persian at a time when the *kh* was still employed in Persian; that is, at some time before the end of the Achaemenid empire. The omission of the *kh* in the Persian of the Avesta would indicate that its language was later,—how much, no one can say—than that of the inscriptions, or than that of the Persian words in Daniel; unless we were to conclude that the northern Persian had developed much earlier than the southern. But even if it had, the evidence is that the Persian of Daniel was borrowed from the southern branch represented in inscriptions and not from the northern branch found in the Zend Avesta.

Before one can assert, also, that Daniel's doctrine of a resurrection has been derived from the Persians, it would be well to prove that the Avesta existed before the book of Daniel was written, or that some hint of such a doctrine was to be found in the Persian inscriptions. Of course, if Daniel was composed about 164 B. C., it is almost certain that the Avesta antedated it. But, if Daniel was composed in the sixth century B. C., it almost equally certainly antedated the Avesta. No hint of a resurrection is found in the Achaemenid inscriptions, whose Persian corresponds to that of Daniel. This Persian of the inscriptions is, doubtless, earlier than that of the Avesta. Why, then, may not the Persian writers of the Avesta have derived their conception of a resurrection from Daniel and not vice versa? We would like to have the author answer the question, not by citing 19th century authorities, but from the comparison of the original writings themselves.

The doctrine of a God who is creator of heaven and earth, and the God of heaven of the exilic-biblical books; the devotion of Darius Hystaspis according to his inscriptions, and the piety of Cyrus according to the biblical decrees; the acknowledgment of more gods than one on two at least of the Persian inscriptions, together with the complaisance with which Cyrus treats the gods of Babylon according to the Babylonian records found on the Cyru Cylinder and on the Nabunaid Chronicle,—all combine to strengthen our belief in the contemporaneousness of the Persian and Babylonian records of the Persian kings with the biblical books which have been traditionally supposed to be, and which on the face of them purport to be, from the fifth and sixth centuries B. C.

The author himself admits that the teachings of the Avesta concerning dualism and the Ameshashpends are absent from the book of Daniel.

As to the doctrine of angels, moreover, the author's disquisition has not convinced us that Daniel derived his views from the Avesta, nor even that there was any connection between the two. Certainly, no



connection can be shown between the biblical names of any of the angels and those of any of the seven Ameshashpends of the Avesta. Nor has the author shown any mark of such similarity of functions as would imply a necessary or probable derivation of one from the other. All ancient literary nations have left us evidence of their belief in many spirits superior to man and inferior to the supreme God, or gods, whom they worshipped. The Babylonians believed in seven evil spirits and in guardian spirits of good. Aside from a divine revelation, we cannot see why a Jewish thinker in Babylon may not have easily developed some doctrines of good and bad angels in harmony with his belief in the one supreme and ever living God. But granting revelation, the doctrines of the Scripture with regard to angelic beings are perfectly clear, consistent, and harmonious with the analogy of faith. The idea of personal intercourse between God and the chosen objects of his favor is found in the earliest records of the Israelites. Sometimes he sent his angelic messengers to make known his will. The number of these angels and the names of all of them have not been revealed. The fact of their existence is sometimes clearly stated and always is taken for granted. Anything that we can know of them must be through a revelation or from observation and experience during their ministration and visitation among men. The time and method and completion of this revelation are in the will of God who enjoins or permits them. The author treats the whole subject as if he thought that the doctrines of the scriptures were all matters of human invention rather than, in the essential points at least, the statements in human language of the revealed thought of God.

A certain lack of clearness of statement and of thoroughness and connectedness of treatment renders the discussion difficult to follow. This is probably due largely to the author's hurried production, as he states in his preface; and in part, it is, doubtless, due to the confusion of the Avesta itself. Yet, in spite of its obvious defects, the author has made some brilliant suggestions. We hope he may continue his investigations and that he may help us all to arrive at the facts concerning the important matters of which he treats.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

DISCOVERIES IN HEBREW, GAELIC, GOTHIC, ANGLO-SAXON, LATIN, BASQUE AND OTHER CAUCASIC LANGUAGES, showing fundamental kinship of the Aryan tongues and of Basque with the Semitic tongues. By ALLISON EMERY DRAKE, Sc.M., M.D., Ph.D., sometime university fellow in Anglo-Saxon in Columbia University, author of "The [Triple] Authorship of the West-Saxon Gospels [A Discovery]"; associate editor of the *Colorado Medical Journal*, 1901-7. Denver: The Herrick Book and Stationery Company. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Ltd. 1907.

In spite of the author's belief that the evidence in support of the kinship between the Semitic tongues and the Aryan, especially the

Basque, is abundant, unquestionable and unequivocal, we still agree with Hadley, Whitney and Kautzsch that it is at present impossible to make out the relationship that is claimed. The author's learned and labored attempt to show this kinship has only intensified our conviction that it cannot be shown.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

JÉSUS MESSIE ET FILS DE DIEU d'après les Évangiles Synoptiques, par M. LEPIN, Professeur au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Troisième Édition. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, éditeurs. 1907. 12mo, pp. lxxv. 430. [Quatrième édition, revue et augmentée d'un appendice. 1909. 12mo, pp. lxxviii, 510. (Ed. i. 1904: pp. xlv, 279; ed. 2. 1905: pp. lxxvi. 430.)]

CHRIST AND THE GOSPEL, or Jesus the Messiah and Son of God. By the Rev. MARIUS LEPIN, S.S., D.D., of the Theological Seminary of Lyons, Francheville, Rhône, France. Authorized English Version. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey. 1910. Small 8vo, pp. xi, 558.

There are few more voluminous writers in the French Catholic Church on the subjects called into debate by M. Loisy's critical theories than M. Lepin. The long series of works which has come from his pen during the last few years includes studies on *The Idea of Sacrifice in the Christian Religion* (8vo, pp. 440), *Why Ought We to be Christians* (16mo, pp. 64), *The Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels* (12mo, pp. 126), *Christology: Commentary on Propositions 27-38 of the Decree of the Sacred Office, 'Lamentabili'* (12mo, pp. 120), and an extended express examination of *The Theories of M. Loisy* (12mo, pp. 489). But we can scarcely be wrong in placing at their head the work at present before us which was first published in 1904 and has run through four editions in six years; and two solid discussions of the Fourth Gospel—*The Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1907: 12mo, pp. 508) and *The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel* (1910. 2 vols.: 12mo, pp. 648 and 424). All three of these works take their origin from M. Loisy's criticism and have as their primary end its refutation; but they all three, in the fullness and positiveness of the treatment by each of its special theme, go far beyond this primary purpose, and become substantial additions to our literature on the criticism of the Gospels and their historical record.

The occasion for this notice of M. Lepin's treatise on the Jesus of the Synoptics is afforded by the appearance of an English translation of it. This translation is not, however, a very satisfactory one. Not only does the (anonymous) translator take unwarrantable liberties with the arrangement of the text—incorporating, for example, the whole mass of footnotes into it; he does not even show himself competent to render the lucid French into plain, clear English. The reader will not get through so much as a page and a half of Preface without discovering that he will require the French text at his elbow to



help him to the sense. When M. Lepin speaks of the "forming of our Lord's Messianic consciousness" and of "the progressive development of His consciousness," the translator can do no better by him than make him speak of "the formation of the Messianic conscience" and "the progressive unfolding of Christ's mind." "We hope," renders the translator, "that this present edition will be welcomed by all who are interested in religion, and who eagerly follow the controversies which arose of late, about the foundations of the faith." Who could divine that beneath this collocation of words lies M. Lepin's simple expression of the hope that this edition will "be acceptable to all who are interested in the religious question and who follow with attention the debates which are in progress on the foundations of the faith"? If such blundering handling of the text were confined to simple matters of fact contained in a Preface, the reader could no doubt find his way without much trouble. But quite too great a tax is put upon the alertness of his intelligence when the close argumentation of the treatise itself is placed thus obscurely before him. We open the volume at random and read at the bottom of p. 33 and top of p. 34 these two not very intelligible sentences: "As early as 1835, Strauss had written: 'The biblical history would be unassailable if it were evident that it had been committed to writing by eye-witnesses, at least by men neighbors of the events.' In our own day the theory rejected by Strauss has been verified; and nevertheless Rationalists nowadays actually refuse to admit the conclusions." We turn to the French and read clearly:—"The evangelical history would be unassailable," wrote Strauss in 1835, 'if it were certain that it was written by eye-witnesses, or at least by men close to the events.' The hypothesis thus set aside by Strauss has been substantiated in our own time, and yet the rationalist of to-day refuses to allow the conclusion." The divergence is no doubt not very great; it is just enough to confuse the matter. Again, on p. 57 we read: "Next in order comes Jesus' public life. And here we meet with the vital question at issue between infidelity and the Christian faith, namely, Did Jesus claim to be the expected Messiah? Like other Rationalists, Renan admits as much, and in fact the personal manifestation of Jesus as the Messiah shall appear to us as carrying along with itself the irrefutable proof of its own authority. A hard problem, and real stumbling-block is also presented in the further query: What is the source of Jesus' conviction of His Messiahship? Some would explain it, as did Renan, to be the merely human evolution of His ideas under the natural influence of His surroundings." What M. Lepin really says is (he is giving a preliminary account of the contents of his book): "With the sketch of *Jesus the Messiah in His public life* we enter into the vital portions of the question debated between unbelief and faith. *Did Jesus claim to be the Messiah?* Yes, the rationalist critics of to-day readily agree, along with Renan. And, in fact, the personal manifestation of Jesus the Messiah will appear to us to bear in itself the unexceptionable evidence of its authenticity. But then, *Whence came to*

*Jesus the consciousness of being the Messiah?* Here is the anxious problem, the true stumbling-block of unbelieving criticism. Renan undertook to explain the Messianic consciousness of the Savior by a purely human evolution of His ideas, under the natural influence of His environment . . . " There is here not a simple translation, but a subtle transposition of values, and in the constant annoyance which it causes the reader, it cannot seem strange if he prefers to leave the English version wholly to one side and revert to the French original. Doing so he finds that he has a book in his hands which is worthy of his liveliest admiration—thorough in method, cogent in argument, clear in style, and acceptable in its prudent conclusions.

The English translation seems to have been made from the second French edition and corrected afterwards by the fourth. The reviewer has access at the moment only to the third French edition. A cursory comparison of it with the English translation is enough, however, to show that the text of the third edition and that which underlies the English translation are practically the same, with two notable exceptions. There has been added to the fourth edition a long appendix (sixty-three pages in the English version; and said to be fifty-five pages in the French) in criticism of Loisy's views as restated in his large *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (two vols. 1907, 1908). And a series of helps for the commodious use of the book have also been supplied in the fourth edition: an index of New Testament texts commented upon; a list of the books cited; and a general index of subjects discussed. These additions add to the value of the book, but despite them it remains substantially the same book, and we may safely base whatever we have to say of it on the text of the third edition. A glance at the details given in connection with the title at the head of this notice will advertize to us, nevertheless, that the book has had a history, and as it now lies before us is a product of growth: in its later forms it is almost twice as bulky as it was in its first issue. The new matter has at once broadened it and strengthened it. Apparently, as the impulse of the book was derived from the publication of M. Loisy's critical theories concerning the evangelical history, the first edition was directed to the refutation of those theories, and along with them only the similar views of M. Stapfer and Professor Harnack were dealt with. In the later editions, both the Introduction which treats of the historicity of the Synoptic Gospels and the body of the book in which the testimony of these Gospels to the Messiahship and Deity of Christ is investigated, have been enlarged so as to deal with the whole body of relevant criticism especially as it is set forth in the writings of Bernhard Weiss, H. Wendt, Oscar Holtzmann, P. Wernle, Johannes Weiss, W. Wrede. The book has thus become a comprehensive treatise on the Synoptical Jesus, in view of recent criticism.

The disposition of the matter is as follows: There is a long introduction (75 pages) on the origin and historical value of the three first Gospels. Then follow four chapters on (respectively) "The



Messianic Hope at the opening of the Christian Era" (pp. 1-54), "Jesus the Messiah and Son of God in His Infancy" (pp. 55-76), "Jesus the Messiah in His Public Life" (pp. 77-218), and "Jesus the Son of God in His Public Life" (pp. 219-421). The whole closes (in the fourth edition) with an appendix of 55 pages in which the latest statement of Loisy's theories is expounded and examined. These several sections are not of equal value, and indeed do not all seem to have been written to go together. The sketch of "The Messianic Hope at the opening of the Christian Era" is avowedly, indeed, a fragment of a larger work of more inclusive contents; and some of the other sections have the appearance of separate studies. In their combination, however, they cover the ground and cover it very well, passing in review, as they do, the whole of the testimony of the Synoptic Gospels to the Messiahship and Deity of our Lord. The two main sections are, as they should be, the most extended, the most thorough and the most satisfactory. The former of these—"Jesus, the Messiah in His Public Life"—treats in turn three topics: "Jesus' claim to be the Messiah", "The Sense in which Jesus claimed to be the Messiah" and "The Source of Jesus' Consciousness of being the Messiah". The latter of them—"Jesus the Son of God in His Public Life"—takes up six several topics: "Position of the Question in Contemporary Criticism", "The Divinity of Christ according to M. Loisy", "The Divinity of Christ according to the Synoptics", "Accord of the Synoptical Data with the Faith of the Primitive Church", "The Reserve of Christ in manifesting His Divinity", and "The Perfection of Christ's Knowledge".

M. Lepin's method, as we have already noted, is first to lay a basis of confidence in the Synoptical report by defending the historicity of the Synoptic Gospels and then to develop their testimony to Christ's Messiahship and Deity. The peculiarity of his procedure, however, is that while not neglecting the vindication of the trustworthiness of the Gospel narrative from his own point of view, he yet turns the flank of his opponents. In view of the general agreement of the "critics" that the Synoptical account of the person, life-course and teaching of Jesus is in the main trustworthy he holds we may spare ourselves minute criticism of the sources, in a vain attempt to distinguish between the "traditional" and the "dogmatic" elements in them, and build with confidence on their general trend. "According to the avowal of our critics", he says (p. liii), "the Synoptics are not only an exposition of the first faith of the Church; they are also a relation of the acts and words of Jesus which is authentic in its general effect and substantially faithful. So that, in order that we may obtain an exact idea of the Person of Christ, it is not indispensable to institute a critical discussion of the respective value of the elements into which our writings may be resolved. We may legitimately take these writings just as they are, and if we are careful to base our study, not on this or that isolated detail, but on the account as a whole, we may be assured of reaching a solid or certain conclusion; it will have for its

foundation, indeed, essentially that historical substance which criticism recognizes as the constitutive nucleus of our documents; and the adventitious elements which are thought to have been disposed around this fundamental nucleus by the progressive labor of Christian reflection, can have no other influence on the result obtained than to throw it up into some sort of relief, to bring out its full significance and not to vitiate it in any essential way." This is good apologetical method; though it may seem to share the weakness of all *ex concessu* reasoning of appearing to be valid only *ad hominem*. It is easy to say, no doubt, that the conclusion reached hangs precisely on those adventitious elements in the Gospel account which are not part of the substantial nucleus of dependable history; and it is certain that the exact thing which the naturalistic criticism of the Gospels is set upon doing is to eliminate from the trustworthy contents of the Gospel narrative precisely those elements which give its character to the conclusion in question. Meanwhile, however, it is undeniable that when taken by and large the Gospel account does yield this result; and that naturalistic criticism is compelled for its own protection—and that even more strenuously to-day than when M. Lepin's book was last sent to the press only a couple of years ago—to assert the general trustworthiness of the Gospel narrative. It is the merit of M. Lepin that he has seized and pressed this point. It is merely playing fast and loose to say in one breath that the Gospel narrative is trustworthy in the portrait which it gives of Jesus, in its general effect; and then in the next breath to say that the portrait which the Gospel narrative gives of Jesus, in its general effect, is untrustworthy. When M. Lepin has shown, as he does solidly show, that the Messiahship and the Deity of Jesus lie so embedded in the Gospels' account of Him as to stand out as the primary result of their testimony as a whole, he has fairly driven the naturalistic criticism from this field. Either the Gospel account of Jesus is not trustworthy even in its most general outline, or else it must be allowed that Jesus Himself claimed to be and His very first followers recognized Him as being not only the Messiah but God. In the former case the naturalistic critics are helpless before the Kalthoffs and Kautskys and Maurenhoers, the von Schnehens and Drewses. In the latter case they are helpless before the despised "orthodox". And it will be hard if they are not crushed out of existence between these two mill-stones.

It is not, however, in this negative result that M. Lepin's book finds its real significance. Though he never permits the opposing views to fall out of sight—Renan's, Strauss', Loisy's, the "Protestant Liberals'"—and provides a continuous reply to them; the essence of his book is a positive presentation of the testimony of the Synoptics to our Lord's Messiahship and Deity. Nor is he overcareful to base his findings only on the general tenor of the Synoptical record, without calling into account what might be deemed occasional or isolated forms of statement. His book is in a word just a thoroughly worked out and carefully considered exposition of the Synoptic testimony, set out in



opposition to recent critical assaults. It is to this that it owes its value. It would be difficult to find a more complete or more discreet survey of the whole material which here comes into review. M. Lepin is a Roman Catholic and now and then speaks from the specifically Roman Catholic point of view; he is sure of the primacy of Peter and of the divinity of the Church. We cannot go with him in his discovery of two separate spheres of Christ's human knowledge, of different, perhaps even mutually unassimilable contents; we do not find his treatment of our Lord's eschatological discourses as convincing as other portions of his discussion. But as a whole, we esteem the book one of the most valuable and satisfactory discussions of its particular theme which has come into our hands, and we could heartily wish it was put into circulation among our English-speaking churches in a more adequate rendering.

It is impossible to enter here into the details of M. Lepin's manner of dealing with his material. We cannot deny ourselves, however, the pleasure of simply indicating an instance or two which may illustrate the penetrating character of his reasoning. We may call attention for example to his searching exposure of the difficulties in which naturalistic criticism finds itself when it faces the problem of the origin of Jesus' Messianic claims (pp. 152 *sq.*). "Here", says he, "is the great problem, the problem in the highest degree disconcerting, for unbelieving criticism. Decrying everything which transcends the order of nature the rationalist rejects all notion of an authentic and real Messiah, that is to say, of a personage sent by God to serve Him as a representative before man and to establish at the end of time the eternal kingdom of the elect; for him it is impossible that Jesus could be speaking the truth in claiming to be the Messiah. But then, only two hypotheses present themselves, between which we must of necessity choose; either Jesus was a deceiver or He was Himself deceived." No one desires to take the first horn of this dilemma: but the second is nearly as bad—as it involves attributing to Jesus, the mark of whose life was intellectual simplicity and clarity and moral sincerity and humility, a delusion which infers nothing less than megalomania. It is easy to understand accordingly why an extreme skeptical party is always with us (e. g., Wellhausen, Wrede, N. Schmidt, Loisy), set upon denying that Jesus took Himself for the Messiah: the remnants of reverence for His person—and character—powerfully impel to this position. Since, however, it cannot be successfully denied that Jesus did conceive Himself to be the Messiah (as even men like Bousset, and Harnack, Wernle, and J. Weiss are constrained to admit) the problem becomes a desperate one for naturalistic critics:—how are we to conceive *this* Jesus as imagining Himself *this* Messiah, involving as it does nothing less than divine claims? The momentousness of the problem cannot be hidden by smooth words. Says Harnack: "Of one alone we know that He united the deepest humility and purity of will with the claim to be more than all the prophets which had appeared before Him; even the Son of God" (*Christentum und Geschichte*, 1904. p. 10).

And Wernle brings the matter to a point (*Die Anfänge*, etc. 1901. p. 25): "The astonishing thing in Jesus is that He who was conscious of being more than a man preserved the most profound humility before God." It is safe to say that if He were not really the Messiah, and the Divine Messiah, the thing could not occur. A man such as the Jesus who is given us by the evangelists could not have *imagined* Himself the Divine Messiah: the trait which would have made it possible for Him to put Himself forward as the Son of God—if He was not really such—could not have lived in the same soul with the humility of heart which was His highest human characteristic. Perhaps we can push the matter even further: the same soul could not be both the Son of Man and the humble Jesus. The two things could no more dwell in the same soul than issue from the same soul. If Jesus *was* really both the Son of God and the most sincerely humble of men—then He was both God and man in two distinct natures. But M. Lepin does not draw this last conclusion in his striking discussion.

As an example of an admirably ordered sustained argument we may point to the central passage (pp. 267-337) in which the Synoptic testimony to the Divinity of Jesus is drawn out in detail. And we may instance in this long argument as particularly admirable the discussion of the evidence that our Lord was made the object of direct worship (pp. 276-280); and the examination of the especially remarkable declarations of Christ concerning His relations to God—the question about the Son of David and David's Lord, the parable of the homicidal husbandmen, the great declaration of the mutual all-inclusive knowledge of the Father and Son of each other, the response to Peter upon his confession, and the baptismal formula. In these passages the argument for the Synoptical teaching of our Lord's Deity culminates, and it is difficult to see how they could have been more prudently or convincingly treated. We employ the term "prudently" here wittingly: for one of the excellences of M. Lepin's work is its balance. In arguing the Deity of our Lord, he does not forget His humanity, but strives to do justice to all sides of His complex personality. "The two testimonies", he remarks (p. 370-371), "are in fact inseparable from one another. That which establishes in Christ a true participation in the Divine nature, is indissolubly mingled with that which establishes His real participation in human nature and presents the same guarantees of true history. The identity of Christ, true man and true Son of God, as it appears in the portrait of Him drawn by the Synoptists, results from a crowd of scattered details, of traits thrown out according to the occasion, with no other intention than that of relating the history. Now all these traits, ascertained by the critics and compared with one another, marvellously harmonize, explain one another, and clarify and illuminate one another, so as to form a picture of perfect unity, where everything is in place. Relations so conceived are certainly not the product of invention, conscious or unconscious, they cannot be anything but the authentic reproduction, the exact photograph, of a sublime but very living reality. And this conclusion is still further



strengthened by comparison of the three Synoptic relations among themselves, and even by comparison of the Fourth Gospel with the three first, from which it is in appearance so diverse, but with which at bottom it is, as we shall see, so equivalent."

Perhaps we ought to mention before closing that M. Lepin's very numerous citations from recent writers on his subject are uniformly accurate and may be relied upon. Almost the only slip in a matter of fact which we have noted is his classification of the late Prof. G. B. Stevens of Yale Divinity School as an "Anglican" writer. Needless to say the translator does not correct this slip. He compensates for his inactivity at this point, however, by giving us "Servant of Jaweh" (p. 87) when M. Lepin has the current "Servant of Jehovah" (though elsewhere, in a note, he uses the form Jahvé); and the odd form, Caïphas (e. g. p. 523).

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

JOHN THE PRESBYTER AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL. By Dom John Chapman, O.S.B. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1911. Pp. 108. Price 6s. net (\$2.00).

Those who have read Dom Chapman's *The Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* will not miss reading this little book on John the Presbyter, and students of the New Testament cannot neglect its interpretation of the Papiian fragments,—intimately associated as these are with the evidence for the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The style is delightfully direct and the argument concise and clear. In recent discussion of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel an interpretation of these fragments has become common in which the identity of the Presbyter John with John the Apostle is denied, the description of Aristion and the Presbyter John as disciples of the Lord is rejected as an interpolation or corruption of the text, and the tradition of (an early) martyrdom of the Apostle John is maintained "as the simple historical fact" (Schwartz, Wellhausen, Bousset, Bacon). Dom Chapman argues strongly against all of these contentions. He thinks that the "Presbyters" of Papias were different from the Apostles and maintains that Papias received his tradition of the words of the Apostles about Jesus directly from the Presbyters (*παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*) and indirectly from those who had followed them (*εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολούθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι*) and that he received information concerning the sayings of Aristion and the Presbyter (Apostle) John both directly (Eusebius) and indirectly. He rejects the two John theory of Dionysius and Eusebius and maintains that there was but one John at Ephesus who was the Apostle, the author of the Fourth Gospel, the three Epistles and the Apocalypse. He accepts the traditional dating of the Apocalypse in the reign of Domitian, and accounts for the difference in style and diction between it and the Gospel by difference in literary types, by Old Testament influence, but chiefly

by difference in the scribes of whose assistance the Apostle is thought to have made use in the composition of the two books.

The book is full of interesting suggestions and of pointed argument which at times approaches the brusque decisiveness of Wellhausen. Of Jülicher's statement connecting the Alogi with Asia Minor Dom Chapman says (p. 53 n. 1) "There is no proof whatever that they were a sect in Asia Minor. I am inclined to think that the best name for them is Gaius and Co." A passage is quoted from Wrede (p. 88 n. 1) "The decision that it (the fourth Gospel) cannot originate with the apostle is placed beyond doubt by internal evidence, the nature of the Gospel itself. On this the whole of the scientifically impartial theological world is as good as united in opinion",—upon which Dom Chapman comments as follows: "A person who imagines that the authorship of a work can be denied, entirely apart from all external evidence, on the ground of his own *a priori* notion of what the reputed author (otherwise unknown) ought to have written, may be a scientifically impartial theologian, for all I know, but he is not a critic at all. I am not dealing with theologians in these notes, but with critics." And again of Wellhausen's interpretation of Jno. xix. 25 as implying the presence of only two women and his theory of interpolation, Dom Chapman says (p. 80): "The reason alleged for it simply shows that the exegesis is absurd, not that anything has been interpolated." Yet with a certain naiveté Dom Chapman picks up the reed he has broken and leans on it for support remarking in a footnote (*Ibid*), "This (Wellhausen's statement following immediately the passage just quoted,—"It is presupposed that the mother of Jesus is a widow and that she has no other son") is a sufficiently candid and unprejudiced reply to the theories of Mayor, Zahn etc., that 'the brethren of the Lord' were sons of Joseph and Mary, for these critics are conservative, and accept St. John's historical statements." Commenting upon 1 Jno. i. 1, 2 Dom Chapman says (p. 75f): "The reiteration, the emphasis of this passage leave nothing to be desired. Either the writer was a disciple or he was a liar (with a strong adjective attached)." Upon Harnack's attempt to show that the author "cannot have intended an earthly seeing, Dom Chapman remarks (*Ibid*): "The proof seems rather weak! We are accustomed perhaps to such statements in German, though seldom from Harnack. But in English or French they are rather painful. I will not suppose that Harnack still holds to his theory." The passage from Harnack and the reply of Dom Chapman in his characteristic manner may serve as a fitting conclusion to this notice.

Harnack says: "One must not forget that a Mystic is speaking, who on the one hand can write (John i, 18): *θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε*, and on the other hand (3 John iii. 6): *ὁ κακοποιῶν οὐχ ἑώρακεν τὸν θεόν*, and (1 John iii. 6): *πᾶς ὁ ἁμαρτάνων οὐχ ἑώρακεν (θεόν) οὐδὲ ἔγνωκεν αὐτόν*. What kind of a hearing, seeing, looking upon, tasting it is that he means (compare i. 14), is seen by contrast with the story of Thomas (John xx. 29), which closes with the words: *ὅτι ἑώρακός με πεπίστευκας*;



μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες. This passage proves that he cannot have intended an earthly seeing, etc., in 1 John i. 1."

Dom Chapman says: "I suppose I must answer what needs no answer: In John i. 18 it is denied that any one can see God *as He is* (the beatific vision), whereas in 3 John 11 the writer speaks of a mystical friendship with God by contemplation such as holy souls can attain in this life; the distinction is obvious enough, for the first passage simply repeats the Old Testament view, while the other means *ἑώρακεν* in the sense of 'know' (as John xiv. 9, where οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με; is followed by ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα), the spiritual knowledge of God obtained by knowing Jesus Christ. Again, in John xx. 29 faith in the Resurrection without sight is praised, as being a more perfect faith; but it is not said that having known of Christ in the flesh is not a great advantage, nor is it in the least suggested that it is better not to have been a personal disciple! In 1 John i. 1 there is not a word about faith, and the writer is simply asseverating with all his might that he had been a personal disciple and that this witness is to be depended upon. If we say 'he cannot have intended an earthly seeing, etc.,' in this verse, we must say that he could not mean an earthly seeing in John xix. 34-5: 'and immediately there came forth blood and water, and he who saw it hath borne witness' (cp. 1 John v. 6-9)."

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME AND SCHOOL. COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE GALATIANS by BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D., LL.D., Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis in Yale University. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. vii, 135.

In accordance with the plan of the series, this commentary presupposes no knowledge of Greek and is intended for the use of the general reader. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that it is altogether easy reading. On the contrary, the very brevity of the work has in the case of a writer so full of ideas as Professor Bacon not always been in the interests of perfect clearness. Where the author has allowed himself more room, as for example in Appended Note B., pp. 118ff., his discussion is more illuminating.

In the introduction and in the appended note just mentioned, particular attention has been devoted to the relation between Galatians and Acts (compare the same writer's articles in the American Journal of Theology, 1907, pp. 454-474, and 1909, pp. 59-76). The comparison results very much to the discredit of the latter. Acts is found to manifest the "strongly idealizing tendency of the post-apostolic age", in the first place by representing Paul as applying his gospel of "justification apart from works of the law" not to Jews and not even to himself but only to Gentiles, and in the second place by representing Paul as subordinate to the original apostles. In accordance with his purpose the author of Acts has suppressed Paul's original personal con-

ference with the apostles (Gal. ii, cf. Acts xi. 30, xii. 25), which took place really before the so-called first missionary journey, and has introduced a conference at which Paul appears merely as a delegate of the church at Antioch, and at the instance of the church at Jerusalem agrees to require his Gentile converts to make concessions to the Jewish Christians. It is true, Professor Bacon continues, that second conference has a basis in fact. Paul's personal conference with the original apostles had settled the matter of Gentile freedom from the law, but it had determined no *modus vivendi* in mixed communities. How were the Jewish Christians to preserve their ceremonial purity according to the law and yet hold fellowship with Gentile converts? Paul answered this question by requiring the Jewish Christians in such cases to relinquish their ceremonial purity; the Jerusalem church answered it by the so-called apostolic decrees, which were determined upon in Paul's absence and altogether without his consent. These decrees required not the Jewish Christians but the Gentile Christians to make concessions. The Gentile Christians, though not required to accept circumcision (the original apostles never thought of requiring that, for it would have been manifestly absurd), must abstain from certain things which according to the law would be the most serious obstacles in the way of table companionship with loyal Jews. It was the attempt of "certain men from James" (Gal. ii. 12) to introduce these decrees into Antioch which produced the serious break between Paul on the one hand and Peter, Barnabas and the Antiochian church on the other, which is mentioned in Gal. ii. 11ff., but is suppressed by the author of Acts.

There is a certain attractiveness in such a theory. Professor Bacon's reconstruction of the Apostolic Age is in some respects perhaps easier to understand than the one which results from a more docile attitude towards the sources. Simplicity, however, is no guarantee of historicity. The question is whether Professor Bacon has not substituted the comfortable simplicity of fiction for the baffling complexity of fact. And one thing is incomprehensible even in Professor Bacon's theory—the refined subtlety of dissimulation displayed by the author of Acts. A difference of point of view as compared with Paul may freely be admitted. Indeed in connection with a minor detail, Professor Bacon has himself indicated the true method of harmonizing the two accounts. Paul says (Gal. ii. 2) that he went up to the conference with the apostles by revelation; Acts fortunately supplies the historical occasion by mentioning the Judaizing activity at Antioch (Acts xv. 1). Here Professor Bacon himself admits that there is no "*suppressio veri*". There were external reasons that pressed upon Paul; but he would not have yielded to them except by divine direction. If this method of interpretation be applied more extensively, the contradiction between Paul and Acts will disappear.

Professor Bacon's defence of the South Galatian theory of the address of the Epistle suffers particularly on account of the unsatisfactory treatment of Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23. Those verses are



crucial in the whole discussion, but an adequate interpretation of them was hardly possible in a popular work. It is very doubtful whether Gal. iv. 13 can be made to favor the South Galatian view. When Paul says that he preached to the Galatians the former time on account of an infirmity of the flesh, Professor Bacon takes this to mean necessarily that Paul *went* to Galatia on account of illness, and argues that he would not have gone to so remote a district as North Galatia if he had been ill. The passage may mean equally well that Paul *remained* in Galatia on account of illness instead of carrying out an original intention of passing through. At any rate, this interpretation is commonly adopted by the advocates of the North Galatian theory and should not have been altogether ignored.

In Appended Note C, the author states his moral influence theory of the atonement. It is not at all surprising that Professor Bacon advocates such a theory, but it is somewhat more surprising that he attributes it to Paul. For in other respects, he is not at all concerned about defending Paul against the charge of being antiquated. The elimination of the deeper significance of the cross is particularly hard to accomplish in the Epistle to the Galatians. The cross which merely displays God's condemnation of sin and love for the sinner was not the one upon which Paul was crucified unto the world. Gal. iii. 13 ("Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us") is touched upon by Professor Bacon rather lightly. Paul's death unto the law is attenuated until it means merely the despair resulting from moral struggle; his crucifixion together with Christ means merely the act of faith with its agony of separation from the law. In a word, the tremendous teaching of the Epistle is rationalized away in a manner rather surprising in these days of grammatico-historical exegesis. If Paul's gospel were only what Professor Bacon supposes it to have been, the Galatians are hardly to be blamed for falling away. No wonder "the spectacle of Jesus Christ crucified by the very legalism to which they are now invited" did not deter them. What really made Paul marvel was their defection from a cross that had satisfied the law's demands and given them freedom from its awful curse.

The appeal which such a commentary makes to the general reader—"to intelligent Sunday School teachers"—may serve at least one useful purpose. It may help to dispel the astonishing indifference of the American branch of the Church toward historical questions. When such a view of the New Testament as that of Professor Bacon has been transmitted through Sunday School teachers to the rising generation, it will produce a Christianity very different from the religion that has formerly been designated by that name. Professor Bacon's little book should prove even to the most "practical" man that the popularization of the naturalistic view of Christianity is inevitable. No such proof, however, should really have been required; for the march of ideas—false as well as true ideas—is irresistible. New Testament criticism, with all its technicalities, with all its array of strange

German names, even when it has not yet emerged from its academic seclusion is a very practical thing.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

THE ETHICS OF ST. PAUL. By ARCHIBALD B. D. ALEXANDER, M.A., Author of "*A Short History of Philosophy*." 8vo; pp. xxiv, 377. The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. 1910. Price, \$2.00 net.

For a quarter of a century the emphasis has been on Biblical as distinguished from systematic theology. This is becoming true of Christian ethics. It is being presented in the order and form of its historical development. Fifteen years ago Dr. W. S. Bruce, M.A., gave us his admirable treatise on "The Ethics of the Old Testament." "Of monographs on the ethical teaching of our Lord there are not many as yet"; but during 1909 a notable one was published by the Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D., entitled "The Ethic of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels." This, which was pronounced "one of the three great theological works" of that year, was reviewed at some length in our July issue for 1910. Shortly after Dr. Stalker's book was issued the Ethics of Jesus was brought out by Henry Churchill King, D.D., LL.D., President of Oberlin College. This was very favorably reviewed in our October number. And now what might almost be called a companion book comes to us in the subject of this notice. It is like them, too, in being an essay in a comparatively untried field; for "with the exception of a small volume by Ernesti, entitled *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus*, published in 1868, and one or two papers in English and German periodicals, there is a singular dearth of writings specially devoted to its theme." It is like them also in being based upon "a careful study of the actual words of the Apostle," although it does not, as Dr. King does, question both the received and the revised text and build only on what are called "the assured results of criticism." Mr. Alexander's book is like them again in being great in quality. Indeed, we venture to predict that as Dr. Stalker's it will rank among "the best three theological works of its year." Nay, we may and should go further. For expository skill and for literary grace we do not know of any recent theological treatise that may be compared with it except the masterly discussion by the Aberdeen professor just referred to.

At this point, however, the resemblance between these two notable volumes ends. Their authors have evidently worked independently, and the results are the more valuable on this account. Mr. Alexander does not follow Dr. Stalker even in the respect in which the latter is most original; viz., in his application to the teaching of our Lord of Aristotle's principle of division, that is, the Supreme Good, Virtue and Duty. On the contrary, Mr. Alexander adopts a principle of his own which seems to us to be not less adequate and suggestive. Thus he distributes his particular topics into three main divisions: "I. *Sources and Postulates*, treating not only of the influences which shaped



the early life and thought of Paul, but also of the presuppositions with regard to man's moral nature which he brought over into the new life from his pre-Christian days.

"2. *Ideals and Principles*, dealing with the new Ideal of life, the peculiarity of which, as Paul conceived it, is shown to be that it is at once Norm and Power, Vision and Energy; and the chief forms or virtues in which the ideal is to be realized.

"3. *Duties and Spheres*, indicating the particular obligations prescribed by the Christian ideal and the different spheres amid which the Christian is called upon to exercise the ethical life."

In a work the excellencies of which are so many and so high it is difficult and almost invidious to particularize. For the sake of clearness, however, it may not be amiss to call attention to the following:

1. Mr. Alexander's discussion and establishment of the essential identity of the ethics of Paul and the ethics of Christ. He denies and completely refutes Wrede's position that "Paul is far more widely removed from Jesus than Jesus himself is removed from the noblest form of Jewish piety." On the contrary, he shows that "the inmost spring, the very fons et origo of vital religion in the new life of love and helpfulness is the same for both." Indeed, as religion for Paul begins "with the weakness which takes hold of the divine strength, with the want which brings its empty vessel to the fulness of God;" so the Sermon on the Mount (between which and Paul it is so often asserted that there is no vital point of contact) opens with the announcement, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and "that great saying of Jesus needs only to be analyzed to yield the whole principle of the Pauline dialectic and the living heart of the whole of the Pauline religion." "In perfect agreement with all this is the fundamental importance assigned both by Jesus and by Paul to faith." "It is the inspiration and dynamic of life, the ruling principle in shaping conduct." With regard, moreover, to the aim and purpose of life, "we find the Master and the disciple in substantial agreement." "Nor do they differ in their conception of the ultimate goal of the world." In a word, "there is everywhere identity of spirit and aim, and in not a few instances a striking similarity of language."

2. The chapter on "The Shaping Influences of Paul's Teaching." These are shown to have been his Hebrew ancestry and training, his Graeco-Roman environment, and, above all, the influence of Christ in his conversion. Of special interest is the discussion of the relation of the Pauline ethics to Stoicism. The conclusion to which the chapter comes and which we cannot but feel to be just is that, "We must protest against the tendency to account for the Apostle Paul by 'eclectic patchwork.' Let us allow that Paul was acquainted with Philo (though Pfleiderer doubts this), let us admit that he was intimate with Alexandrian philosophy and more especially with the Book of Wisdom, which is a literary product of the same Greek spirit, let us acknowledge his cognizance of Stoicism and his study under its famous teachers in Tarsus, yet who can doubt that these elements are all

transmuted and worked up by the creative mind of the Apostle into something entirely new and original? Neither this Hebrewism nor Hellenism will account for this man and his teaching. He marks a new beginning. He breaks with the past and sets forth upon a fresh and undiscovered path of religion and ethical thought. It is not the amalgamation of Hellenism and Hebrewism, but the conquest of both for his Master that assigns to Paul his high place in the world's history."

3. The presentation of "The Psychology of St. Paul." As against Wernle, the Apostle assumed, that man had originally "not only a certain knowledge of duty, but also a substratum of natural endowments and faculties upon which the Christian life was to be reared;" and this natural endowment or human nature is analyzed, described and set forth in its relation to the ethical life with peculiar, and, the reviewer had almost said, with unique lucidity. Specially good are the "Statement and Examination of Terms," the establishment of dichotomy as Paul's doctrine, and the refutation of the teaching that he disparaged the body and found in it as such the source of sin.

4. Not less excellent, on the other hand, is Mr. Alexander's conception of the Apostle's view of the Christian life. "It is not a new personality so much as the completion and fulfilment of the old." Yet it is essentially "divine, both as to the origin from which it is derived and the source from which it is perpetually maintained." It is the divine realization of the truly natural life. Even its most material and concrete elements are to be viewed "*sub specie aeternitatis*." The moral task of the Christian is not so much "to copy Christ"—"there are aspects of his personality and work, and these the most unique and distinctive, which are not, and were never meant to be, the object of human imitation"—it is rather "to let his life take form in us, to receive his spirit and make it effective." "The distinctiveness of the Christian life, then, consists in the indwelling of the living God within the heart as a guiding and purifying spirit." Hence, "our relation to God is most inadequately described by the word duty. There is no such thing as *mere* duty to God. We never indeed do our duty to God until we cease to do it—as duty. He who only does what is right from a sense of obligation does not do what is right at all. Goodness which is only the dictate of necessity is not really goodness. In relation to God, as indeed in all our other relationships, Paul's own great saying is true, 'love is the fulfilling of the law.' And, as it is in Christ God reveals his love to us, so Christ becomes the medium through which our love returns to him." This love, however, is not a mere emotion. It rests on knowledge and results in surrender to God's will. "This emphasis on knowledge—true knowledge not divorced from its intuitional constituents and checked at every point by its ethical results—is a distinctive feature of Paul's teaching. For him all right relations and duties on the part of man to God are based on intelligent understanding of the divine being and character. Man must serve God as well as praise him



'with the understanding also.'" In line with this is even the Apostle's attitude toward the self-regarding virtues. There is an almost entire absence of precepts with reference to these. It may be that Paul dwells so lightly on them because the Greek communities to which he wrote emphasized them so much. Yet the chief reason would seem to be that, like his Master, "he regarded the true realization of self as identical with self-sacrifice." In a word, it was because he understood self that he appeared indifferent to it.

5. The discussion of "Duties and Spheres." This is thorough and suggestive. "Duties in Relation to Self," "Duties in Relation to Others," "Duties in the Sphere of the Family," "Duties in Relation to the State, the Christian's Relation to God, the Church and the Future," and "the Ethical Ultimate of St. Paul" are all carefully and exhaustively considered in the light of the principles and precepts of the Apostle. Yet there is nothing strained or far-fetched. There is no attempt to conjecture how Paul would have decided modern questions which never could have come before him. On the contrary—and this is one of the chief distinctions as well as one of the great excellencies of this exposition—the Apostle is expressly represented as overlooking much that interests us deeply. His views as to the speedy second coming of our Lord underwent a change. It is evident that in his later epistles he no longer regarded it as imminent. This, however, did not weaken, nay, it rather strengthened his conviction that "the one supreme task of man was the bringing of his fellows to Christ." Hence, for example, there is no "elaboration by Paul of the modern idea that all labor has a moral worth in the civilization of the world and the development of its resources." In his view, "everything was to be subservient to the evangelization of the world," and all secular work had its justification for the Christian only in so far as it afforded him the means of furthering that object." Is it not such teaching as this, and as faithfully and as bravely put, that the church of our day needs most to hear? Undoubtedly, God would use the Christian to redeem and so develop the earth which he made "very good" and which sin has marred; but in the light of the teaching of Christ no less than of Paul, it is to save sinners that we as well as our Master have been sent into the world; and we often forget it.

Of course, in commending Mr. Alexander's book so highly we do not mean that we go with him in all respects. Thus we can not accept his presentation of Paul's view of marriage. To us it seems that it was "the expectation which the Apostle shared with his Christian contemporaries of the approaching end of the age and his belief that those who married would have trouble in the flesh in the time of suffering close at hand" that impelled him to the teaching as to marriage given in 1 Cor. vii. We can not admit, that he had "failed to shake himself free from the ascetic tendencies of his day"; that he looked upon wedded life from the sexual point of view chiefly; and that he regarded marriage as but "a permission to obviate greater evils." Rather would we hold that Paul, while recognizing that mar-

riage does obviate serious evils, gives in Eph. v. 32, his final and true doctrine of marriage; viz., that it is "the type of the close spiritual union which subsists between Christ and his Church:" and what we do not understand is why Mr. Alexander, although he refers to this passage, seems to attach little importance to it. So, too, we are obliged to differ from him in his interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 2 and Titus i. 6. He regards these passages as forbidding second marriages to presbyters. To us they teach that, like other men, a presbyter should be irreproachable in his family life; i. e., must not be a polygamist: and this view would appear to be confirmed by the fact that the alternative one of Mr. Alexander involves two unscriptural assumptions; one, the superior holiness of the clergy, the other, the superior sanctity of celibacy. We could wish also that there had been a fuller discussion of the Apostle's attitude with reference to things "lawful but not expedient," as considered in Rom. xiv and 1 Cor. viii and x. These criticisms, however, are not meant to detract from the merit of the book. They refer merely to minor matters. They indicate simply the reviewer's preference; and he would not venture to make them, did he not feel that Mr. Alexander's work is of too high an order to be in any wise affected by them.

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DIE REDEN UNSERES HERRN NACH JOHANNES im Grundtext ausgelegt  
von D. SIEGFRIED GOEBEL. Zweite Hälfte, Kap. 12-21. Gütersloh,  
C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 460. 1910.

In this second volume of 460 pages Dr. Goebel completes his exposition of the Discourses of Jesus in John's Gospel. The entire work as we now have it consists of something over a thousand pages. When it is remembered that the book contains but a very brief introduction and that a great deal of the material ordinarily found in a work of this nature, as e. g., a complete array of views held by other expositors, is judiciously barred from it, the commentary is perhaps the most elaborate there is on the subject. What was remarked in the brief review of Vol. I, holds true also of Vol. II. The characteristic features which distinguished the first volume are continued here. Though the exposition is along strictly conservative lines, it is not marred by any dogmatic prepossessions on the part of its author. The passages of dogmatic character in the commentary the author does not regard as part of the exegesis proper but invariably introduces them as conclusions from results exegetically obtained. Dr. Goebel is constantly on his guard against "Eintragungen" into the text. In one or two places, interpreting passages of disputed meaning, he incidentally states what he recognizes to be sound canons of interpretation. Cf. p. 370: "The expositor's task is to determine the sense which the words convey in the connection in which they have been placed by their author." Cf. also pp. 25, 424, 427. Whether Dr. Goebel remains throughout true to this principle in the judgment of



the reader is, of course, another question. Cap. xii. 3, e. g., states, according to Dr. Goebel, that all the ointment has been spent. Cf. also exposition of Cap. xiv. 1-2.

Written in a lucid, stately, vigorous style, the material well paragraphed and divided into larger units, the commentary on the Discourses is itself somewhat similar to a series of discourses. It would seem that what we have here is substantially the material the author used for his "Johannes-Colleg." At least the reading of the book suggests the lectures in Exegesis of the German University Auditorium. This feature of the book adds in a way to its value and, together with the interesting, readable form into which it has been cast, goes to make it a happy exception to the general output of exegetical works. It is not, however, to be supposed that Dr. Goebel's commentary is merely popular in its nature, not meeting the requirements of the scholar. The book will satisfy the most rigorous demands that may be put upon it by the "Fachmann." But Dr. Goebel does understand the art of writing for a larger circle than that of the scholar. His commentary is a book appealing to the theological world in general. Though practical suggestions occur in it but rarely, the exposition reflects to such an extent the author's spiritual life and maturity of Christian thought, that it will prove to be of great value also to the clergyman.

As in Vol I., so here, there is no evidence that some of the more recent works dealing with the Greek text of the Gospel have been consulted. Since the author not unfrequently ventures on a new line of interpretation in difficult passages where the genuineness of the text is itself a matter of doubt, consideration of the latest text-proposals would have been desirable and at times profitable. A case in point is Cap. xx.17 *μή μου ἄπτον· οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα* where it is in the first place the *γάρ* that vexes the interpreter. Dr. Goebel's interpretation, which, it must be said, is very felicitous, does not do justice to the *γάρ*. In the course of his argument he once omits it, and on p. 380 contends that the clause *οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα κ.τ.λ.* by itself does not give a "Begründung" for *μή μου ἄπτον*. Now Blass omits *γάρ* in his edition of John on the authority of Syrus Lewisianus (Chrys) Tert. These authorities, it is true, one may not deem very weighty, still the text as thus proposed suits, better than any other, what seems to be the necessary meaning of the passage.

I pass on to present Dr. Goebel's interpretation of one or two passages of the Discourses. In Cap. xiii. 34 *ἐντολὴν καινὴν διδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους κ.τ.λ.* Dr. Goebel seeks to determine what constitutes the new in *ἐντολὴ καινὴ*. The new he finds to be of the sameness of the "Liebesobject." They are to love *oneanother* even as Christ loved *them*. From this, remarks Goebel, there will result also a change in the *nature* of the love enjoined. Dr. Goebel offers what seems to be a new interpretation of Cap. xiv. 1-2: *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ . . . εἰσιν* he connects closely with *πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν θεόν* and *εἰ δὲ μή, εἰπὼν ἂν ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.* with *καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε*. The completed thought of

εἰ δὲ μή he takes to be εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε ὅτι οὕτως ἐστίν, not εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ᾔν. The sense of the passage Goebel reproduces as follows (p. 100): "If, in your present despondency, your faith in the Father, that he has mansions for you, should not be sufficiently strong to comfort you, then I would ask you to put your trust in me, assuring you that I go to prepare a place for you." According to Dr. Goebel we have a parallel construction in vs. 11, πιστεύετε . . . . . εἰ δὲ μή. There is a similarity there; but a closer study and comparison of the two passages show essential differences. In vs. 11 only one πιστεύετε precedes εἰ δὲ μή, in vs. 1-2 two. Furthermore, in vs. 1-2 there is between the last πιστεύετε and εἰ δὲ μή an independent clause. Dr. Goebel virtually makes this independent assertion a dependent object-clause after the first (!) πιστεύετε. Then, again, Goebel's exposition of ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ . . . . . εἰσιν on p. 100 as being a "Versicherung in bezug auf Gott" is, not to say erroneous, misleading.

An undoubtedly correct observation is Goebel's remark, p. 123, that in Cap. xiv. 12 sqq. we have not so much one "Trost" following another (Goebel is perhaps thinking here of Weiss) as, first, a "Zusage für das Beharren im Glauben," and second, a "Zusage für das Beharren in der Liebe zu Jesus." In his commentary on παράκλητος Cap. xiv. 16, Dr. Goebel takes exception to the usual renderings of Tröster, Lehrer (v. Hofmann Zahn), Beistand (the prevalent translation). "Beistand" he considers too indefinite, not bringing out the idea which is there in παράκλητος, viz., assistance *over against a third*, the world. He chooses "Beigeordneter" and interprets παράκλητος as "one who is to be with the disciples to assist them, by his teaching, in the keeping of Christ's commandments, and in the administering of His word, and who as their 'Bundesgenosse,' by His own testimony, is to support them in their testifying before the world." εἰ μὴ τις μένη ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἐξω κ.τ.λ. Cap. xv. 6, Goebel takes it, are addressed also to the "Eleven". He observes this to be rather remarkable and is led to infer from it "that Jesus must have regarded 'Abfall' as possible also in the case of the καθαροί" taking "Abfall," as it seems, not as final or absolute.

It may not be without interest to know that Dr. Goebel's work represents in general rather the Reformed than the Lutheran type of theological thought. In the course of his exposition he frequently discovers to us what looks like landmarks of his theological system. In Cap. xii. 32 πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἑμαυτόν the verb ἐλκύειν can not denote a mere "Versuch des Ziehens," but is a "wirksames" ἐλκύειν with definite and certain results. And πάντας "duldet keine Ausnahme" and, on the other hand, is a limited number, not to be expanded to πάντας ἀνθρώπων. Man leads his life "in der unveräusserlichen Form der Freiheit", p. 176 (Cap. xv. 6). Those who desert Christ never really belonged to the number of true believers, p. 175. God's grace preserves the true believers and is "ihres Endziels unbedingt sicher." Human logic cannot solve the question of the relation between "göttliche Allwirksamkeit" and "menschliche Freiheit." At the close of



his exposition of the Paraclete-passages, Cap. xvi. 7 sq. Dr. Goebel casts a retrospect and in his argument urges that the personification of *παράκλητος* cannot be the personification of a "Prinzip" or mere "geistige Potenz" but must imply that He is a real Person. Also on points of Christology Goebel makes some very explicit statements. *νῦν ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πάντα ὅσα δέδωκάς μοι παρὰ σοῦ εἰσιν*, Cap. xvii. 7 (p. 272-273) proves that the "object" of the disciples' knowledge is a "jede Art von Verneinung der Göttlichkeit Jesu ausschliessendes." And in connection with Cap. xvii. 5 (p. 268) he observes that Jesus is indubitably speaking here of His premundane existence, of His sharing at that time with the Father in the divine glory, of His assured "dass er die zeitweilig entbehrte Herrlichkeit nünmehr wiederempfangen werde." The passage excludes the possibility of "ein ideelles Vordasein im göttlichen Ratschluss." The *δόξα* of Jesus, p. 304, is "die wesenhafte Göttlichkeit seiner Person als des fleischgewordenen Logos." After His resurrection Christ possesses "eine neugearbete, zum himmlischen Leben beim Vater bestimmte Leiblichkeit." Cf. also Thomas' confession, Cap. xx. 28, p. 412, and what Goebel says in this connection on the Church's creed.

Corrigenda are p. 5, l. 10 könnten; l. 19 *μύρον*; p. 7, l. 17 nicht; p. 29, l. 25 das; p. 60, l. 7 (from below) Einfallt; p. 64, l. 22 *κάθως*; p. 89, l. 19 *ἐντολή*; p. 99, l. 16 the first "eine" (should be "keine"); l. 11 *ἐλεγον*; p. 100, l. 12 *ἔστιν*; p. 101, l. 4 (from below) *ἐρχομα*; p. 127, l. 6 *παρά καλῶν*; p. 139, l. 1 (below) beidet; p. 182, l. 13 in (to be omitted); p. 187 l. 10, Jt; p. 192, l. 15 wiederholl; p. 202, l. 9 dopelter; p. 246, l. 1 *παρι-ομίας*; p. 276, l. 2 (from below) au; p. 308, l. 6 parenthesis omitted; p. 329, l. 22 beläufig; p. 337, l. 13 dranssen; p. 354, l. 2 (from below) sat-sächlich; p. 414, l. 8 (from below) underem; p. 436, l. 14 *Σίμων*; p. 439, l. 3 (from below) An derseits hatsich; p. 452, l. 9 des (omit); p. 455, l. 21, second die (omit).

R. JANSSEN.

CLARK D. LAMBERTON: THEMES FROM ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL IN EARLY ROMAN CATACOMB PAINTING. A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Princeton University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Princeton, 1911, Princeton University Press. 146 pp.; xii plates; 8vo.

Dr. Lamberton's thesis has in view two objects: first, to determine the date of the Fourth Gospel from evidence afforded by the frescoes of the Roman catacombs, and second, to ascertain the extent to which the Gospel was used as a source for catacomb painting. The Raising of Lazarus, a theme found only in John, is painted on the walls of a very early crypt in the catacomb of Priscilla, called from the Greek inscriptions found in it by the workmen who excavated the catacomb the Capella Greca, or "Greek Chapel." If the date of this "chapel" can be fixed, it can be used as a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the Gospel, inasmuch as the painter of the Raising of Lazarus must have been acquainted with it. To argue that the painter might have drawn

the episode from Christian tradition, and not from the Gospel in the form in which we know it, is inconsistent with the known tendency in catacomb painting to adhere to the written word of accepted Scripture, even to the extent of ignoring the Apocryphal Gospels.

Nearly half of the monograph is devoted to this question of the date of the "Greek Chapel", the author evidently feeling that this portion of his thesis, of prime importance to New Testament criticism, will be scrutinized most closely. Every available piece of evidence—technique and style of the frescoes, iconography, costume, the relation of the "chapel" to the rest of the catacomb, epigraphy—is carefully analyzed and applied to the problem, with the result that the "chapel" is pronounced to be of a "period extending from the late first century to the early decades of the second", while the date of the composition of the Gospel, allowing a term of years for its circulation and popularization in Rome, is placed in or before the latter years of the first century. Little direct evidence is adduced, but the cumulative effect of Dr. Lamberton's prints is most convincing. It is also to be noted that his conclusions are the same as those of Wilpert and Mau, our foremost experts in Roman fresco-painting.

The rest of the thesis concerns itself with investigating the use of the Fourth Gospel by the catacomb painters. The writer rightly accepts the view that the general intent of the frescoes in *Roma Sotterranea* is symbolical, while disagreeing with Wilpert, who would admit but one meaning to each theme. He points out that the spiritual character of the Fourth Gospel made it an admirable source for such symbolical painting, and that such use was made of it is demonstrated by the extensive cycle of Eucharistic pictures, such as the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes and the Miracle of Water and Wine at Cana, of which the inspiration is undeniably Johannine. The Cana miracle indeed is only found in John, as also the episode of the Samaritan woman, which occurs four times in the second and third centuries, and the Raising of Lazarus, one of the most popular of all themes in the repertory of the catacomb artist.

In his discussion of "themes archaeologically Johannine", i. e. themes occurring also in the Synoptics, but assigned to John because found in connection with subjects of Johannine inspiration, the writer's conclusions are less convincing, because his premises are themselves matters of controversy. The same is true of the section entitled "themes characteristically Johannine" which amounts to little more than a series of suggested interpretations.

But Dr. Lamberton, in demonstrating that the Fourth Gospel was known and highly regarded in Rome in the early years of the second century, has demonstrated something more—the practical value to students of the New Testament of an acquaintance with Early Christian Archaeology. It is to be hoped that other students will follow him into this archaeological criticism, and obtain as happy results as those which have rewarded his studies.

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## HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

BIBLIOTHECA REFORMATORIA NEERLANDICA. Geschriften uit den tyd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden. Op. nieuw uitgegeven en van inleidingen en aantekeningen voorzien, door DR. S. CRAMER en DR. F. PYPER. Zesde Deel. Bewerkt door Dr. F. Pyper. s'Gravenhage. Martinus Nyhoff. 1909.

Before me lies the sixth volume of 622 quarto pages of this astounding labor of Professors Cramer and Pyper, of the Universities of Amsterdam and Leyden. As the work proceeds it grows in magnitude and, let me say, in importance as well. Hereafter the student of the history and theology of the age of the Reformation, and that immediately preceding it, will have to reckon with this *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, a very thesaurus of information, for light on many things, which without its study must remain forever dark. It is a great pity that the bulk of this colossal work is available only for the student, who understands Dutch, and at that the Dutch of the 15th and 16th centuries. And yet without the consultation of this great work one's knowledge of the Reformatory period cannot be complete.

The volume before us has been edited by Dr. F. Pyper of Leyden and, barring the introductions, is open to the general student, since the text of it is wholly in Latin. But, alas, the text without the introduction is like a locked door without its key. One wonders what most to admire in the labors of these two Dutch scholars, their infinite patience or their infinite historical and critical acumen. For surely the introductions to these reprints of long lost books are models of historical and textual criticism.

The present volume deals with the writings of John Pupper of Goch and incidentally of Cornelius Graphaeus. Of the latter, whose tragic story is told in the Introduction to "*De Libertate Christiana*," by Dr. Pyper, we have introductions to the above quoted work, to the "*Epistola Apologetica*," a poem to Emperor Charles V and a letter to Carondelet. Of Pupper of Goch we have "*De Libertate Christiana*" and "*Fragmenta*." Besides, we find in this volume a reprint of the celebrated but well-nigh forgotten "*Confutatio determinationis doctorum Parrhisiensium contra Mart. Luth.*," together with the even more rare "*Disputatio Groningae*."

From this volume we learn to know Pupper of Goch as a man worthy to be ranked with the best of the disciples of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life. His earliest history is somewhat hazy, but we are fairly well acquainted with his later activity and literary labors, which Dr. Clemen has so vividly described in his "*Johann Pupper of Goch. Leipzig 1896*." After an eventful life he died March 28, 1475, and since 1531 all his writings were indexed by the Inquisition. The reading of this volume, edited by Dr. Pyper, at once establishes the fact that the views expressed by the Reformers were by no means new in their day. The entire century

preceding that of the Reformation was evidently preparatory to it. But the Church of the 15th century was not as yet aroused to a sense of the danger of the new ideas, which were expressed on every side and especially in the Lowlands, where ideas were openly expressed and discussed, which half a century later would have brought down on the author the heavy hand of the Inquisition. The chief work of Pupper of Goch, here reprinted from a couple of surviving copies, is entitled "*De Libertate Christiana*." It is written in good, though not elegant, Latin and dates apparently from 1473. Practically all the doctrines of the Romish Church of the period are discussed in this work and Pupper, like all the later Reformers, shows a keen familiarity with the Augustinian literature. He lays great stress on the doctrine of grace. The Scriptures, rather than tradition, are the basis of truth, although he has not yet arrived at the position of the Reformers in this matter. He still holds the Church to be the repository of the truth. He fully believes in predestination and election. Fasting, continence and good works have only a relative value. Works of supererogation do not exist. When we read this work of Pupper, we are strangely reminded of the theology of John Wickliffe.

Had Pupper studied him? Who can tell? All these pre-reformers have almost identical views, and all were close students of the works of Augustine. Pupper antagonizes monasticism, and believes in a justifying faith which rests on the Scriptures, for man's natural reason is illuminated in the Scriptures by the light of a supernatural knowledge—"veritas canonica et supernaturalis naturale lumen rationis perficit." We may tolerate what is not contradicted by the Scriptures, but never anything that conflicts with them. He bitterly antagonizes the regnant Aristotelian Philosophy, and thus again leads the way to the Reformation, as did all the German Mystics. This philosophical tendency leads him to oppose Thomas Aquinas and the Thomists. Pupper is limited by the limitations of his day, but as Dr. Pyper tells us—"a fresh spirit here sends out its cooling breath. If one takes the trouble to analyze the external scholastic form and to penetrate to the marrow of the thought itself, the trouble taken is always richly rewarded."

The second work of Pupper, here reproduced, was brought to Luther from Holland in 1521, and he at once republished it with an introduction of his own hand. It is entitled "*Fragmenta*" and consists of tracts on different topics. With singular critical acumen Dr. Pyper has proven (pp. 268, 269) that the introduction, "*epistola gratulatoria*," is from the hand of Luther. The same keenness is displayed in the discussion of the identity of the component parts of the *Fragmenta* (p. 276). Dr. Pyper believes, although he is not absolutely sure, that the "*Monimenta*" of Walch (*Monimenta medii aevi, ex bibliotheca regia Hannoverana, prod. et praef. est C. G. F. Walchius. Goetting. 1761*) and the *Bibl. Ref. Neerl.* in this volume contain all the works left by Pupper of Goch. Space forbids a detailed discussion of the matter contained in these "*Fragmenta*." Their theology is identical



with that of the above mentioned work. They breathe the same Augustinian spirit and singularly attracted Luther. According to Graphaeus they were composed in 1474, probably after "De Libertate Christiana." Appended to the *Fragmenta* is the introduction of Cornelius Graphaeus, written in 1520 for the first tract entitled "Epistola Apologetica," which coupled with another introduction, written for "De Libertate Christiana," brought the author in contact with the Inquisition, hopelessly impoverished him through the confiscation of all his property and nearly cost him his life. Lacking the courage of martyrdom, he made an abject apology and barely escaped with his life, dying in the Catholic faith Dec. 19, 1558. At the close of this volume we find a Latin poem of eight quarto pages, dedicated by the same Graphaeus to the Emperor Charles V, entitled "Divi Caroli Emp. Caes. Opt. Max. Desyderatissimus ex Hispania in Germaniam Reditus. Cor. Grapheo Autore. MDXX." This fulsome poem is reprinted here for the one reason that it advocates the absolute worldly authority of the emperor and would take away from the pope all civil power, leaving to him exclusively the spiritual care of the Church and of Christendom. As such it is a sign of the times and, as Dr. Pyper observes, deserves a place in this collection.

I must refer to one more remarkable reprint of a well-nigh forgotten book of the Reformatory period, here restored to general notice, and that is the "Confutatio determinationis Doctorum Parrhisiensium contra M. L.," to which is added the "Disputatio Groningae habita A. 1523," equally rare if not more so. Both indicate how deeply the Lutheran movement, from the very start, had laid hold on the Lowlands. The argument of Dr. Pyper, that the author of the "Confutatio" was a Hollander, seems to be unanswerable. The Latin flows with magnificent ease and is, as Dr. Pyper assures us (p. 368), fully able to stand the test of a comparison with that of Melanchthon in his "Loci Communes" and in the Augsburg Confession of 1530. The Parisian faculty had declared its position unequivocally on the revolutionary doctrines, proclaimed by Martin Luther, and this unknown author attacks their deliverances point by point, with an acumen and spirit, which proclaim him a finished scholar and a keen dialectician. He is enthusiastically in favor of Luther's doctrine, and again betrays his Erasmian sympathies step by step. The reading of this tract is indispensable for a correct knowledge of the attitude of intelligent Hollanders to the reformatory movement of the 16th century. The narrative of the Groningen disputation is of the same character and indicates how deeply the Dutch clergy were infected by the new spirit and how dispassionately they were able to discuss these matters, before the "Placards" of Charles V had begun to crush out the new life.

All in all this sixth volume of the *Bibl. Ref. Neerl.* is one of the richest of the series thus far.

Louisville, Ky.

HENRY E. DOSKER.

## ANCIENT CHURCH DEDICATIONS IN SCOTLAND: Scriptural Dedications.

By JAMES MURRAY MACKINLAY, M.A. Pp. xxiii., 419 with map; 9x5½ in. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1910. 12 s. 6 d. net.

In this well got up and beautifully printed volume Mr. Mackinlay has gathered a vast amount of material relating to topography, ecclesiology and church architecture. His main purpose, however, as stated in the preface, is "(1) to give some account of the Cathedrals, Parish and Collegiate Churches, Chapels, Hospitals and Monasteries under the invocation of Saints mentioned in Holy Scripture (2) to trace the influence that these Saints have had on ecclesiastical festivals, usages, and symbolism." The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the subjects of Dedication and Consecration. These are of special interest to students of Scottish Church History owing to the line of demarcation existing between the usages of the Celtic and the Roman Catholic Churches. The Celtic Churches, according to the usage pointed out by Mr. Haddan, were named after the missionaries who were instrumental in planting them; they were not, as in the Roman Catholic Church, dedicated to foreign saints. This rule, while it has a few exceptions, is sufficiently well marked to be one of the distinctive features of Celtic hagiology. In the volume before us Mr. Mackinlay does not deal with the Celtic Church but promises to do so in a forthcoming volume on Scottish Non-Scriptural dedications. All students interested in Church History will find the volume a most interesting and valuable collection of facts gathered from all sources. The work shows considerable research and is highly creditable to Mr. Mackinlay's indefatigable industry. It is prefaced by a useful bibliography of works consulted in the preparation of the book extending to thirteen pages and concludes with an Appendix dealing with such matters as the Symbols of the Evangelists, St. Mark at Venice, St. Luke as Artist, the Conversion of the Celtic Community at Inchaffray into an Augustinian Monastery, St. Tear's Chapel, St. John's Eve, the Founding of Holyrood Abbey. By this book Mr. Mackinlay has increased his reputation as a student working in the by-ways of Scottish Church history and the present volume will take an honorable place besides his former *Folk-lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* and *Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-names*. It is written in an interesting style and whets the appetite for the promised volume on non-Scriptural dedications which from the nature of the subject lends itself to an even more interesting treatment.

Wick, Scotland.

D. BEATON.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES: DIVISIONS AND UNIONS, IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, CANADA, AND AMERICA. By JOHN VANT STEPHENS, D.D., Chairman of the Faculty and Professor of Church History in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the South and Southwest. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1910. 12mo; pp. vii, 111. Price, 75 cents net.



The somewhat spacious title for this little book must be interpreted in the light of the author's modest purpose, which was not the preparation of "a complete history of the various Presbyterian and Reformed churches in Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States of America," but simply the giving of "a brief outline only, by statement and diagram, of the origins, divisions and unions, which will enable the reader readily to trace the continuity of these various bodies." This useful task has been well performed. For many an inquiring student of such matters these concisely written chapters, and the four charts accompanying them, will be a serviceable guide in helping him to make or improve his first acquaintance with ecclesiastical Presbyterianism in its diverse historical developments.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

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## SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

LES ORIGINES DU DOGME DE LA TRINITÉ, par JULES LEBRETON, Professeur d'Histoire des Origines Chrétiennes à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. 1910. 8vo; pp. xxvi. 569.

This goodly volume is the first to appear of a pair designed to contain a *History of the Doctrine of the Trinity from its Beginnings to Augustine*. It confines itself to what is here called the "Beginnings", that is, to the Biblical period; leaving to the forthcoming second volume the task of tracing the formulation of the doctrine through the three hundred years or more which stretch between the New Testament and Augustine's great treatise *On the Trinity* in which the doctrine finds its relatively complete statement. The division between the two volumes falls at the right point, at the line which separates the history of the delivery of the doctrine from that of its formulation. We could wish, however, that the essential difference between the revelation and the appropriation of the doctrine had been more strongly marked; and that the author had frankly undertaken to trace in his first volume the progressive revelation of the doctrine and in the second the gradual appropriation of it. Instead of that, he speaks of the whole work as occupied in tracing "the development of a doctrine"; and describes his task in this, his first volume, as an attempt "to seize in their diversity the multiple echoes which the revelation" of this doctrine "awakened in the human souls" of the several Biblical writers,—"the faith and life which it called forth in them." Should we take this statement at the foot of the letter, this first volume should be occupied in the rather delicate inquiry into what Peter and Paul and John and the rest really understood and believed about the doctrine which was revealed through them; and that is not what we are particularly interested in, and not what M. Lebreton is particularly interested in. What both he and we

are interested in is the doctrine of the Trinity as it has been revealed in the New Testament and as it has been formulated by the church. And in point of fact he does not write in this volume a history of opinion on the Trinity in the Apostolic age, but a history "of the teaching of the different sacred authors," with an effort no doubt "to signalize the differences of aspect, the individual shades" which distinguish the teaching of each, but above all with an effort to determine just what has been revealed to us as to the mode of existence of the Divine Being. The book is, then, better than its promise; it is, indeed, a very excellent study of "the origins of the doctrine of the Trinity," written with adequate knowledge, and in full view of modern discussion. The author takes the term "origins" here, however, in a very wide sense, and does not, in point of fact, come to grips with, specifically, the doctrine of the Trinity as it lies in the New Testament at all,—contenting himself with showing in a rich and careful discussion how the elements which enter into this doctrine are dealt with by the New Testament writers.

The book is divided into three major sections. The first of these is entitled "The Hellenic Environment"; the second, "The Jewish Preparation"; and the third, "The Christian Revelation". "Of these three parts of which the study is composed," the author remarks in his Introduction, "the third alone, which, it is true, is the longest, is directly devoted to the history of the doctrine of the Trinity. The second has for its object the different doctrines which prepared the Jews for this revelation; no justification of its necessity or explanation of its bearing is needed. The first part, on the other hand, may seem beside the mark; when the question concerns the Christian Trinity why speak of pagan mythologies or Hellenic speculations on the *logos* and on the Spirit?" Certainly not, he answers, in order to discover the source of the Christian doctrine; the chief value of the discussion is rather the demonstration which it provides that the source of the Christian doctrine would be sought in these mythologies and speculations in vain; to which is added the further service that a survey of these mythologies and speculations enables us "to appreciate by comparison, the transcendence of the Christian doctrine," long familiarity with which may have blunted our sense of its superhuman quality.

In any event M. Lebreton's exposition of the Hellenic environment into which Christianity was thrust at its origin is most illuminating, and fairly justifies his prevision that a study of the heathen systems as wholes will quite deliver us from the temptation of seeking starting-points for particular Christian doctrines in isolated expressions—like the Stoic *Logos*, or the *Spiritus sacer* of Seneca—which when torn from their context in their own system may with a little adjustment be made to seem closely parallel to Christian conceptions. He presents this exposition under the three heads of "God and the Gods", in which he examines in turn the popular religion of the day, including the Emperor-cult, the philosophical interpretations, and especially the religious philosophies, with the emphasis on Stoic monism and neo-



Pythagorean and neo-Platonic transcendentalism; the Logos theories in their origins and in their Old-Stoic, Alexandrian and neo-Platonic, and neo-Stoic developments; and the current ideas of "the Spirit". The conclusions which he reaches as well as the spirit in which he carries on his investigation are well illustrated in the following words with which he closes this discussion. "In the need of souls, Christianity was to find a force; in the diverse philosophical conceptions which we have expounded it could find little but obstacles and dangers. To-day, after twenty centuries we experience great difficulty in representing to ourselves exactly this conflict of doctrines. When, by a laborious analysis, we have succeeded in reconstructing the principal religious theories which could come into contact with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, we discover between these two bodies of conceptions so profound a contrast that we can scarcely conceive the possibility of an equivocation and much less still of a compromise. What relation could exist between the Word, Son of God, and this logos, force and law of the world, which is in each of us the germ of life, the principle of thought, and of the moral law? How could the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, be confounded with this inflamed air which penetrates all beings, encompasses them and animates them? This contrast was less clearly perceived in the second century: the Stoic theories were familiar to all cultivated minds; the Christian doctrines were almost unknown; when therefore they heard a God spoken of who filled the whole universe, an incarnate Logos, a Spirit dwelling in each of us, they naturally interpreted it all, in a Stoic sense, of a material soul which penetrated the world and animated man. In the very bosom of the church the confusion was not always escaped, and we recognize in the theology of more than one ecclesiastical writer vestiges of those philosophies which he had professed in his youth and the reign of which about him he was still conscious of . . . In this age of compromise when we see nothing but eclecticism in philosophy and syncretism in religion the church needed a strength more than human to preserve for its faith its uncompromising transcendence, to defend the purity of its doctrine against its enemies, and sometimes even against its own teachers. The three first centuries of our history tell us how long and cruel those struggles were; the fourth shows us how fecund they were."

In passing from the Gentile to the Jewish world, we enter a new atmosphere, an atmosphere which is dominated by a profound sense of a personal God ruling over all things, and in which can be traced a positive preparation for the revelation of the Triune God. M. Lebreton treats this "Jewish preparation" under the three heads of "The Old Testament", "Palestinian Judaism" and "Alexandrian Judaism"; and under each head he passes in review the doctrine of God, of the Spirit, of the Messiah, and of such conceptions, whether treated as personifications or as "middle-beings", as each had developed under the names of Wisdom, the Word, the Shekina, Powers, the Logos. Of course he does not think that all of these periods or phases of "the Jewish

preparation" bear the same relation to the revelation of the Trinity: he draws with perfect clearness the line which separates the books of the Old Testament—in which, "if we cannot recognize the doctrine of the Trinity clearly and fully revealed, we may at least find, as in their sources, many doctrines which were later to enter into the Christian doctrine"—from later Jewish writings which can make no such claim; and, although the line which divides the Old Testament from Alexandrian Judaism is a little obscured by including in the Old Testament (as a good Romanist must) the Apocryphal books, yet M. Lebreton is under no illusions as to the syncretistic character of the characteristic notions of Alexandrian Judaism and gives us, in particular, an admirable and admirably balanced account of the theology of Philo. The conclusions reached in this account are solidly supported by a searching examination of the whole material. And they fully justify the strong words with which the discussion closes, in rebuke of the tendency characteristic of many historians, in their desire to make out a close correspondence between the speculations of Philo and the doctrines of Christianity, to "deform Philonism so as to render it more like the theology of St. John and that" (M. Lebreton adds, with not so complete justification) "of the Apologists." "Thus some", he continues, "have reduced the whole Philonic doctrine of the Logos to the conception of the *θεῖος λόγος*, forgetting or ignorant that this expression, which meets us only a single time in Philo, in a fragment cited by Eusebius, bears with him a far from natural sense, and very poorly represents the entirety of his theory. Others have gone further and in the face of all probability, have pretended to find in this doctrine of the Logos the source of St. Paul's and St. John's Christology or of the doctrine of redemption." After his own direct exposition of the Philonian doctrine, he considers we may call such contentions mere "exegetical fantasies."

M. Lebreton does not even make excessive claims for the Old Testament revelation as a source of the doctrine of the Trinity. In a somewhat cautiously written Appendix on "The Mystery of the Trinity and the Old Testament", he passes in review the Old Testament passages in which an intimation of the Trinity has sometimes been found, and reaches the conclusion that they "could not be sufficient revelations to the Jews" and that even we, who know of the Trinity, cannot see in them sure proofs of that mystery—though, he adds, this mystery suggests the best explanation of these texts. His general view of them therefore accords with the exposition given of the "Let us make" of Gen. i. 26 by Lagrange in these striking words. "Man was created in the image of God. The author insists too much on this fact for us to be able to suppose that the Creator took counsel with the angels; man was not created in the image of the angels. God spoke to Himself. If He uses the plural, that presupposes that there was in Him a plenitude of being such that He could deliberate with Himself as a plurality of persons deliberate together. The mystery of the Holy Trinity is not expressly indicated, but it gives the best explanation of



this turn of speech, which recurs again (Gen. iii. 22, xi. 7, Is. vi. 8)."

In speaking of the gradual revelation of the doctrine of the Trinity, M. Lebreton seems inclined to take his starting point from a passage in Gregory of Nazianzus which he formally quotes on one occasion and alludes to elsewhere. This passage (*Theological Oration on the Holy Spirit*, v. 26, PG, xxxv. 161) he renders as follows: "The Old Testament manifested the Father clearly, the Son obscurely. The New Testament revealed the Son and made the deity of the Spirit understood. To-day the Spirit lives among us and makes Himself more clearly known. For it would have been perilous, when the deity of the Father was not recognized, to preach the Son openly, and when the deity of the Son was not admitted, to add the burden, if I may venture so to speak, of the Holy Spirit: there would have been fear that believers, like men filled with too much food, or like those who fix eyes still weak on the sun, would lose even that which they were capable of enduring; it was necessary on the contrary that, by gradual additions and, as David says, by ascensions from glory to glory, the splendor of the Trinity should shine forth progressively." This interesting attempt to give a rational account of the progressive revelation of the Trinity has the fault of overstepping for the revelation the limits of the period of revelation, and looking to the operations of the Spirit in the Church as His "revelation". Surely the "revelation" of the Spirit in the New Testament is as complete as that of the Son Himself—though, naturally, neither then nor now has He been "manifested in the flesh". Perhaps M. Lebreton does not intend to follow Gregory in this point: he explains that he does not understand Gregory to mean that the divinity of the Holy Spirit is contained in the New Testament "only in an uncertain and doubtful fashion". But he adds that what he does understand Gregory to teach is that "the Person of the Holy Spirit does not manifest itself like that of the Son in full light" in the New Testament; and he seems inclined to follow him in this. And if we are not mistaken his expositions of the New Testament teaching concerning the Holy Spirit are to some extent affected by this preconception. Because the Holy Spirit reveals Himself in His works, not in an incarnation, he seems to suggest, the apprehension of His personality was of slow growth and it was only after a considerable time that it was understood (*cf.* pp. 211, 251, 287).

Apart from the somewhat minimizing interpretation of the New Testament doctrine of the Spirit resulting from this attitude towards it, we have found the detailed study of the Christology and Pneumatology of the New Testament which fills more than two hundred pages and constitutes the main contents of the volume, admirable in every respect. We speak of it advisedly, however, as a study of the Christology and Pneumatology of the New Testament: for, as we have already intimated, the volume lacks a sustained attempt to ascertain the New Testament doctrine of the Trinity itself—M. Lebreton preferring, so it seems, to present the New Testament testimony to

this doctrine rather in its elements than in its constructive unity. We regret this lack, which perhaps rests on the general underlying conception of the work that "the development of the doctrine of the Trinity" through the Biblical and Patristic ages may be treated as all of a piece, in which case it may not be unnatural to postpone a study of the doctrine itself, as distinguished from the elements which enter into it, to the discussion of the work of the Patristic age. Meanwhile we are grateful for the full, rich and illuminating expositions we are here given of the New Testament doctrines of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit, written in full view of the wealth of recent discussions on these topics, and with close adherence to the texts expounded. M. Lebreton's method leads him to pass in review in turn the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, the primitive church, as represented, for example, in Acts, Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John. We have been instructed by every page, and rise from the reading of the whole discussion with a sense of large gains.

At the end of the volume there have been gathered into eleven appendices a series of studies of topics too important to the argument to be passed over with the cursory treatment which was alone possible in the course of the general discussion; and these appendices add largely to the value of the book. The topics treated in them are: "The Powers" in Greek speculation; "The Mystery of the Trinity and the Old Testament"; "Mk. xiii. 32: the Ignorance of the Day of Judgment"; "Mat. xi. 25-27; Lk. x. 21-22"; "Matt. xxviii. 19"; "2 Cor. iii. 17"; "The Doctrine of the Logos in Philo and the Doctrine of the Son in the Epistle to the Hebrews"; "On 'the Seven Spirits' which are before the throne of God"; "Jno. i. 3-4"; "1 Jno. vi. 7". The point of view of M. Lebreton as a Roman Catholic requires him to take account of "tradition" in discussing such exegetical points as no Protestant would feel bound to do: this fact has not deducted from the value of these discussions, in which M. Lebreton shows a very sound exegetical tact,—it has only added to them a valuable *précis* of Patristic opinion, which is full of instruction for us all.

We ought not to close without expressing the pleasure we have had in reading a volume so well provided with every device to give the reader comfort. The print is good, the notes are full, the references are exact; and we are given at the beginning of the volume not only a list of abbreviations used but a Bibliographical Index which enables us to verify the works cited, and at its end a series of complete Indices—of texts from the Bible, texts from Philo, authors cited, and subjects dealt with,—while a very full analytical table of contents crowns all. If all books were provided with so excellent a series of "aids to easy use," the lot of the student would be much alleviated and his work would not need to prove so much of a weariness to the flesh as it is now apt to be made.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PROTESTANT DOGMATICS. By DR. P. LOBSTEIN,



Professor of Theology in the University of Strassburg. Authorized Translation from the Original French Edition. By Arthur Maxson Smith, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1910. Pp. 275.

This is a reprint of Dr. Smith's translation of Lobstein's *Essai d'une Introduction à la Dogmatique Protestante*. This translation was privately printed in 1902 by the University of Chicago Press, and published by the translator. This reprint will give the book a wider circulation. Lobstein's *Introduction* was published in French in 1896. A German translation by Maas appeared in 1897. This latter, however, is more than a mere translation. It was revised by the author, and the footnotes were increased and extended by Prof. Lobstein, with a view to including much German literature on the subject, not cited in the French edition. Dr. Smith has omitted most of the footnotes on the ground that the literature cited would not be accessible to English readers. This omission detracts from the usefulness of the book, since these notes are not mere citations of books, but include statements of the theological positions of many of the authors cited, so that the footnotes are valuable helps for the student beginning the study of Systematic Theology.

Lobstein's *Introduction* has been before the theological public so long, and his theological position is so well known, that it is probably unnecessary to give any account of the contents of this volume. The author belongs, broadly speaking, to the Ritschlian school. The characteristic feature of this *Introduction* is the fact that many of the questions usually discussed under this head are excluded on the ground that they belong either to the Philosophy of Religion or the doctrinal system itself. Lobstein confines himself to an attempt to determine the nature of Christian dogma, and, in the light of this, to set forth the task, source, norm and method of Protestant dogmatics. He shows the influence of Sabatier more clearly than perhaps most of the theologians of the Ritschlian school.

Since the publication of this *Introduction* in 1896, Kirn's *Grundriss der evangelischen Dogmatik*, and the larger systematic treatises on Christian doctrine by Kaftan, Haering, and Wendt, have appeared, each of which follows in general, though with marked individual distinctions, the idea of the task and method of Dogmatic Theology here outlined by Lobstein.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE BIBLE. By FERDINAND S. SCHENCK, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America at New Brunswick, N. J. 8vo; pp. 428. New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America. \$1.50 net.

Plainly it will not be the fault of scholars like Dr. Schenck if Christianity, as a world-force, comes to be widely regarded as "dim

with the mist of years." He believes that "The Book" speaks authoritatively with myriad voices to the men of our time as truly as it offered a divine, many-sided message to the world of twenty centuries ago. Moreover, he is keenly interested in the conditions and problems of to-day, and especially those of our own land. He is no mere scholastic. He keeps his eyes and ears open. He reads the newspapers. He recognizes the ills of present-day society, its spirit of unrest and many of its major tendencies; and he believes that now, as ever heretofore, the Bible holds the key for the solution of every social problem.

So much, we think, may be inferred from the book before us; and the spirit of the author thus outlined commands our sincere admiration. We rejoice that there are so many present exponents of Christianity, of whom the author is an example, who teach that it is a religion to live by as well as to die by, and that it regards human society as well as the individuals as the object of redemption. There is, we think, much of promise for the sanity and power of the Church of the future in the increasing emphasis that is being laid by Christian thinkers and teachers upon the "Social Aspects of Christianity."

Dr. Schenck's book is an attempt to present the sociological teachings of the entire Bible. The plan has been suggested to him by the principle of a Biblical Theology. If there is a Biblical Theology, why not a Biblical Sociology? Accordingly, the author breaks into what he regards as new ground. He says, "This is the first book, so far as I know, upon Biblical Sociology." With his scheme no fault can be found, though we are inclined to question his analysis in differentiating the sociology of the Bible from its theology (p. 55): for, strictly speaking, theology as the *science of sciences* involves such teachings of the Bible as pertain to sociology,—they are not sister sciences, but the latter is the child of the former; but letting that pass, we are bound to put a large question mark over against his *method* of treating the Biblical elements that are related to his theme. He gives us the impression of regarding the customs, laws and polity of the Old Testament as of well-nigh equal value with the teachings of the New Testament in indicating the mind of God concerning the ultimate or ideal human society; or, perhaps, we should say, rather, that he seems to regard the social orders of the Bible ages more as a horizontal plane than as an evolutionary ascent from Genesis to Revelation.

In our judgment, therefore, he overemphasizes the importance of Old Testament laws and usages in the effort to determine the mind of God concerning the human framework of the kingdom of God in its finality. In fact, we do not believe that the Christian is to go to the Old Testament to learn sociology any more than to learn Church government or the functions of the Christian ministry. Indeed, to be precise, there is no sociology of the Bible. There are Biblical *sociologies* perhaps—patriarchal, Mosaic, monarchical, Christian—one scheme succeeding another; but there is no detailed program for the final constitution of human society presented in the Bible more than there



is an explicit outline of the final and ideal Church government. And if the occasional experiments of first-century Christians with communism, let us say, are not to be taken seriously by twentieth century Christians, still less are we to go back to Moses or Abraham to determine the social goal toward which we should strive. There is danger of our missing the mark in Old Testament study at this point. *The one central aim of the Old Testament is to present the historical unfolding of Redemption until the appearing of the Christ.* But the peculiar constitution of Hebrew society prior to Christ was clearly designed to be provisional, like the Levitical rites of worship, and like the theocracy itself. This is made perfectly clear by the attitude of Jesus toward the Old Covenant. For instance, He modified the Mosaic law of divorce; He treated the Mosaic laws of criminal punishment as defective; He abrogated the time-honored rites of the Levitical plan of worship; and He denied that His kingdom was to be outwardly modelled after the old theocracy. Thus we are to go to the New Testament rather than to the Old to learn the principles that should determine our social duties in this Christian dispensation. The Old offers its lessons as side lights, but the New is better.

The Chosen People dwelt in a small territory, they were for special reasons forbidden to have large dealings with neighboring peoples, and their interests were agricultural rather than commercial. As Edersheim says, "The whole occupation of the nation, that for which it was best fitted, and in which it took most delight, was agriculture; the cultivation of the rich and fertile land, as well as the tending and pasturing of flocks and herds." So primitive were trade and commerce among them that it was possible for them to live under a law forbidding interest on loans. Now to employ the laws that governed a society so situated and so employed as standards to measure the ethics of the Reading Railroad, or the moral quality of the Standard Oil Company, is to be projected into difficulties that the law of Christ does not impose. It is safe to say that if Abraham were living in Pittsburg to-day, he would not offend his God if he acted under a different set of laws and commercial usages than those with which he was familiar amid the hills of Canaan. Perhaps, by the way, his marital history, to look no further, would be an improvement over that of the patriarch as we know him. And so we venture to give expression to our fear lest methods like our author's in this department shall unintentionally lead young men who are entering the ministry into trouble by inducing them to assume teaching obligations that are too heavy to be borne. The minister who undertakes to teach men in detail how to conduct business, or how to make, interpret and enforce laws, will soon find that he has a contract that is too big for him. Moreover, it may finally appear that he is more remote from the spirit and method of Christ than he at first sight seems. Only the other day the report came to us that a brilliant young friend had so far lost his head through his sociological studies as to leave his pulpit to pursue what he possibly styles "Christian Socialism;" and we are confident

that St. Paul would be a better model for him than Henry George. And if we are not mistaken, there are a goodly number of the younger preachers in various connections who might become effective preachers of the Cross of Christ but who are in the way of becoming weak apostles of Socialism instead. Our American churches are, doubtless, about to be afflicted with the Socialistic fever; but the average preacher, at least, will possibly have reason to believe, when he renders his final account, that he has been true to his marching orders if he shall have left to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and held firmly to the central duty of preaching Christ crucified—the power of God unto salvation. Preachers may congratulate themselves that they have not been appointed to be train-despatchers on *all* the moral lines of the Universe.

We do not mean by this that Dr. Schenck's book is not on the whole to be commended as a contribution to theological scholarship, nor do we wish to go on record too positively in raising the question as to the possible unhappy effects of the increasing emphasis that is being given in our schemes of theological study to the department of Christian Sociology. There is a good deal of wholesome meat in the work; though possibly some of it is rather too strong a diet for theological babes. We are glad to have read it, and we shall probably often turn to it as a book of reference in relation to many of the live topics of the times.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE CODE OF THE SPIRIT. An Interpretation of the Decalogue. By WILFORD L. HOOPES, a Priest of the Episcopal Church. 8vo; pp. 154. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Price, \$1.20 net.

The peculiarity of this interpretation of the Decalogue is that it finds its principle, never in the divine nature, but always and only in the constitution of man. That is, the Ten Commandments, even the First, are all of them, what they are because, and only because, we are what we are. Thus by nature man is a thinker, an admirer, a creator, though not in the absolute sense, a receiver, an honorer of those of whom he is a beneficiary, a saviour of life, a sanctifier of his experiences, a proprietor, a reporter of truth, a trader, and, as the sum and substance of all, a lover; and, therefore, the law is that he should be each one and all of these. In a word, the will of God as expressed in the constitution of humanity is ultimate. There are not some commandments, as, for example, the First, the Second, the Third, and the Ninth, which are what they are because God himself is what He is, which, therefore, even He could not cause to be other than they are, and in which, consequently, we have the foundation for a morality that is valid not merely for the present constitution of things, but is eternal and immutable as God Himself.

A further objection to our author's principle, or at least to the use which he makes of it, is that it leads him to give to some of the



commandments a meaning which is not in them. Thus he paraphrases the Third Commandment, "Thou shalt take the name of the Lord thy God, and be as God is a creator." "But not in vain, not ineffectually, not so that the result will be emptiness and worthlessness. On the contrary, thou shalt take the name of God as God takes it; thou shalt create virtue." Instead, therefore, of requiring reverence for God and His works, this law, according to Mr. Hoopes, enjoins wise and effective activity.

In spite, however, of these and other misconceptions and some undue refinements of thought and frequent artificiality of style, the Code of the Spirit is often suggestive and even instructive; and though few will agree with it throughout, all should find it well worth reading.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

A DAY FOR REST AND WORSHIP. Its Origin, Development and Present Day Meaning. By WILLIAM B. DANA. 8vo, pp. 265. New York, Chicago, Toronto, London. Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1911.

"The author of this volume, a distinguished graduate of Yale University, and brother of the renowned American Geologist, James D. Dana, was for forty-five years the editor and proprietor of the Financial and Commercial Chronicle." The significance of the work, therefore, is that it gives what we may call a Christian business man's view of the Sabbath. And it is a very high view. We can not agree with the writer that the word "Remember" at the opening of the Fourth Commandment, especially when contrasted with the beginning of the others, is suggestive of entreaty rather than of command:" but we do follow him in all his argument to prove that the Sabbath was necessary for rest and worship from the creation of man, and that the week, so far from being only a natural division of time, was God's device and had for its purpose to establish and preserve a day for rest and worship; and we are particularly edified and confirmed, both by Mr. Dana's presentation of the peculiar need of the Sabbath to-day growing out of the unprecedented strain of modern business, and by his broad and sympathetic and thoroughly Scriptural discussion of the way in which the Lord's Day should be kept holy.

We regret that this excellent and needed treatise could not have been revised by its author. It would then have been free from the blemishes of style and mistakes in proof reading that now mar it.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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## PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

THE HOME OF THE SOUL. By CHARLES WAGNER, Author of *The Simple Life*, etc. Translated from the French by Laura Sanford Hoffmann.

With an Introduction by Lyman Abbott, D.D., LL.D. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1909. 12mo, pp. xv. 349. \$1.20 net.

This collection of fifteen sermons by Pastor Wagner is named, as the visitor to Paris will surmise, after the author's celebrated institutional church in the Faubourg St. Antoine. "The Home of the Soul", we are informed, numbers between 3000 and 4000 adherents in all parts of the city, including Roman Catholics, Jews and Freethinkers. That such diverse elements should be attracted and held by any preacher of the Gospel is a noteworthy tribute to his message. Nor have we far to read in these sermons to discover some of the secrets of their fascination and power. The simple, lucid, incisive, often brilliant style, the unconventional mode of sermon-building, the abundance of vivid and striking illustrations, the picturesque diction, the noble earnestness and candor, the breadth and intensity of the minister's sympathy for his fellowmen, the glow of his religious feelings, the appeal to the heroic elements of man's nature, the inspiring optimism that constantly interprets life in the light of its wealthiest possibilities in the attainments of character and service—these are the most obvious merits of these discourses. No doubt, too, the very vagueness of many of the forms of expression, permitting now a more and now a less pronounced evangelicalism, helps to captivate many a hearer who is dissatisfied with some of the traditional conceptions of the meaning of the Gospel. The Introduction truly says: "He does not intellectualize religion. He expresses it in terms of experience, not in terms of philosophy. He does not discuss the Trinity; what interests him is the manifestation of God to men. He does not discuss the atonement; what interests him is the harmonization of men with God and therefore with each other. He does not discuss regeneration; what interests him is the new life consecrated to God in His children." But these antitheses hardly state the whole truth. For, on the one hand, the preacher cannot altogether get along without a metaphysical theory of his own manufacture; as, for instance, in this characterization of Christ: "Christ is not a private individual. He is for us, the spirit which embodies the total sum of moral light of which humanity is capable . . . He is not a propagator of a definite doctrine, of a system forming men exactly to its pattern. Christ is all that is normal and all that is best in humanity, human and divine . . . The spirit of Christ is therefore the essence of that which we find everywhere, in the East and in the West, in ancient and modern times, the best, the most supremely human, the most grandly generous, the most evident in the suffusion of good, bounty, and the gift of self" (p. 6). On the other hand, there is a gulf fixed between the ethical and the religious elements in this presentation of the Gospel that even the most expansive of these mystically indefinite phrases will not enable us to cross. Whence can come the motive force that will help a poor sinner to realize the lofty idealism of this matchless example? "To love others, to grow in gentleness and



strength, to despise our fellows less, to have less fear of those great in a worldly sense and less disdain for those of humble appearance—this is the task of brotherhood, kindliness, and faith." And how is "the task" to be accomplished? The answer is characteristic in its juxtaposition of the divine name and the light of the stars, with an utter absence of any reference to Christ: "You, who read this message, if you be weary, may God give you strength. If your thoughts are jangling and discordant, may peace and tranquility enter into your hearts. If you are afraid, may you be soothed and calmed by the sovereign benignity shining from the stars, the sweet divine peace, the pure glitter of which, on the clearest nights, is only a distant promise." No doubt it is a cause for thanksgiving that in a city like Paris thousands of Romanists, Jews, and Freethinkers, as well as others, should be so earnestly and strongly interested to find the true "Home of the Soul." At the same time we cannot but wish that the seekers might more frequently be persuaded to leave the mere vestibule of revealed truth and draw nearer to the altar of atonement where the Divine Savior offers the sacrifice for sin that alone can kindle and keep burning the sacred flame of our own love to God and to our fellowmen.

*Princeton.*

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

**LIGHT IN DARK PLACES, OR LECTURES ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.** By Rev. NATHAN BACHMAN, D.D., the Evangelist. Richmond, Va.: Whitlet & Shepperson. 1910. 12mo, pp. 150.

Of the twelve sermons here gathered together in book form all but the last, which is suggested by Ps. xvi. 8, are based on passages in the Epistle to the Philippians. The title is chosen to hint at the encouragement and comfort that the author desires to convey to his readers from a New Testament book that a summer's special study has endeared to him. The sermons are simple, well-planned, persuasive spiritual discourses, full of the good cheer of their inspired source.

*Princeton.*

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

**WRITING ON THE CLOUDS.** By ARTHUR NEWMAN. Boston: Sherman, French and Company. 1910. 12mo, pp. 91. Price, 90 cents net.

"We ourselves listen", says the author, "when one sincerely and out of a full heart tries to tell, though with stammering speech, what great things he has found to help in God's word, and in the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord." But the title of the book as of many of the thirteen brief "meditations", and much of the subject matter itself, suggest that after all the chief source of "help" here utilized was not the Bible. It becomes somewhat difficult to lay hold of the aim of these discourses or to determine the rhetorical species to which they belong. But if the

reader will pursue these pages without troubling himself too much about establishing the connections between contiguous paragraphs he will have his reward in finding many a nugget of practical wisdom by the wayside and in gazing upon many a scene of poetic beauty, to say nothing of his enjoyment of the many fair and fragrant blossoms of speech that have been plucked for him from many fields of literature.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE SECRET OF THE LORD. By the Rev W. M. CLOW, B.D., Glasgow, Author of *The Cross in Christian Experience*, *The Day of the Cross*. New York and London: Hodder and Houghton. 12mo, pp. vi. 353. \$1.50 net.

Readers of *The Cross in Christian Experience* and *The Day of the Cross* will eagerly welcome this new volume of sermons by the celebrated Glasgow preacher. Nor will they be in the least disappointed. For like its predecessors this book is a noble sanctuary of evangelical truth in which strength and beauty are united in a most impressive and charming manner. Indeed, among recent publications of sermons we know of none more interesting, more instructive, or more profitable for the cultivation of the spiritual life.

This "series of addresses" deals with "the sayings and doings of Jesus during the days of a religious retreat held in the neighborhood of Caesarea Philippi." "The purpose of these studies is to set the events of this quiet season and its solemn words in relation to the purpose of Christ's life and death, and to expound their teaching for faith and righteousness. The title of the book has been chosen not for the music of its sound, but for the fitness of its meaning. To His chosen disciples, in those days of seclusion, at the summit level of His ministry, Jesus disclosed 'The Secret of the Lord.'" The passages studied are Matt. xvi. 1, xvii. 21; Mark viii. 27, ix. 29; Luke ix. 18-51, and the sermons, twenty-six in number, are grouped together under the following headings: The Ruling Law (The Men of the Secret); The Disclosure of the Person and His Purpose; The Disclosure of the Cross and its Issues; The Disclosure of the Glory and Its Significances; The Face toward Jerusalem; and The Consummation of the Secret (Hos. vi. 3 and 1 Cor. xiii. 12).

We heartily join with the author in expressing the hope "that those who read will also be led to spend some quiet days with Christ, to see His glory, to feel their need of the word of His grace, and in a renewing dedication of life and service, to confess Him Lord"; and we cannot but state our conviction that the sympathetic study of these discussions will do much to make this hope a blessed reality.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE TRANSFIGURED CHURCH. By J. H. JOWETT, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company. 1910. 12mo, pp. 252. \$1.25 net.



This volume of sermons by the distinguished Dr. Jowett, now the pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York, has already received such wide notice in our religious periodicals and such high commendations in ministerial circles, that by the time this number of the REVIEW makes its appearance, most of our readers who are interested in this sort of literature will no doubt have made their acquaintance with this book at first hand. We simply make this formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the volume and express our high appreciation of these remarkable sermons and our hope that the author will be abundantly blessed in delivering such messages from his new pulpit and in publishing them for his many parishioners on both sides of the ocean.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

JESUS, THE WORKER. Studies in the Ethical Leadership of the Son of God. By CHARLES MCTYNIRE BISHOP, D.D. The Cole Lectures for 1909. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.25 net.

The Cole lectures have been delivered before Vanderbilt University since 1903. This book contains the substance of the lectures for 1909.

In his preface, the author, who is a pastor in active service, speaks of two great "impressions which have the force of final conviction in his mind:"

1. If men are to know Christ at all as an effective Redeemer and Saviour, they must know Him in the *Man, Jesus of the New Testament*.

2. Jesus, Himself, must be known in His *complete manhood*.

Jesus can be known in his superior power to give Himself to others "only through *His works*—that is through His conduct in general and the way in which, as a typical man, He viewed the responsibilities of His own life and undertook to discharge them. . . . In these aspects of His life we want to study Him."

Dr. Bishop does not try to discuss Jesus as a supernatural risen Saviour, but concentrates his attention on the active life of our Lord and uses the Synoptics as his chief sources of material. There are six chapters corresponding to the original lectures. We study "Jesus The Man," "The Acts of Jesus," "The Attitude of Jesus Toward the Universe," "The Constructive Purpose of Jesus," "The Ethics of Jesus," and "Jesus The Preacher."

While critical questions occasionally appear, they are necessarily made exceedingly subordinate. Dr. Bishop's method is a rapid survey of the field covered with a very continuous use of the Gospels, and especially of Luke. The book is so clearly and interestingly written that it is only too easy to read. There is such a mass of material considered, the questions discussed are so tremendous, that the reader regrets that the attempt was made to place in one short volume an adequate treatment of so many themes.

All the lectures are illuminating, but none are wholly satisfying. Thought is stimulated, but before any subject is deeply considered it has to be dropped. While the discussion is in the main correct and

the Scriptures quoted convincing, the general effect is too often one of superficiality, and is therefore transitory.

The attempt to separate the man Jesus from the divine Saviour who continually concentrated man's trust on *Himself* can never do Christianity any service. Dr. Bishop displays only a tendency in this direction, but he fails to note the emphasis placed by the Gospels on Jesus's *death* and *resurrection* as the greatest of His works, ones without which all others would have proved futile.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL

## GENERAL LITERATURE

CHARMS OF THE BIBLE. A Fresh Appraisalment. By JESSE BOWMAN YOUNG, D.D., Litt.D. 12mo, pp. 255. New York: Eaton and Mains. 1910.

The aims of this volume, says the author, are "to call forth in fresh array the beauties of the Scripture; to illustrate by pertinent citations, and in systematic orders, those features of the Book which invest it with perennial attractiveness; and to indicate anew the main reasons which underlie its supremacy in the world." The seventeen chapters into which the discussion is divided are not of co-ordinate importance in the development of the theme, and the spiritual charms of the Word, though given the place of honor as the climax of the argument, are not set forth with the comprehensiveness and cogency with which some of the other aspects of the subject are treated. But taken as a whole the book admirably succeeds in impressing upon the reader the unique and commanding attractiveness of the Bible for all ages. After an introductory chapter on the world-wide appeal which the Scriptures make, the following considerations are presented as their chief "charms;" their structural peculiarities and the wide diversity of materials embraced under a single dominating purpose; their literary traits (the sublimity of certain passages, the yearning, human tenderness of others, the quality of pathos, "the searching and awakening force and penetrating power revealed in the questioning methods of the Bible," the picturesque simplicity of style, and the symbolism of the biblical writers); their poetry; their biographical attractions; their grip on the conscience; their promises; their pictures of home life; their ideals of God and man; their appeal to the intellect; their "credentials"—a combination of the old and the more modern apologetic; their portrayal of the Supreme Teacher; their "great portrait" of the divine and perfect character of Christ; and their spirit of hope.

The book is written with much charm of style, and some portions, notably the chapter on Christ as the supreme teacher, are marked by a fine critical acumen and vital freshness in the mode of treatment. The pages are interspersed with appropriate verses—for which a separate



index is made—dealing with the various "charms" of the Bible.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

HOW TO DEVELOP SELF-CONFIDENCE IN SPEECH AND MANNER. By GRENVILLE KLEISER, Formerly Instructor in Public Speaking at Yale Divinity School, Yale University; Author of *How to Speak in Public*, *Humorous Hits* and *How to Hold an Audience*, *How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking*, *How to Argue and Win*, etc. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1910. 12mo; pp. vii, 288. \$1.25 net.

HOW TO ARGUE AND WIN. By GRENVILLE KLEISER. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1910. 12mo; pp. 310. \$1.25 net.

We have read these books with much pleasure and profit. They are worthy additions to Mr. Kleiser's well-known treatises on the subject of public speaking. Based upon sound psychological principles, his counsels are full of good sense and practical worth.

The former of the two volumes is designed to give special help to those "who daily defraud themselves because of doubt, fearthought, and foolish timidity." Attention is directed, among other things, to the importance and the proper methods of building up the will-power; curing self-consciousness in speaking; developing the capacity of right thinking; cultivating the best "sources of inspiration" in literature and life, first and foremost those in the Bible; mastering the art of concentration; securing an adequate physical basis for a forceful personality; finding oneself and strengthening one's individuality; forming the habit of expressing oneself in an energetic manner; overcoming discouragements; making the best of one's voice; and living a life of faith. Throughout the book the importance of a sober estimate of one's talents and opportunities is emphasized, and many suggestions are given for the cultivation of specific elements of strength of character. Scores of memory passages are cited to make the candidate in this arduous school of discipline come to a hopeful conclusion as to the possibility of acquiring self confidence in his speech and manner.

The second treatise gives in popular form the basal laws of argumentation, but the main stress is laid upon the more thorough development of the personality of the debater. Separate chapters deal with the subject of persuasive argument from the point of view of the lawyer, the business man, the preacher, the salesman, the public speaker. The Appendix, consisting of some sixty pages, contains a "Note for a Law Lecture," by Abraham Lincoln; "Of Truth," by Francis Bacon; "Of Practise and Habits," by John Locke; and "Improving the Memory," by Isaac Watts.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

WHAT HAVE THE GREEKS DONE FOR MODERN CIVILISATION? The Lowell Lectures of 1908-1909. By JOHN PENTLAND MAHAFFY, C.V.O.,

D.C.L. (Oxon.), etc., of Trinity College, Dublin. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press. 1909.

In an age when democracy is in the saddle, when college and secondary curricula are in a state of flux, when "occupational courses" hold the field in education, when efficiency in teaching is measured by the "cost per student hour" method, when the occupation of the teacher of Greek is almost gone, and the university professor of distinction is thankful when one or two adventurous spirits elect his course in "beginning Greek," it is refreshing to read a defense of Greek studies by so able an advocate as Professor Mahaffy. In his Lowell Lectures Dr. Mahaffy feels that he brings a message to his age, and to the educational world of America, and his thesis, frankly stated and forcibly defended before his audience in the Athens of America, is that the giving up of Greek as an instrument of education will mean a serious intellectual loss—a return in fact to the Dark Ages, only to be dispelled again by a renaissance of classical study. He warns the ardent advocate of Latin (to the exclusion of Greek) that Latin will be poorly taught by those who have not studied the Greek models of Latin literature, and is fearful lest in time Latin, too, may be "thrown to the wolves."

The powerful and pervasive influence of Greece upon modern civilization is traced in the fields of poetry, prose, architecture and sculpture, painting and music, science, politics, philosophy and theology. The author shows himself to be a humanist in the best sense with wide acquaintance with modern as well as ancient literature, and his discussion is lightened by interesting comments upon modern writers and shrewd observations upon men and affairs. Some *obiter dicta* may be quoted. "The huge amount of time spent by Americans in travelling is perhaps one of the most serious obstacles to their intellectual advancement." "You have heard much talk about the *Superman*, whose main attribute seems to me *infra* human, when the rights of others are concerned." The effect of Gladstone's eloquence is said to have been produced by embarking his audience with him upon the billows of great periods, and exciting wonder as to how they would ever come safely to land.

As an exponent and defender of Hellenic culture Dr. Mahaffy is the "noblest Roman of them all" (if the expression is allowable), and he looks back with some complacency upon a life spent in devotion to his favorite study. "There are probably few men who have lived longer and more intimately with the old Greeks, in more phases of their life, ever probing and seeking for better knowledge of their vast legacy to mankind, of which the rodent tooth of time, the sacrilegious hands of men, have lost or destroyed so much. The farther I seek, the wider the vistas I see opening before me. So now, when my part in the race is nearly run, there remains to me no higher earthly satisfaction than this, that I have carried the torch of Greek fire alight through a long life—no higher earthly hope than this, that



I may pass that torch to others, who in their turn may keep it aflame with greater brilliancy perhaps, but not with more earnest devotion, 'in the Parliament of men, the Federation of the world.'"

*Lincoln University, Pa.*

WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

THE EVOLUTION OF LITERATURE. By A. S. MACKENZIE. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

As stated in the Preface, "the object of this treatise is to try to account for the origin and successive changes of literature as a social phenomenon" giving a "presentation of what is usually termed Comparative Literature." Confronted by such a world-wide scheme, the author makes no attempt "to write a complete account of literary evolution," but wisely limits his area, aims to be "suggestive" rather than exhaustive, and freely acknowledges that there is a spacious domain of unsolved and, indeed, insoluble problems. The introductory chapter, entitled "The Problem," includes the subject of literary criticism, the purpose of the book, as scientific and objective, the difficulties and complications of such a study as literature, the explanation of the term, evolution, and the specific method of study, as historical and comparative. The author then takes up the subject of the "Primitive Literature" of the world, expressed in drama, lyric and epic, as contrasted with "Barbaric Literature," as, also, expressed in drama, lyric and epic, and goes on to a comprehensive survey of what he calls Autocratic Literature, as expressed in prose and verse, and Democratic Literature in the ancient, mediaeval and modern world.

In the concluding chapter under the caption, Provisional Laws, he states these three laws, as those of Progress, Initiative and Responsiveness, and somewhat strangely closes the volume with a definition of literature as "the linguistic expression of aesthetic ideals."

Here is a scheme of literary study, therefore, almost encyclopedic in its scope and, as such, naturally involving the merits and defects incident to so elaborate a plan. It is a work, however, which despite all conceded defects, belongs to that class of books that make a distinct contribution to the subject they discuss, stimulate thinking and rational inquiry, and serve to place discussion on the highest intellectual plane. Contending that the science of literature is still rudimentary, that its primitive eras are especially difficult to interpret, that a part of its study consists in the removal of misconceptions, that, first and last, literary evolution is based on social evolution, that the evolution itself has been, in the main, for the better, and that "vitality is the quality that gives permanent value to all true art," the author has succeeded in keeping within the bounds of historical accuracy and the well established principles of literary criticism.

The view given us of primitive literatures in their relation to later and contemporary types is especially valuable, while the survey, as a whole, may be safely recommended to all those who are interested

in the examination of literature as a world product and vitally related to the questions of race, nationality and the successive stages of progress from the crudest myths and songs of the earliest eras to the most highly elaborated forms of modern verse and prose.

*Princeton.*

T. W. HUNT.

WORLD LITERATURE. By R. G. MOULTON: The Macmillan Co., New York.

Professor Moulton is widely and favorably known, both as an educator and author, most especially by his contributions to Shakespearean and biblical study. The object of the present volume, as he states in the Preface, is to present "a conception of World Literature, as a unity . . . seen in perspective from the point of view of the English-speaking peoples." In the Introduction he indicates three important topics:

The Unity of Literature and the Conception of World Literature.  
The Literary Pedigree of the English-speaking Peoples, and  
World Literature from the English Point of View.

In the first of these, the distinction is drawn between World Literature, on the one hand, and Universal Literature, on the other. In the second, he presents the salient topics of Hebraism, Hellenism, Mediaevalism and Romance; while, in the third, he insists in studying all literature from the English as a basis. The comprehensive subject is then fully outlined and developed under ten distinct divisions.

- I The Five Literary Bibles—The Holy Bible, in which he asserts that "biblical study is essential for a sound literary education."
- II The Five Literary Bibles—Classical Epic and Tragedy, as illustrated in Homer, Aeschylus and Virgil.
- III The Five Literary Bibles—Shakespeare, wherein he reveals the universality of Shakespeare's genius.
- IV The Five Literary Bibles—Dante and Milton, exponents, respectively, of Mediaeval Catholicism and Renaissance Protestantism.
- V The Five Literary Bibles—Versions of the Story of Faust.
- VI Collateral Studies in World Literature, as seen in Arabic, Persian, Celtic, Norse, and Flemish.
- VII Comparative Reading, illustrated in The Alcestis Group, reproduced in Alfieri, Morris and Longfellow; in The Bacchanals Group, as seen in Ecclesiasticus, the Rubaiyat, The Faerie Queene and Tennyson's Vision of Sin.
- VIII Literary Organs of Personality, as expressed in the Essays of Bacon, Cicero, Epictetus, Pascal, Montaigne, Addison and others, and in Lyrics, as in the Psalms, The Odes of Horace, and the Sonnets of Dante, Petrarch, Shakespeare and others.
- IX Strategic Points in Literature, as Plato, Lucretius, Aristophanes, Malory, Chaucer, Spencer, Froissart, Don Quixote, Moliere, Scott, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Byron, Wordsworth, and others.



X World Literature, as *The Autobiography of Civilization*, in which civilization is presented in its best products.

The author closes the volume by noting *The Place of World Literature in Education*, in which he argues, that the study of classics should be literary more than linguistic; that through translations into English the literature of all nations is at our hand; that the study of the Bible as literature is essential; that in literary study the cultural should dominate the vocational; and that the modern movement in the line of University Extension emphasizes the diffusion of culture among non-university classes and thus contributes to the general good.

From such an outline it is clear that Doctor Moulton has traversed a very extensive area of literary study, and given his readers many interesting suggestions as to what may be called, the inter-relations of literary life and product as expressed among different peoples. Some of the primary objects of the volume are to prove that literature should be lifted above the merely "departmental stage" and made equal in rank with history, philosophy and language; to exhibit in true perspective the importance of the Hebraic and Hellenic elements in modern letters; to emphasize the central place that Shakespeare holds in the English and general literary world; to illustrate through Dante and Milton and Goethe the elements of Romish Mediaevalism, English Puritanism and the irrepressible conflict between the world and the soul; to exhibit those literatures that are collateral to the English; to illustrate the comparative principle in letters through comparative reading of great authors, such as Euripides and Browning; to reveal the principle of personality in literature, especially through essays and lyrics; to place the reader at the most commanding points of view from which to study literary product; to reveal the relation of literary and general civic progress, and finally, to present world-literature as an essentially educating study.

The discussion is conducted on a high intellectual plane and so dispassionately and fairly that even when we differ from the author as to any particular theory or statement, we respect his opinions as candid and are disposed to give him every legitimate concession. It is, in a word, a suggestive and thought-provoking volume, and may be profitably studied in connection with a recent book on "*The Evolution of Literature*", which we have already reviewed in these columns.

It is such books as these that will do much to redeem the study of literature from any suggestion of the superficial and merely aesthetic.

*Princeton, N. J.*

T. W. HUNT.

THE GIRL IN HER TEENS. By MARGARET SLATTERY. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Company. 1910. Pp. 128. Price, 50 cents.

This is a book for teachers by a teacher. It considers the average girl at the age when so many teachers find her a difficult problem. The whole field of her life, physical, mental, social, spiritual, is treated.

One of the best chapters is that discussing the matter of the girl's amusements. A good many of us who have to deal with the play side of life can sympathize with her perplexity when she writes, "My observations of the social side of the girl in her teens, and especially the girl who has left school, has made me feel that if the opportunity came to me as to Solomon, I would rather have the knowledge and power to give the young people of to-day sane, safe amusement than anything else I know."

In common with the teacher generally the author seems to regard enlightenment and training as the road to a stable, perfect womanhood. That is, development accounts for all we have and will furnish us with all we can have. In the chapter on the spiritual side, much stress is laid on the power of a teacher who has faith, but it is not clear just what the object of that faith must be. It is lack of a frank avowal of the need and power of a vital, personal, immediate religious experience which is the chief fault of the book.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

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### PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, April: F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, Historical Character of the Gospel of Mark; CLARENCE A. BECKWITH, Influence of Psychology upon Theology; SHIRLEY J. CASE, Is Jesus a Historical Character: Evidence for an Affirmative Opinion; JOHN E. RUSSELL, The Crisis in Doctrinal Christianity; EDOUARD MONTET, Thoughts on the Idea of a First Cause; GREGORY D. WALCOTT, Logical Aspect of Religious Unity; WILLIAM B. SMITH, The Pre-Christian Jesus; SHIRLEY J. CASE, Jesus' Historicity: A Statement of the Problem; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, The Toronto Gospels.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, April: HENRY A. STIMSON, Congregational Reconstruction; EDWARD M. MERRINS, Heredity and Social Progress; JAMES LINDSAY, Philosophy of Art; FRANK FOX, What Does the New Testament Teach about Healing?; HAROLD M. WIENER, Scientific Study of the Old Testament; THEODORE W. HUNT, Spenser and the Later Sonnet-Writers; J. J. LIAS, Theology of Fourth Gospel a Guarantee of its Genuineness; GEORGE STIBITZ, Message of the Book of Amos.

*Church Quarterly Review*, London, April: The Government of England; JOHN VAUGHAN, Some Prison Literature; W. C. BISHOP, The Mozarabic Breviary; The Mond Collection; A. E. BURN, Cardinal Pole; The Revolt of the Curés, 1789; Community Life in the Church of England; H. C. BEECHING, The Story of the English Bible.

*East & West*, London, April: F. J. WESTERN, Religious Training in Indian missionary schools; F. J. GOULD, Moral Education in India; R. J. HUNT, Aborigines of South America from a missionary and commercial standpoint; W. BALL WRIGHT, Commemoration of the



heathen dead; A. E. JOHNSTON, The missionary message; HUBERT KELLY, Missionary Volunteering; N. MACNICOL, Two cults of popular Hinduism; HERBERT BAYNES, Hindu Conception of sin; E. GREAVES, Is Hinduism pantheistic?

*The Expositor*, London, April: G. BUCHANAN GRAY, The Virgin Birth in the Interpretation of Isaiah; ED KÖNIG, A Modern Expert's Judgment on the Old Testament Historical Writings; B. W. BACON, Songs of the Lord's Beloved; ALEX. SOUTER, Did St. Paul Speak Latin?; A. E. GARVIE, Did Paul Borrow His Gospel?; W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Commentary on the Epistles to Timothy; H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, Notes on Dr. Lepsius' Interpretation of the Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse; J. H. MOULTON and GEORGE MILLIGAN, Lexical Notes from the Papyri.

*Expository Times*, Edinburgh, May: Notes of Recent Exposition; S. R. DRIVER, Authorized Version of the Bible; JAMES HENDRY, In the Study; WILLOUGHBY C. ALLEN, Harnack and Moffatt on the Date of the First Gospel; ARTHUR WRIGHT, Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem; P. S. P. HANDCOCK, Identification of an Unnamed Old Testament King.

*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, April: WILLIAM F. BADÉ, Italian Modernism, Social and Religious; PERCY ASHLEY, University Settlements in Great Britain; BENJAMIN W. BACON, Jesus as Lord; GEORGE P. ADAMS, Beyond Moral Idealism; CLARENCE A. BECKWITH, Types of Authority in Christian Belief; CHARLES A. ALLEN, Reverence as the Heart of Christianity.

*Hibbert Journal*, Boston and London, April: LEO TOLSTOY, Philosophy and Religion; M. M. PATTISON MUIR, Can Theology Become Scientific?; PERCY GARDNER, The Sub-Conscious and the Super-Conscious; G. A. JOHNSTON ROSS, The Cross: The Report of a Misgiving; LEWIS R. FARNELL, Moral Service of the Intellect; W. B. SMITH, Judas Iscariot; J. W. JENKINSON, Vitalism; CHARLES T. OVENDEN, Water-Finding and Faith-Healing; NEVILLE S. TALBOTT, A Study of the Resurrection; W. F. COBB, The Problem of the Church of England; PHILLIP OYLER, Essentials of Education; E. W. LEWIS, Beyond Morality; E. M. ROWELL, Personality.

*International Journal of Ethics*, Philadelphia, April: J. S. MACKENZIE, Meaning of Good and Evil; F. MELIAN STAWELL, Goethe's Influence on Carlyle; RALPH BARTON PERRY, Question of Moral Obligation; H. S. SHELTON, Spencerian Formula for Justice; W. S. URQUHART, Fascination of Pantheism; M. E. ROBINSON, The Sex Problem.

*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Dublin and New York, April: HUGH POPE, Oxyrrynchus Papyri and Pentateuchal Criticism; T. SLATER, Modern Sociology, II; J. MACRORY, Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries and St. Matthew 19: 9; P. J. TONER, Matter and Form of Original Sin; GARRETT PIERSE, Origin of the Doctrine of the Sacramental Character; M. J. O'DONNELL, Historical Basis of a Jansenist Error, II.

*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, April: G. MORIN, L'Origine

du Symbole d'Athanase; M. R. JAMES, New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter, II; E. BISHOP, Liturgical Comments and Memoranda, iv-vii; MARTIN RULE, 'Transformare' and 'Transformatio'; W. D. SARGEANT, The Lambeth Articles, II; C. F. ROGERS, How did the Jews Baptize?; G. MARGOLIOUTH, Two Zadokite Messiahs; H. M. BANNISTER, Fragments of an Anglo-Saxon Sacramentary; H. C. HOSKIER and F. C. BURKITT, Elzevir New Testament of 1624 and 1633, Euangelium Gatianum, and the Antinoe Gothic-Latin Fragment; V. C. MACMUNN, The Menelaus Episode in the Syriac Acts of John.

*London Quarterly Review*, London, April: EDWARD WALKER, Christian Science and Disease; WILLIAM SPIERS, Dr. Wallace's 'World of Life'; H. MALDWIN HUGHES, Christian Experience and Historical Fact; SAMUEL E. KEEBLE, Literature and the Movement for Social Reform; W. M. HOLDSWORTH, Philosophic Basis of Caste; W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, An Interpretation of the French Revolution; ARTHUR T. BURBRIDGE, Personality and God; T. H. S. ESCOTT, Evangelical Foregleams in Seventeenth Century Verse; JOHN TELFORD, The Bible and the Bible Society.

*Lutheran Quarterly*, Gettysburg, April: GEORGE W. PEPPER, A World Conference on Questions of Faith and Order; L. B. WOLF, The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference; J. M. HANTZ, Man's Relation to God; M. R. HAMSHER, Benefits and Solemnity of Confirmation; CHARLES W. SUPER, Individualism; T. F. DORNBLASER, Desirability and Possibility of a United Lutheran Church in America; L. H. LARIMER, Samuel Alfred Ort—A Memoir; A. G. VOIGHT, Relation of Genesis I to Following Chapters; C. ROLLIN SCHERCK, "Evolution up to Date"; THEO. B. STORK, Pragmatism; LEANDER S. KEYSER, Does Nature Make Progress?; J. A. SINGMASTER and A. R. WENTZ, Current Theological Thought.

*Methodist Review*, New York and Cincinnati, May-June: R. J. COOKE, Do We Need a Supreme Court?; OSCAR KUHN, Apologia Pro Professione Sua; A. W. STALKER, What Is Man?; L. H. HOUGH, The Lure of Books; ANDREW GILLIES, Fresh Water From an Old Well; GEORGE R. GROSE, Preacher as Teacher; DANIEL STEELE, Why I am not a Premillennialist; W. W. GUTH, Literary Style of Borden P. Bowne; A. W. LEONARD, Passing of the Sunday Evening Service; E. W. CANTWELL, The Christian Sermon; J. E. CHARLTON, Jews of Marlowe and Shakespeare. A Contrast.

*Methodist Review Quarterly*, Nashville, April: JOHN A. KERN, Influence of the Authorized Version on Language, Literature and Life of the Anglo-Saxon Race; G. W. DYER, Problem and Pathos of Our Illiterate Population; E. Y. MULLINS, The Modern Issue as to the Person of Christ; GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE, The Ring and the Book Expounded; J. W. SHACKFORD, Tendencies in Modern Thought Regarding the Atonement; S. PARKES CADMAN, Stonewall Jackson; J. RITCHIE SMITH, Training of the Ministry for the Times; W. P. KING, Ultimate Authority in Religion; T. J. SCOTT, "The Varieties of Religious Experience."



*Modern Puritan*, London, April: D. M. MCINTYRE, The Christian Preacher, II; A. H. DRYSDALE, Puritanism and Art; ADOLPHE MONOD, Man Proposes, but God Disposes, II; E. K. SIMPSON, Prevalence and Purport of Human Sacrifices; W. BURNET, Elhanan: A Jewish Legend.

*Monist*, Chicago, April: SVANTE ARRHENIUS, Infinity of the Universe; A. H. GODBEY, Greek Influence in Ecclesiastes; ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, Schopenhauer as an Evolutionist; BERNHARD PICK, Attack of Celsus on Christianity; LUCIEN ARREAT, On the Abuses of the Notion of the Unconscious; The Ideal and Life, Schiller's Poem translated by Paul Carus; PAUL CARUS, Finiteness of the World; ALFRED H. LLOYD, Games of Chance.

*Philosophical Review*, Lancaster and New York, May: J. B. BAILLIE, Moral and Legal Aspects of Labour; B. H. BODE, Realistic Conceptions of Consciousness; W. H. SHELDON, Ideals of Philosophic Thought; ELIJAH JORDAN, The Unknowable of Herbert Spencer.

*Reformed Church Review*, Lancaster, April: ALVIN S. ZERBE, Were the Early Old Testament Books Written in the Babylonian-Assyrian Language and Cuneiform Script?; JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, Is Christ Divine? A Study of the Arian Crisis; EDWARD S. BROMER, Edwin Markham, the Poet of Democracy; A. S. GLUCK, The Reformed Church Year; GEORGE W. RICHARDS, The Declaration of Independence; A. V. HEISTER, Contemporary Sociology; Contemporary Religious and Theological Thought.

*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, April: ROBERT J. DRUMMOND, Sufficiency of the Gospel Ethic; O. P. GIFFORD, Christian Science; PHILIP L. JONES, Henry Drummond; R. E. CHAMBERS, Christianity in Awakened China; T. P. STAFFORD, Expository Preaching—A Criticism; J. L. KESSLER, The Preacher and Biology; W. W. EVARTS, The Apocrypha, a Source of Roman Catholic Error.

*Theological Quarterly*, St. Louis, April: Walther the Lutheran; Rise of Antichrist; Doctrine of Election according to Eph. 1: 3-14; Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary.

*Union Seminary Magazine*, Richmond, April-May: ARTHUR G. JONES, The Power is of God; J. B. WARREN, Evolution as it Stands Related to Christian Faith; F. J. BROOKE, Duty of Prayer for the Ministry; W. D. REYNOLDS, How We Translated the Bible into Korean.

*Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Paris, Avril: GIULIO BERTONI, L'exorisme chrétien du musée de Zagabria; ANDRÉ WILMART, Un Anonyme ancien de decem Virginibus (fin); PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE; "Mulieres in ecclesia taceant". Un aspect de la lutte antimontaniste, II.

*Revue Bénédictine*, Paris Avril: D. D. DE BRUYNE, La finale marcionite de la lettre aux romains retrouvée; D. A. WILMART, Les versions latines des sentences d'Évagre pour les vierges; D. G. MORIN, Étude d'ensemble sur Arnobe le Jeune; D. U. BERLIÈRE, Lettres inédites de Bénédictines de St-Maur.

*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Louvain, Avril: J. FLAMION, Les

Actes apocryphes de Pierre. B. Les Actes de Pierre en Orient (suite, à suivre); L. BRIL, Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède. Etude critique des sources littéraires hambourgeoises (suite, à suivre); G. CONSTANT, La transformation du culte anglican sous Edouard VI. II. Tendances zwingliennes et calvinistes. Le second "Livre de la prière publique" (1552).—L'ordinal anglais de 1550-1552 et la validité des ordinations anglicanes (suite, à suivre); A. CAUCHIE, Le R. P. Charles De Smedt, président de la Société des Bollandistes.

*Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses*, Montauban, Mars: ANDRÉ ARNAL, La Personne humaine dans les Evangiles (suite et fin); A. WABNITZ, Note supplémentaire sur le Paradis du Hadès; A. WABNITZ, Addition à la Note supplémentaire sur le Paradis du Hadès; CH. BRUSTON, La Version synodale de la Bible; J. E. NEEL, L'Eglise et l'Etat; CH. BRUSTON, Additions aux inscriptions en hébreu archaïque; L. PERRIER, La Cure d'âme moderne et ses bases religieuses et scientifiques.

*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, Kain (Belgique), Avril: A. GARDEIL, La "Certitude Probable"; P. DONCEUR, La Religion et les Maîtres de l'Averroïsme; ÉR. HUGUENY, La Rédemption; P. M. DEMUNYNCK, Notes sur les Jugements de Valeur; H.-D. NOBLE et M.-D. ROLAND-GOSSELIN, Bulletin de Philosophie; M. JACQUIN, Bulletin d'Histoire des Doctrines chrétiennes.

*Theologische Studiën*, Utrecht, XXIX Jaarg. Afl. III: W. J. AALDERS, De Duitse Romantiek en het Roomsche-Catholicisme; G. WILDEBOER, Nog eens Lukas 1: 15b; Boekaankondigingen.

*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Innsbrück, XXXV Band, 2 Heft: ST. V. DUNIN-BORKOWSKI, Die alten Schriften und ihre religiöse Mitwelt; C. A. KNELLER, Romisch-katholisch beim hl. Cyprian; J. BIEDERLACK, Weiteres zur Frage von der sittlichen Erlaubtheit der Arbeiteraugstände; H. BRUDERS, Mt. 16: 19; 18: 18 und Jo. 20: 22-23 in frühchristlicher Auslegung. Afrika bis 258.



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# The Princeton Theological Review

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# THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## ON FAITH IN ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS.

The English word "Faith" came into the language under the influence of the French, and is but a modification of the Latin "Fides", which is itself cognate with the Greek *πίστις*. Its root-meaning seems to be that of "binding". Whatever we discover to be "binding" on us, is the object of "faith".<sup>1</sup> The corresponding Germanic term, represented by the English word "Believe" (and the German, "Glauben") goes back to a root meaning "to be agreeable" (represented by our English "lief"), and seems to present the object of belief as something which we "esteem"—which we have "estimated" or "weighed" and "approved". The notion of "constraint" is perhaps less prominent in "belief" than in "faith", its place being taken in "belief" by that of "approval". We "believe" in what we find worthy of our confidence; we "have faith" in what compels our confidence. But it would be easy to press this too far, and it is likely that the two terms "faith", "belief" really express much the same idea.<sup>2</sup> In the natural use of language, therefore, which is normally controlled by what we call etymology, that is, by the intrinsic connotation of the terms, when we say "faith", "belief", our minds are pre-

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew *אֱמוּנָה*, *הֶאֱמִין* go back to the idea of "holding": we believe in what "holds". In both the sacred languages, therefore, the fundamental meaning of faith is "surety". Cf. Latin "*credo*".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Heyne's German Dictionary *sub voc.* "Glaube": "*Glaube* is confiding acceptance of a truth. At the basis of the word is the root *lub*, which, with the general meaning of agreeing with and of approving, appears also in *erlauben* and *loben*."

occupied with the grounds of the conviction expressed: we are speaking of a mental act or state to which we feel constrained by considerations objective to ourselves, or at least to the act or state in question. The conception embodied in the terms "Belief", "Faith", in other words, is not that of an arbitrary act of the subject's; it is that of a mental state or act which is determined by sufficient reasons.

In their fundamental connotation, thus, these terms are very broad. There seems nothing in the terms themselves, indeed, to forbid their employment in so wide a sense as to cover the whole field of "sureness", "conviction". Whatever we accept as true or real, we may very properly be said to "believe", to "have faith in"; all that we are convinced of may be said to be matter of "belief", "faith". So the terms are, accordingly, very often employed. Thus, for example, Professor J. M. Baldwin defines "belief" simply as "mental endorsement or acceptance of something thought of as real"; and remarks of "conviction", that it "is a loose term whose connotation, so far as exact, is near to that here given to belief".<sup>3</sup> He even adds—we think with less exactness—that "judgment" is merely "the logical or formal side of the same state of mind" which, on the psychological side, is called belief. To us, judgment appears a broader term than "belief", expressing a mental act which underlies "belief" indeed, but cannot be identified with it.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile we note with satisfaction that Professor Baldwin recognizes the element of constraint ("bindingness") in "belief", and distinguishes it clearly from acts of the will, thereby setting aside the definition of it—quite commonly given—which finds the differentia of beliefs, among convictions, in this—that they are "voluntary convictions". "There is", he says,<sup>5</sup> "a distinct difference in consciousness

<sup>3</sup> And Professor Stout: *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, I, p. 110. Cf. p. 112 &c.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Baldwin does not allow any psychological distinction between "belief" and "knowledge." See *sub voc.* "Knowledge".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112. The passage is quoted from Baldwin, *Handbook of Psychology; Feeling and Will.* 1891, p. 171.



between the consent of belief and the consent of will. The consent of belief is, in a measure, a forced consent; it attaches to what is—to what stands in the order of things whether I consent or no. The consent of will is a forceful consent—a consent to what shall be through me.” That is to say, with respect to belief, it is a mental recognition of what is before the mind, as objectively true and real, and therefore depends on the evidence that a thing is true and real and is determined by this evidence; it is the response of the mind to this evidence and cannot arise apart from it. It is, therefore, impossible that belief should be the product of a volition; volitions look to the future and represent our desires; beliefs look to the present and represent our findings.

Professor Baldwin does not recognize this, however, in its entirety, as is already apparent from the qualification inserted into his description of “belief”. “It is”, says he, “*in a measure*, a forced consent.” He wishes, after all, to leave room for “voluntary beliefs”. Accordingly, he proceeds: “In cases in which belief is brought about by desire or will, there is a subtle consciousness of inadequate evidence, until by repetition the item desired or willed no longer needs volition to give it a place in the series deemed objective; then it is for the first time belief, but then it is no longer will.” “Beliefs”, then, according to Professor Baldwin, although not to be confounded with acts of the will, may yet be produced by the action of the will, even while the “evidence” on which they should more properly rest, is recognized by the mind willing them to be insufficient.

We cannot help suspecting this suggestion to rest on a defective analysis of what actually goes on in the mind in the instances commented on. These appear to us to be cases in which we determine to act on suppositions recognized as lacking sufficient evidence to establish them in our minds as accordant with reality and therefore not accepted as accordant with reality, that is to say, as “beliefs”. If they pass, as Dr. Baldwin suggests, gradually into “beliefs”, when re-

peatedly so acted upon—is that not because the mind derives from such repeated action, resulting successfully, additional evidence that the suppositions in question do represent reality and may be safely acted on as such? Would not the thing acted on in such cases be more precisely stated as the belief that these suppositions may be accordant with reality, not that they are? The consciousness that the evidence is inadequate which accompanies such action (though Dr. Baldwin calls it “subtle”)—is it not in fact just the witness of consciousness that it does not assert these suppositions to be accordant with reality, and does not recognize them as “beliefs”, though it is willing to act on them on the hypothesis that they may prove to be accordant with reality and thus make good their aspirations to become beliefs? And can any number of repetitions (repetitions of what, by the way?) make this testimony of consciousness void? Apparently what we repeat is simply volitions founded on the possibility or probability of the suppositions in question being in accordance with reality; and it is difficult to see how the repetition of such volitions can elevate the suppositions in question into the rank of beliefs except by eliminating doubt as to their accordance with reality by creating evidence for them through their “working well”. The repetition of a volition to treat a given proposition as true—especially if it is accompanied by a consciousness (however subtle) that there is no sufficient evidence that it is true—can certainly not result in making it true; and can scarcely of itself result in producing an insufficiently grounded conviction in the mind (always at least subtly conscious that it rests on insufficient evidence) that it is true, and so in “giving it a place in the series deemed objective”. A habit of treating a given proposition as correspondent to reality may indeed be formed; and as this habit is formed, the accompanying consciousness that it is in point of fact grounded in insufficient evidence, may no doubt drop into the background, or even wholly out of sight; thus we may come to act—instinctively, shall we say? or inadvertently?—on the supposi-



tion of the truth of the proposition in question. But this does not seem to carry with it as inevitable implication that "beliefs" may be created by the action of the will. It may only show that more or less probable, or more or less improbable, suppositions, more or less clearly envisaged as such, may enter into the complex of conditions which influence action, and that the human mind in the processes of its ordinary activity does not always keep before it in perfect clearness the lines of demarcation which separate the two classes of its beliefs and its conjectures, but may sometimes rub off the labels which serve to mark its convictions off from its suppositions and to keep each in their proper place.

It would seem to be fairly clear that "belief" is always the product of evidence and that it cannot be created by volitions, whether singly or in any number of repetitions. The interaction of belief and volition is, questionless, most intimate and most varied, but one cannot be successfully transmuted into the other, nor one be mistaken for the other. The consent of belief is in its very nature and must always be what Dr. Baldwin calls "forced consent", that is to say, determined by evidence, not by volition; and when the consent of will is secured by a supposition, recognized by consciousness as inadequately based in evidence, this consent of will has no tendency to act as evidence and raise the supposition into a belief—its tendency is only to give to a supposition the place of a belief in the ordering of life.

We may infer from this state of the case that "preparedness to act" is scarcely a satisfactory definition of the state of mind which is properly called "faith", "belief". This was the definition suggested by Dr. Alexander Bain. "Faith", "belief", certainly expresses a state of preparedness to act; and it may be very fairly contended that "preparedness to act" supplies a very good test of the genuineness of "faith", "belief". A so-called "faith", "belief" on which we are not prepared to act is near to no real "faith", "belief" at all. What we are convinced of, we should certainly confide in; and what we are unwilling to confide in we seem not quite

sure of—we do not appear thoroughly to believe, to have faith in. But though all “faith”, “belief” is preparedness to act, it does not follow that all preparedness to act is “faith”, “belief”. We may be prepared to act, on some other ground than “faith”, “belief”. On “knowledge” say—if knowledge may be distinguished from belief— or, as we have already suggested, on “supposition”—on a probability or even a possibility. To be sure, as we have already noted, the real ground of our action in such cases may be stated in terms of “faith”, “belief”. Our preparedness to act may be said to be our belief—our conviction—that, if the supposition in question is not yet shown to be in conformity to reality, it yet may be so. Meanwhile, it is clear that the supposition in question is not a thing believed to be in accordance with fact, and is therefore not a belief but a “supposition”; not a “conviction” but a conjecture. “Belief”, “faith” is the consent of the mind to the reality of the thing in question; and when the mind withholds its consent to the reality, “belief”, “faith” is not present. These terms are not properly employed except when a state of conviction is present; they designate the response of the mind to evidence in a consent to the adequacy of the evidence.

It, of course, does not follow that all our “beliefs”, “faiths” correspond with reality. Our convictions are not infallible. When we say that “belief”, “faith” is the product of evidence and is in that sense a compelled consent, this is not the same as saying that consent is produced only by compelling evidence, that is, evidence which is objectively adequate. Objective adequacy and subjective effect are not exactly correlated. The amount, degree and quality of evidence which will secure consent varies from mind to mind and in the same mind from state to state. Some minds, or all minds in some states, will respond to very weak evidence with full consent; some minds or all minds in some states, will resist very strong evidence. There is no “faith”, “belief” possible without evidence or what the mind takes for evidence; “faith”, “belief” is a state of mind



grounded in evidence and impossible without it. But the fullest "faith", "belief" may ground itself in very weak evidence—if the mind mistakes it for strong evidence. "Faith", "belief" does not follow the evidence itself, in other words, but the judgment of the intellect on the evidence. And the judgment of the intellect naturally will vary endlessly, as intellect differs from intellect or as the states of the same intellect differ from one another.

From this circumstance has been taken an attempt to define "faith", "belief" more closely than merely mental endorsement of something as true—as, broadly, the synonym of "conviction"—and to distinguish it as a specific form of conviction from other forms of conviction. "Faith", "belief", it is said (e. g. by Kant), is conviction founded on evidence which is subjectively adequate. "Knowledge" is conviction founded on evidence which is objectively adequate. That "faith" and "knowledge" do differ from one another, we all doubtless feel; but it is not easy to believe that their specific difference is found in this formula. It is of course plain enough that every act of "faith", "belief" rests on evidence which is subjectively adequate. But it is far from plain that this evidence must be objectively inadequate on pain of the mental response ceasing to be "faith", "belief" and becoming "knowledge". Are all "beliefs", "faiths", specifically such, in their very nature inadequately established convictions; convictions, indeed—matters of which we feel sure—but of which we feel sure on inadequate grounds—grounds either consciously recognized by us as inadequate, or, if supposed by us to be adequate, yet really inadequate?

No doubt there is a usage of the terms current—especially when they are set in contrast with one another—which does conceive them after this fashion; a legitimate enough usage, because it is founded on a real distinction in the connotation of the two terms. We do sometimes say, "I do not *know* this or that to be true, but I fully *believe* it"—meaning that though we are altogether persuaded of it we are

conscious that the grounds for believing it fall short of complete objective coerciveness. But this special usage of the terms ought not to deceive us as to their essential meaning. And it surely requires little consideration to assure us that it cannot be of the essence of "faith", "belief" that the grounds on which it rests are—consciously or unconsciously—objectively inadequate. Faith must not be distinguished from knowledge only that it may be confounded with conjecture. And how, in any case, shall the proposed criterion of faith be applied? To believe on grounds of the inadequacy of which we are conscious, is on the face of it an impossibility. The moment we perceive the objective inadequacy of the grounds on which we pronounce the reality of anything, they become subjectively inadequate also. And so long as they appear to us subjectively adequate, the resulting conviction will be indistinguishable from "knowledge". To say that "knowledge" is a justified recognition of reality and "faith", "belief" is an unjustified recognition of reality, is to erect a distinction which can have no possible psychological basis. The recognizing mind makes and can make no such distinction between the soundness and unsoundness of its own recognitions of reality. An outside observer might certainly distribute into two such categories the "convictions" of a mind brought under his contemplation; but the distribution would represent the outside observer's judgment upon the grounds of these convictions, not that of the subject himself. The moment the mind observed itself introduced such a distribution among its "convictions" it would remove the whole class of "convictions" to which it assigned an inadequate grounding out of the category of "convictions" altogether. To become conscious that some of its convictions were unjustified would be to abolish them at once as convictions, and to remove them into the category at best of conjectures, at worst of erroneous judgments. We accord with Dr. Baldwin therefore when he declares of this distinction that it is "not psychological".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, I. p. 603.



The mind knows and can know nothing of objectively and subjectively adequate grounds in forming its convictions. All it is conscious of is the adequacy or inadequacy of the grounds on which its convictions are based. If they appeal to it as adequate, the mind is convinced; if they do not, it remains unconvinced. Faith, belief, is to consciousness just an act or state of conviction, of being sure; and therefore cannot be explained as something less than a conviction, something less than being sure, or as a conviction indeed, but a conviction which differs from other convictions by being, if not ungrounded, yet not adequately grounded. That were all one with saying it is a conviction no doubt, but nevertheless not quite a conviction—a manifest contradiction in terms.

The failure of this special attempt to distinguish between faith and knowledge need not argue, however, that there is no distinction between the two. Faith may not be inadequately grounded conviction any more than it is voluntary conviction—the two come to much the same thing—and yet be a specific mode of conviction over against knowledge as a distinct mode of conviction. The persistence with which it is set over against knowledge in our popular usage of the words as well as in the definitions of philosophers may be taken as an indication that there is some cognizable distinction between the two, could we but fasten upon it. And the persistence with which this distinction is sought in the nature of the grounds on which faith in distinction from knowledge rests is equally notable. Thus we find Dr. Alexander T. Ormond<sup>7</sup> defining "faith" as "the personal acceptance of something as true or real, but—the distinguishing mark—on grounds that, in whole or in part, are different from those of theoretic certitude". Here faith is distinguished from other forms of conviction—"knowledge" being apparently in mind as the other term of the contrast. And the distinguishing mark of "faith" is found in the nature of the grounds on which it rests. The nature of these

<sup>7</sup> Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, I, p. 309.

grounds, however, is expressed only negatively. We are not told what they are but only that they are (in whole or in part) different to "those of theoretic certitude". The effect of the definition as it stands is therefore only to declare that the term faith does not express all forms of conviction, but one form only; and that this form of conviction differs from the form which is given the name of "theoretic certitude",—that is to say, doubtless, "knowledge"—in the grounds on which it rests. But what the positive distinguishing mark of the grounds on which the mode of conviction which we call faith rests is, we are not told. Dr. Ormond does, indeed, go on to say that "the moment of will enters into the assent of faith", and that "in the form of some subjective interest or consideration of value". From this it might be inferred that the positive differentia of faith, unexpressed in the definition, would be that it is voluntary conviction, conviction determined not by the evidence of reality present to our minds, but by our desire or will that it should be true—this desire or will expressing "some subjective interest or consideration of value".<sup>8</sup>

Put baldly, this might be interpreted as meaning that we "know" what is established to us as true, we "believe" what we think we should be advantaged by if true; we "know" what we perceive to be real, we "believe" what we should like to be real. To put it so baldly, may no doubt press Dr. Ormond's remark beyond his intention. He recognizes that "some faith-judgments are translatable into judgments of knowledge." But he does not believe that all are; and he suggests that "the final test of the validity" of these latter must lie in "the sphere of the practical rather than in that of theoretical truth". The meaning is not throughout perfectly clear. But the upshot seems to be that in Dr. Or-

<sup>8</sup>In his fuller discussion in his *Foundations of Knowledge*, 1900, Part III, ch. 1, Dr. Ormond tells us that what positively characterizes belief as over against knowledge is, subjectively, that "the volitional motive begins to dominate the epistemological" (p. 306), and, objectively, that the quality of "coerciveness" is lacking. The two criteria come very much to the same thing.



mond's opinion, that class of convictions which we designate "faith" differs from that class of convictions which we designate "knowledge" by the fact that they rest (in whole or in part) not on "theoretical" but on "practical" grounds—that is to say, not on evidence but on considerations of value. And that appears ultimately to mean that we know a thing which is proved to us to be true or real; but we believe a thing which we would fain should prove to be true or real. Some of the things which we thus believe may be reduced to "knowledge" because there may be proofs of their reality available which were not, or not fully, present to our minds "when we believed". Others of them may be incapable of such reduction either because no such proofs of their truth or reality exist, or because those proofs are not accessible to us. But our acceptance of them all alike as true rests, not on evidence that they are true, but (in whole or in part) on "some subjective interest" or "consideration of value". Failing "knowledge" we may take these things "on faith"—because we perceive that it would be well if they were true, and we cannot believe that that at least is not true of which it is clear to us that it would be in the highest degree well if it were true.

It is not necessary to deny that many things are accepted by men as true and accordant with reality on grounds of subjective interest or considerations of value; or that men may be properly moved to the acceptance of many things as true and real by such considerations. Considerations of value may be powerful arguments—they may even constitute proofs—of truth and reality. But it appears obvious enough that all of those convictions which we know as "beliefs", "faiths" do not rest on "subjective interests or considerations of value"—either wholly or even in part. Indeed, it would be truer to say that none of them rest on subjective interests or considerations of value as such, but whenever such considerations enter into their grounds they enter in as evidences of reality or as factors of mental movement lending vividness and vitality to elements of proper evidence

before the mind. Men do not mean by their "faiths", "beliefs", things they would fain were true; they mean things they are convinced are true. Their minds are not resting on considerations of value, but on what they take to be evidences of reality. The employment of these terms to designate "acceptances as true and real" on the ground of subjective interest or of considerations of value represents, therefore, no general usage but is purely an affair of the schools, or rather of a school. And it does violence not only to the general convictions of men but also to the underlying idea of the terms. No terms, in fact, lend themselves more reluctantly to the expression of a "voluntary acceptance", in any form, than these. As we have already seen, they carry with them the underlying idea of bindingness, worthiness of acceptance; they express, in Dr. Baldwin's phrase, a "forced consent"; and whenever we employ them there is present to the mind a consciousness of grounds on which they firmly rest as expressive of reality. Whatever may be the differentia of "belief", "faith" as a specific form of conviction, we may be sure, therefore, that desire or will cannot be the determining element of the grounds on which this conviction rests. What we gain from Dr. Ormond's definition then is only the assurance that by "faith" is denoted not all forms of conviction, but a specific form—that this specific form is differentiated from other forms by the nature of the grounds on which the conviction called "faith" rests—and that the grounds on which this form of conviction rests are not those of theoretic certitude. The form of conviction which rests on grounds adapted to give "theoretic certitude" we call "knowledge". What the special character of the grounds on which the form of conviction we call "faith" rests remains yet to seek.

This gain, although we may speak of it as, for the main matter, only negative, is not therefore unimportant. To have learned that in addition to the general usage of "faith", "belief" in which it expresses all "mental endorsement or acceptance of anything as real", and is equipollent with the



parallel term "conviction", there is a more confined usage of it expressing a specific form of "conviction" in contrast with the form of conviction called "knowledge" is itself an important gain. And to learn further that the specific character of the form of conviction which we call "knowledge" is that it rests on grounds which give "theoretic certitude", is an important aid, by way of elimination, in fixing on the specific characteristic of the form of conviction which in contrast to "knowledge" we call "faith". "Faith" we know now is a form of conviction which arises differently to "theoretic certitude"; and if certain bases for its affirmation of reality which have been suggested have been excluded in the discussion—such as that it rests on a volition or a series of volitions, on considerations of value rather than of reality, on evidence only subjectively but not objectively adequate—the way seems pretty well cleared for a positive determination of precisely what it is that it does rest on. We have at least learned that while distinguishing it from "knowledge", which is conviction of the order of "theoretic certitude", we must find some basis for "faith", "belief" which will preserve its full character as "conviction" and not sublimate it into a wish or a will, a conjectural hypothesis or a mistake.

It was long ago suggested that what we call "faith", "belief", as contradistinguished from "knowledge" is conviction grounded in authority, as distinguished from conviction grounded in reason. "We *know*", says Augustine, "what rests upon *reason*; we *believe* what rests upon *authority*"; and Sir William Hamilton pronounces this "accurately" said.<sup>9</sup> It is not intended of course to represent "faith", "belief" as irrational, any more than it is intended to represent "knowledge" as free from all dependence on taking-on-trust. It was fully recognized by Augustine—as by Sir William Hamilton—that an activity of reason underlies all "faith", and an act of "faith" underlies all knowledge. "But reason itself", says Sir William Hamilton, ex-

<sup>9</sup> *Reid's Works*: note A, section 5.

pounding Augustine's dictum,<sup>10</sup> "must rest at last upon authority; for the original data of reason do not rest upon reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself. These data are, therefore, in rigid propriety, *beliefs*, or *trusts*. Thus it is that in the last resort, we must, perforce, philosophically admit, that *belief* is the primary condition of reason, and not reason the ultimate ground of *belief*." With equal frankness Augustine allows that reason underlies all acts of faith. That mental act which we call faith, he remarks, is one possible only to rational creatures, and of course we act as rational beings in performing it;<sup>11</sup> and we never believe anything until we have found it worthy of our belief.<sup>12</sup> As we cannot accord faith, then, without perceiving good grounds for according it, reason as truly underlies faith as faith reason. It is with no intention, then, of denying or even obscuring this interaction of faith and knowledge—what may be justly called their interdependence—that they are distinguished from one another in their secondary applications as designating two distinguishable modes of conviction, the one resting on reason the other on authority. What is intended is to discriminate the proximate grounds on which the mental consent designated by the one and the other rests. When the proximate ground of our conviction is reason, we call it "knowledge"; when it is authority we call it "faith", "belief". Or to put it in other but equivalent terms, we know what we are convinced of on the ground of perception: we believe what we are convinced of on the ground of testimony. "With respect to things we have seen or see", says Augustine,<sup>13</sup> "we are our own witnesses; but with respect to those we believe, we are moved to faith by other witnesses." We cannot believe, any more than we can know, without adequate grounds; it is

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *Epist.* 120: "we should not be able to believe if we did not have rational minds."

<sup>12</sup> *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum*, ii. 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Epist.* 147.3.8.



not faith but "credulity" to accord credit to insufficient evidence; and an unreasonable faith is no faith at all. But we are moved to this act of conviction by the evidence of testimony, by the force of authority—rationally determined to be trustworthy—and not by the immediate perception of our own rational understandings.<sup>14</sup> In a word, while both knowing and believing are states of conviction, sureness—and the surety may be equally strong—they rest proximately on different grounds. Knowledge is seeing, faith is crediting.<sup>15</sup>

It powerfully commends this conception of the distinction between faith and knowledge, that it employs these terms to designate a distinction which is undoubtedly real. Whatever we choose to call these two classes of convictions, these two classes of convictions unquestionably exist. As Augustine puts it, "no one doubts that we are impelled to the acquisition of knowledge by a double impulse—of authority

<sup>14</sup> On Augustine's doctrine of Faith and Reason see "THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW", July, 1907, 389, *sq.*

<sup>15</sup> This conception of "faith" naturally became traditional. Thus, e. g., Reginald Pecock (middle of 15th century) defines faith as "a knowyng wherbi we assenten to eny thing as to trouthe, for as mych as we have sure evydencis gretter than to the contrarie that it is toold and affermid to us to be trewe, bi him of whom we have sure evydencis, or notable likli evydencis, gretter than to the contrarie, that therinne he not lied" (*The Folewer to the Donet*, f. 28). Here we have "faith" resting on evidence; and the specific evidence on which it rests, testimony. Accordingly he defines Christian faith thus: "that feith, of which we speken now, into which we ben bounde, and which is oon of the foundementis of Cristen religioun, is thilke kinde or spice of knowyng, which a man gendrith and getith into his undirstonding, principali bi the telling or denouncing of another persooone, which may not lie, or which is God" (*The Booke of Faith* I. i. f. 9a, Morrison's edition, 1909, p. 123). At the end of the discussion (f. 10a) Pecock plainly adds: "and bi this maner of his geting and gendring, feith is dyvers from other kindis and spices of kunnyngis, which a man gendrith and getith into his understanding bi bisynes and labour of his natural resoun, bi biholding upon the causis or effectis or circumstancis in nature of the conclusioun or treuthe, and withoute eny attendannce maad to eny sure teller or denouncer, that thilk conclusioun is a treuthe."

and of reason."<sup>16</sup> We do possess convictions which are grounded in our own rational apprehension; and we do possess convictions which are grounded in our recognition of authority. We are erecting no artificial categories, then, when we distinguish between these two classes of convictions and label them respectively "knowledges" and "beliefs", "faiths". At the worst we are only applying to real distinctions artificial labels. It may possibly be said that there is no reason in the fitness of things why we should call those convictions which are of the order of "theoretical certitude", knowledge; and those which represent the certitude born of approved testimony, faith. But it cannot be said that no two such categories exist. It is patent to all of us, that some of our convictions rest on our own rational perception of reality, and that others of them rest on the authority exercised over us by tested testimony. The only question which can arise is whether "knowledge", "faith" are appropriate designations by which to call these two classes of convictions.

No one, of course, would think of denying that the two terms "knowledge", and "faith", "belief" are frequently employed as wholly equivalent—each designating simply a conviction, without respect to the nature of its grounds. Augustine already recognized this broad use of both terms to cover the whole ground of convictions.<sup>17</sup> But neither can it be denied that they are often brought into contrast with one another as expressive each of a particular class of convictions, distinguishable from one another. The distinction indicated, no doubt, is often a distinction not in the nature of the evidence on which the several classes of conviction rest but in—shall we say the firmness, the clearness, the force of the conviction? The difficulty of finding the exact word to employ here may perhaps be instructive. When we say, for example, "I do not *know* it,—but I fully *believe* it" is it entirely clear that we are using "knowledge"

<sup>16</sup> *Contr. Acad.* iii 20. 43; cf. *De Ordine*, ii 9. 26.

<sup>17</sup> *Retract.* i, 104. 3.



merely of a higher degree of conviction than "faith" expresses? No doubt such a higher degree of conviction is intimated when, for example, to express the force of our conviction of a matter which nevertheless we are assured of only by testimony, we say emphatically, "I do not merely *believe* it; I *know* it." But may it not be that it would be more precise to say that "knowledge" even here expresses primarily rather a more direct and immediate grounding of conviction, and faith, belief, a more remote and mediate grounding of it—and that it is out of this primary meaning of the two terms that a secondary usage of them has arisen to express what on the surface appears as differing grades of convictions, but in the ultimate analysis is really differing relations of immediacy of the evidence on which the conviction rests? It adds not a little to the commendation of the distinction between "knowledge and faith under discussion, at all events, that it provides a starting point on the assumption of which other current usages of the terms may find ready and significant explanations.

When we come to inquire after the special appropriateness of the employment of the terms "faith", "belief" to designate those convictions which rest on authority or testimony, in distinction from those which rest on our immediate perception—physical or mental—attention should be directed to an element in "faith", "belief" of which we have as yet spoken little but which seems always present and indeed characteristic. This is the element of trust. There is an element of trust lying at the bottom of all our convictions, even those which we designate "knowledge", because, as we say, they are of the order of "theoretic certitude", or "rational assurance". "The original data of reason", says Sir William Hamilton truly, "do not rest on reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself." "These data", he adds, "are, therefore, in rigid propriety, *beliefs*, or *trusts*." The collocation of the terms here, "beliefs or trusts", should be observed; it betrays the propinquity of the two ideas. To

say that an element of trust underlies all our knowledge is therefore equivalent to saying that our knowledge rests on belief. The conceptions of believing and trusting go, then, together; and what we have now to suggest is that it is this open implication of "trust" in the conception of "belief", "faith" which rules the usage of these terms.

There is, we have said, an element of trust in all our convictions, and therefore "faith", "belief" may be employed of them all. And when convictions are distinguished from convictions, the convictions in which the element of trust is most prominent tend to draw to themselves the designations of "faith", "belief". It is not purely arbitrary, therefore, that those convictions which rest on our rational perceptions are called "knowledge" while those which rest on "authority" or "testimony" receive the name of "belief", "faith". It is because the element of trust is, not indeed more really, but more prominently, present in the latter than in the former. We perceive and feel the element of trust in according our mental assent to facts brought to us by the testimony of others and accepted as facts on their authority as we do not in the findings of our own rational understandings. And therefore we designate the former matters of faith, belief, and the latter matters of knowledge. Knowing, we then say, is seeing; believing is crediting. And that is only another way of saying that "knowledge" is the appropriate designation of those convictions which rest on our own mental perceptions, while "faith", "belief" is the appropriate designation of those convictions which rest on testimony or authority. While we may use either term broadly for all convictions, we naturally employ them with this discrimination when they are brought in contrast with one another.

It appears, therefore, not only that we are here in the presence of two classes of convictions—the difference between which is real—but that when these two classes are designated respectively by the terms "knowledge" and "faith", "belief" they are appropriately designated. These



designations suggest the real difference which exists between the two classes of convictions. Matters of faith, matters of belief are different from matters of knowledge—not as convictions less clear, firm or well-grounded, not as convictions resting on grounds less objectively valid, not as convictions determined rather by desire, will, than by evidence—but as convictions resting on grounds less direct and immediate to the soul, and therefore involving a more prominent element of trust, in a word as convictions grounded in authority, testimony as distinguished from convictions grounded in rational proof. The two classes of convictions are psychologically just convictions; they are alike, in Dr. Baldwin's phrase, "forced consents"; they rest equally on evidence and are equally the product of evidence; they may be equally clear, firm and assured; but they rest on differing kinds of evidence and differ, therefore, in accordance with this difference of kind in the evidence on which they rest. In "knowledge" as the mental response to rational considerations, the movement of the intellect is prominent to the obscuration of all else. Of course the whole man is active in "knowledge" too—for it is the man in his complex presentation who is the subject of the knowledge. But it is "reason" which is prominent in the activity which assures itself of reality on grounds of mental perception. In "faith", on the other hand, as the mental response to testimony, authority, the movement of the sensibility in the form of trust is what is thrust forward to observation. Of course, every other faculty is involved in the act of belief—and particularly the intellectual faculties to which the act of "crediting" belongs; but what attracts the attention of the subject is the prominence in this act of crediting, of the element of trust which has retired into the background in those other acts of assent which we know as "knowledge". Faith then emerges as the appropriate name of those acts of mental consent in which the element of trust is prominent. Knowledge is seeing; faith, belief, is trusting.

In what we call religious faith this prominent implication

of trust reaches its height. Religious belief may differ from other belief only in the nature of its objects; religious beliefs are beliefs which have religious conceptions as their contents. But the complex of emotions which accompany acts of assent to propositions of religious content, and form the concrete state of mind of the believer, is of course indefinitely different from that which accompanies any other act of believing. What is prominent in this state of mind is precisely trust. Trust is the active expression of that sense of dependence in which religion largely consists, and it is its presence in these acts of faith, belief, which communicates to them their religious quality and raises them from mere beliefs of propositions the contents of which happen to be of religious purport, to acts possessed of religious character. It is the nature of trust to seek a personal object on which to repose, and it is only natural, therefore, that what we call religious faith does not reach its height in assent to propositions of whatever religious content and however well fitted to call out religious trust, but comes to its rights only when it rests with adoring trust on a person. The extension of the terms, "faith", "belief" to express an attitude of mind towards a person, does not wait, of course, on their religious application. We speak familiarly of believing in, or having faith in, persons in common life; and we perceive at once that our justification in doing so rests on the strong implication of trust resident in the terms. It has been suggested not without justice, that the terms show everywhere a tendency to gravitate towards such an application.<sup>18</sup> This element at all events becomes so prominent in the culminating act of religious faith when it rests on the

<sup>18</sup> "It is the nature and tendency of the word," says Bishop Moule, "to go out towards a person . . . When we speak of having faith we habitually direct the notion either towards a veritable person, or towards something which we personify in the mind . . . I do not attempt to explain the fact, as fact I think it is. Perhaps we may trace in it a far-off echo of that primeval Sanskrit word whose meaning is 'to bind' . . . (*Faith: its Nature and its Work*, 1909, p. 10).



person of God our benefactor, or of Christ our Saviour, as to absorb the prior implication of crediting almost altogether. Faith in God, and above all, faith in Jesus Christ is just trust in Him in its purity. Thus in its higher applications the element of trust which is present in faith in all its applications, grows more and more prominent until it finishes by becoming well-nigh the entire connotation of the term; and "to believe in" "to have faith in" comes to mean simply "entrust yourself to". When "faith" can come thus to mean just "trust" we cannot wonder that it is the implication of "trust" in the term which rules its usage and determines its applications throughout the whole course of its development.

The justification of the application of the terms "believing", "faith" to these high religious acts of entrusting oneself to a person does not rest, however, entirely upon the circumstance that the element of trust which in these acts absorbs attention is present in all other acts of faith and only here comes into full prominence. It rests also on the circumstance that all the other constituent elements of acts of faith, belief, in the general connotation of these terms, are present in these acts of religious faith. The more general acts of faith, belief and the culminating acts of religious belief, faith, that is, differ from one another only in the relative prominence in each of elements common to both. For example, religious faith at its height—the act by which we turn trustingly to a Being conceived as our Righteous Governor, in whose hands is our destiny, or to a Being conceived as our Divine Saviour, through whom we may be restored from our sin, and entrust ourselves to Him—is as little a matter of "the will" and as truly a "forced" consent as is any other act called faith, belief. The engagement of the whole man in the act—involving the response of all the elements of his nature—is no doubt more observable in these highest acts of faith than in the lower, as it is altogether natural it should be from the mere fact that they are the highest exercises of faith. But the determination of the

response by the appropriate evidence—its dependence on evidence as its ground—is no less stringent or plain. Whenever we obtain a clear conception of the rise in the human soul of religious faith as exercised thus at its apex as saving trust in Christ we perceive with perfect plainness that it rests on evidence as its ground.

It is not unusual for writers who wish to represent religious faith in the form of saving trust in Christ as an act of the will to present the case in the form of a strict alternative. This faith, they say, is an exercise not of the intellect but of the heart. And then they proceed to develop an argument, aiming at a *reductio ad absurdum* of the notion that saving faith can possibly be conceived as a mere assent of the intellect. A simple assent of the mind, we are told, "always depends on the nature and amount of proof" presented, and is in a true sense "involuntary". When a proposition is presented and sufficiently supported by proof "a mind in a situation to apprehend the proof believes inevitably". "If the proposition or doctrine is not supported by proof, or if the mind is incapable from any cause, of appreciating the proof, unbelief or doubt is equally certain." "Such a theory of faith would, therefore, suspend our belief or unbelief, and consequently our salvation or damnation, upon the manner in which truth is presented to our minds, or our intellectual capability of its appreciation." "To express the whole matter briefly", concludes the writer whose argument we have been following, "it excludes the whole matter of the will, and makes faith or unbelief a matter of necessity."<sup>19</sup>

It is not necessary to pause to examine this argument in detail. What it is at the moment important to point out is that the fullest agreement that saving faith is a matter not of the intellect but of the heart, that it is "confidence" rather than "conviction", does not exclude the element of intelligent assent from it altogether, or escape the necessity of recognizing that it rests upon evidence. Is

<sup>19</sup> Dr Richard Beard, *Lectures*, vol. II. pp. 362-363.



the "confidence" which faith in this its highest exercise has become, an ungrounded confidence? A blind and capricious act of the soul's due to a purely arbitrary determination of the will? Must it not rest on a perceived—that is to say a well-grounded—trustworthiness in the object on which it reposes? In a word, it is clear enough that a conviction lies beneath this confidence, a conviction of the trustworthiness of the object; and that this conviction is produced like other convictions, just by evidence. Is it not still true, then, that the confidence in which saving faith consists is inevitable if the proof of the trustworthiness of the object on which it reposes is sufficient—or as we truly phrase it "compelling"—and the mind is in a situation to appreciate this proof; and doubt is inevitable if the proof is insufficient or the mind is incapable from any cause of appreciating the proof? Is not the confidence which is the faith of the heart, therefore, in any case, as truly as the conviction which is the faith of the intellect, suspended "upon the manner in which truth is presented", or "our capability of its appreciation"? In a word, is it not clear that the assent of the intelligence is an inamissible element of faith even in its highest exercises, and it never comes to be an arbitrary "matter of choice", in which I may do "as I choose"?<sup>20</sup> For the exercise of this faith must there not then always be present to the mind, (1) the object on which it is to repose in confidence; (2) adequate grounds for the exercise of this confidence in the object? And must not the mind be in a situation to appreciate these grounds? Here, too, faith is, in Dr. Baldwin's phrase, a "forced consent", and is the product of evidence.

The impulse of the writer whose views we have just been considering to make "saving faith" a so-called "act of free volition" is derived from the notion that only thus can man be responsible for his faith. It is a sufficiently odd notion, however, that if our faith be determined by reasons and these reasons are good, we are not responsible for it,

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Beard, p. 364.

because forsooth, we then "believe inevitably" and our faith is "a matter of necessity". Are we to hold that responsibility attaches to faith only when it does not rest on good reasons, or in other words is ungrounded, or insufficiently grounded, and is therefore arbitrary? In point of fact, we are responsible for our volitions only because our volitions are never arbitrary acts of a faculty within us called "will", but the determined acts of our whole selves, and therefore represent us. And we are responsible for our faith in precisely the same way because it is *our* faith, and represents us. For it is to be borne in mind that faith, though resting on evidence and thus in a true sense, as Prof. Baldwin calls it, a "forced consent", is not in such a sense the result of evidence that the mind is passive in believing—that the evidence when adequate objectively is always adequate subjectively, or *vice versa*, quite independently of the state of the mind that believes. Faith is an act of the mind, and can come into being only by an act of the mind, expressive of its own state. There are two factors in the production of faith. On the one hand, there is the evidence on the ground of which the faith is yielded. On the other hand, there is the subjective condition by virtue of which the evidence can take effect in the appropriate act of faith. There can be no belief, faith, without evidence; it is on evidence that the mental exercise which we call belief, faith, rests; and this exercise or state of mind cannot exist apart from its ground in evidence. But evidence cannot produce belief, faith, except in a mind open to this evidence, and capable of receiving, weighing and responding to it. A mathematical demonstration is demonstrative proof of the proposition demonstrated. But even such a demonstration cannot produce conviction in a mind incapable of following the demonstration. Where musical taste is lacking, no evidence which derives its force from considerations of melody can work conviction. No conviction, whether of the order of what we call knowledge or of faith, can be produced by considerations to which the mind to be convinced is inhabile.



Something more, then, is needed to produce belief, faith, besides the evidence which constitutes its ground. The evidence may be objectively sufficient, adequate, overwhelming. The subjective effect of belief, faith is not produced unless this evidence is also adapted to the mind, and to the present state of that mind, which is to be convinced. The mind, itself, therefore,—and the varying states of the mind—have their parts to play in the production of belief, faith; and the effect which is so designated is not the mechanical result of the adduction of the evidence. No faith without evidence; but not, no evidence without faith. There may stand in the way of the proper and objectively inevitable effect of the evidence, the subjective nature or condition to which the evidence is addressed. This is the ground of responsibility for belief, faith; it is not merely a question of evidence but of subjectivity; and subjectivity is the other name for personality. Our action under evidence is the touchstone by which is determined what we are. If evidence which is objectively adequate is not subjectively adequate the fault is in us. If we are not accessible to musical evidence, then we are by nature unmusical, or in a present state of unmusicalness. If we are not accessible to moral evidence, then we are either unmoral, or, being moral beings, immoral. The evidence to which we are accessible is irresistible if adequate, and irresistibly produces belief, faith. And no belief, faith can arise except on the ground of evidence duly apprehended, appreciated, weighed. We may cherish opinions without evidence, or with inadequate evidence; but not possess faith any more than knowledge. All convictions of whatever order, are the products of evidence in a mind accessible to the evidence appropriate to these particular convictions.

These things being so, it is easy to see that the sinful heart—which is enmity towards God—is incapable of that supreme act of trust in God—or rather of entrusting itself to God, its Saviour—which has absorbed into itself the term “faith” in its Christian connotation. And it is to avoid this

conclusion that many have been tempted to make faith not a rational act of conviction passing into confidence, resting on adequate grounds in testimony, but an arbitrary act of sheer will, produced no one knows how. This is not, however, the solution of the difficulty offered by the Christian revelation. The solution it offers is frankly to allow the impossibility of "faith" to the sinful heart and to attribute it, therefore, to the gift of God. Not, of course, as if this gift were communicated to man in some mechanical manner, which would ignore or do violence to his psychological constitution or to the psychological nature of the act of faith. The mode of the divine giving of faith is represented rather as involving the creation by God the Holy Spirit of a capacity for faith under the evidence submitted. It proceeds by the divine illumination of the understanding, softening of the heart and quickening of the will, so that the man so affected may freely and must inevitably perceive the force and yield to the compelling power of the evidence of the trustworthiness of Jesus Christ as Savior submitted to him in the Gospel. In one word the capacity for faith and the inevitable emergence in the heart of faith are attributed by the Christian revelation to that great act of God the Holy Spirit which has come in Christian theology to be called by the significant name of Regeneration. If sinful man as such is incapable of the act of faith, because he is inhabile to the evidence on which alone such an act of confident resting on God the Savior can repose, renewed man is equally incapable of not responding to this evidence, which is objectively compelling, by an act of sincere faith. In this its highest exercise faith thus, though in a true sense the gift of God, is in an equally true sense man's own act, and bears all the character of faith as it is exercised by unrenewed man in its lower manifestations.

It may conduce to a better apprehension of the essential nature of faith and its relation to the evidence in which it is grounded, if we endeavor to form some notion of the effect of this evidence on the minds of men in the three great



stages of their life on earth—as sinless in Paradise, as sinful, as regenerated by the Spirit of God into newness of life. Like every other creature, man is of course absolutely dependent on God. But unlike many other creatures, man, because in his very nature self-conscious, is conscious of his dependence on God; his relation of dependence on God is not merely a fact but a fact of his self-consciousness. This dependence is not confined to any one element of human nature but runs through the whole of man's nature; and as self-conscious being man is conscious of his absolute dependence on God, physically, psychically, morally, spiritually. It is this comprehensive consciousness of dependence on God for and in all the elements of his nature and life, which is the fundamental basis in humanity of faith, in its general religious sense. This faith is but the active aspect of the consciousness of dependence, which, therefore, is the passive aspect of faith. In this sense no man exists, or ever has existed or ever will exist who has not "faith". But this "faith" takes very different characters in man as unfallen and as fallen and as renewed.

In unfallen man, the consciousness of dependence on God is far from a bare recognition of a fact; it has a rich emotional result in the heart. This emotional product of course includes fear, in the sense of awe and reverence. But its peculiar quality is just active and loving trust. Sinless man delights to be dependent on God and trusts Him wholly. He perceives God as his creator, upholder, governor and bountiful benefactor, and finds his joy in living, moving and having his being in Him. All the currents of his life turn to Him for direction and control. In this spontaneous trust of sinless man we have faith at its purest.

Now when man fell, the relation in which he stood to God was fundamentally altered. Not as if he ceased to be dependent on God, in every sphere of his being and activity. Nor even as if he ceased to be conscious of this his comprehensive dependence on God. Even as sinner man cannot but believe in God; the very Devils believe and tremble. He cannot escape the knowledge that he is utterly de-

pendent on God for all that he is and does. But his consciousness of dependence on God no longer takes the form of glad and loving trust. Precisely what sin has done to him is to render this trust impossible. Sin has destroyed the natural relation between God and His creature in which the creature trusts God, and has instituted a new relation, which conditions all his immanent as well as transient activities Godward. The sinner is at enmity with God and can look to God only for punishment. He knows himself absolutely dependent on God, but in knowing this, he knows himself absolutely in the power of his enemy. A fearful looking forward to judgment conditions all his thought of God. Faith has accordingly been transformed into unfaith; trust into distrust. He expects evil and only evil from God. Knowing himself to be dependent on God he seeks to be as independent of Him as he can. As he thinks of God, misery and fear and hatred take the place of joy and trust and love. Instinctively and by his very nature the sinner, not being able to escape from his belief in God, yet cannot possibly have faith in God, that is trust Him, entrust himself to Him.

The reestablishment of *this* faith in the sinner must be the act not of the sinner himself but of God. This because the sinner has no power to render God gracious which is the objective root, or to look to God for favor which is the subjective root of faith in the fiducial sense. Before he can thus believe there must intervene the atoning work of Christ cancelling the guilt by which the sinner is kept under the wrath of God, and the recreative work of the Holy Spirit by which the sinner's heart is renewed in the love of God. There is not required a creation of something entirely new, but only a restoration of an old relation and a renewal therewith of an old disposition. Accordingly although faith in the renewed man bears a different character from faith in unfallen man, inasmuch as it is trust in God not merely for general goodness but for the specific blessing of salvation—that is to say it is soteriological—it yet remains essentially the same thing as in unfallen man.



It is in the one case as in the other just trust—that trust which belongs of nature to man as man in relation to his God. And, therefore, though in renewed man it is a gift of God's grace, it does not come to him as something alien to his nature. It is beyond the powers of his nature as sinful man; but it is something which belongs to human nature as such, which has been lost through sin and which can be restored only by the power of God. In this sense faith remains natural even in the renewed sinner, and the peculiar character which belongs to it as the act of a sinner, namely its soteriological reference, only conditions and does not essentially alter it. Because man is a sinner his faith terminates not immediately on God, but immediately on the mediator, and only through His mediation on God; and it is proximately trust in this mediator for salvation—relief from the guilt and corruption of sin,—and only mediately through this relief for other goods. But it makes its way through these intermediating elements to terminate ultimately on God Himself and to rest on Him for all goods. And thus it manifests its fundamental and universal character as trust in God, recognized by the renewed sinner, as by the unfallen creature, as the inexhaustible fountain to His creatures of all blessedness, in whom to live and move and have his being in the creature's highest felicity.

In accordance with the nature of this faith the Protestant theologians have generally explained that faith includes in itself the three elements of *Notitia*, *Assensus*, *Fiducia*. Their primary object has been, no doubt, to protest against the Romish conception which limits faith to the assent of the understanding. The stress of the Protestant definition lies therefore upon the fiducial element. This stress has not led Protestant theologians generally, however, to eliminate from the conception of faith the elements of understanding and assent. No doubt this has been done by some, and it is perhaps not rare even to-day to hear it asserted that faith is so purely trust that there is no element of assent in it at all. And no doubt theologians have differed among themselves as to whether all these elements are to be counted as included

in faith, or some of them treated rather as preliminary steps to faith or effects of faith. But speaking broadly Protestant theologians have reckoned all these elements as embraced within the mental movement we call faith itself; and they have obviously been right in so doing. Indeed, we may go farther and affirm that all three of these elements are always present in faith,—not only in that culminating form of faith which was in the mind of the theologians in question—saving faith in Christ—but in every movement of faith whatever, from the lowest to the highest instances of its exercise. No true faith has arisen unless there has been a perception of the object to be believed or believed in, an assent to its worthiness to be believed or believed in, and a commitment of ourselves to it as true and trustworthy. We cannot be said to believe or to trust in a thing or person of which we have no knowledge; “implicit faith” in this sense is an absurdity. Of course we cannot be said to believe or to trust the thing or person to whose worthiness of our belief or trust assent has not been obtained. And equally we cannot be said to believe that which we distrust too much to commit ourselves to it. In every movement of faith, therefore, from the lowest to the highest there is an intellectual, an emotional and a voluntary element, though naturally these elements vary in their relative prominence in the several movements of faith. This is only as much as to say that it is the man who believes, who is the subject of faith, and the man in the entirety of his being as man. The central movement in all faith is no doubt the element of assent; it is that which constitutes the mental movement so called a movement of conviction. But the movement of assent must depend, as it always does depend, on a movement, not specifically of the will, but of the intellect; the assensus issues from the notitia. The movement of the sensibilities which we call “trust”, is on the contrary the product of the assent. And it is in this movement of the sensibilities that faith fulfills itself, and it is by it that, as specifically “faith”, it is “formed”.

*Princeton.*

B. B. WARFIELD.



## THE CHARACTER AND CLAIMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ENGLISH BIBLE.

The Bible is a collection of books; it dates from antiquity; it was written in other tongues than English. It need occasion no surprise, therefore, to discover that two English Bibles may differ in these three respects: the number of books they contain, the exact wording of their respective originals, and the phraseology used in their translation.

As a matter of fact, the English Bible authorized by the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the English Bible in use among Protestants on the other hand, do differ in all these three respects. (1) They differ in their *canon*. That is, the Roman Catholic Bible admits into the sacred volume certain books and parts of books that the Protestant Bible excludes. (2) They differ in their *text*. That is, the ancient original from which the one is translated does not coincide in its wording with that from which the other is translated. (3) They differ in their *version*. That is, the translators, in the work of turning those originals into English, had different motives and methods. A Protestant's examination of the Roman Catholic English Bible, therefore, will naturally follow these three lines, the canon, the text and the version.

But first of all, what is the English Bible of the Romanist?

The only English Bible authorized by the Roman Catholic Church is that translation which was made by certain teachers of the English Seminary at Douai in Belgium in the 16th century,<sup>1</sup> and first published by them, the New Testa-

<sup>1</sup>For records of this Seminary and its Masters, see the following works: Husenbeth's *English Colleges and Convents on the Continent*, 1849; "The Records of English Catholics under the Penal Laws", two volumes, of which the first is "The Diaries of the English College, Douay," London, 1878, and the second is "Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen", London, 1882, both volumes being provided with an historical introduction by Thos. Fr. Knox, D.D.; also Dr. Alphons Bellesheim's "Wilhelm, Cardinal Allen"; and the general biographies.

ment at Rheims in France in 1582, the entire Bible at Douai in 1609-10. In its successive editions and revisions it has repeatedly received the *imprimatur* of the authorities of the Catholic Church, from its first publication down to the present day.<sup>2</sup> That Church is committed to it not only positively by this ecclesiastical approval, but also negatively by an unvarying opposition to all other English versions. In so far as the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church on English-speaking soil are unwilling to advocate the entire suppression of vernacular Bibles,<sup>3</sup> their opposition to other English versions is obviously the exact measure of their adhesion to the Douai Version. Or, stated in another way, the alternative for an English-speaking Catholic is the Douai Bible in one or another of its editions, or no English Bible, as long as he remains a good Catholic.

<sup>2</sup> The original editions indeed bore no official *imprimatur*, but the New Testament bore a recommendation signed by four members of the Faculty of Rheims, and the Old Testament a similar recommendation signed by three divines of the University of Douai. Numerous Dublin editions bearing the approval of John Thos. Troy, R. C. Archbishop of Dublin, refer to the Douai Old Testament, the Rheims New Testament, and the Challoner editions (1749, 1750 and 1752), all in one breath, as "*Anglicis jam approbatis versionibus*". Challoner's editions bore the approbation of Green and Walton, and these dignitaries' names were repeated in later reprints of Challoner (as MacMahon's "eighth", 1810). The first issue of MacMahon's Challoner (1783) was approved by James Carpenter, predecessor of Dr. Troy at Dublin. The Scotch editions of Challoner bore the approbation of Dr. Hey, "one of the Vicars Apostolic in Scotland". Haydock's Manchester-Dublin editions were originally approved by Dr. Gibson, Vicar Apostolic, and a Haydock's Bible of 1850 (Husenbeth's reprint) carries the "approbation and sanction" of Bishop Wareing, the editor's ecclesiastical superior, and "the concurrent approbation and sanction of all the Right Rev. Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain". The editions for sale today at American bookshops (many of them Archbishop Kenrick's revision, 1849-1859) are approved by Cardinal Gibbons, the most exalted dignitary of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Cardinal Gibbons' *Faith of Our Fathers*, pp. 116-117: "The Church, far from being opposed to the reading of the Scriptures, does all she can to encourage their perusal"; "Be assured that if you become a Catholic, you will never be forbidden to read the Bible. It is our earnest wish that every word of the Gospel may be imprinted on your memory and on your heart."



*The Canon.*

When the Protestant picks up a Catholic Bible for the first time, the most *obvious* difference between it and the Bible with which he is familiar is the greater bulk of the Catholic Bible. In the New Testament they are alike, but in the Old Testament the Catholic Bible contains, mingled with the books of the Protestant canon, a few books that the Protestant Bible excludes. On closer investigation these additions prove to be Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and First and Second Maccabees. There are also sections added by the Catholics to books present in their shorter form in the Protestant Old Testament. So to Esther they add seven chapters at the end;<sup>4</sup> to Daniel, the Hymn of the Three Children (in Chap. 3), the History of Susanna (Chap. 13), and Bel and the Dragon (Chap. 14); and to Jeremiah, the six chapters under the separate title of Baruch, of which the last is the Epistle of Jeremiah.<sup>5</sup>

Why did the Douai translators admit, and why does the Protestant's Bible exclude, these books and sections?

The Douai translators admitted them, because the Council of Trent had declared in 1546 that they belonged in the canon,<sup>6</sup> and because for these translators the decrees of the Council of Trent had binding authority.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Chap. x. 4—chap. xvi.

<sup>5</sup> The decree of Trent reads: "*Jeremias cum Baruch*"; though arranged in the Douai Bible as a separate book, Baruch is thus officially regarded as an addition to Jeremiah.

<sup>6</sup> "*Sacrorum librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit [sc., synodus], ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, quinam sint qui ab ipsa synodo suscipiuntur. Sunt vero infra scripti. Testamenti veteris: quinque Moysis, id est: Genesis—Deuteronomium; Josuae—Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job—Canticum Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias cum Baruch, Ezechiel—Malachias, duo Machabaeorum, primus et secundus. Test. novis: &c. . . . Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata latina editone habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit. Omnes itaque intelligant, quo ordine et via ipsa synodus post jactum fidei confessionis fundamentum sit progressura, et quibus potissimum testimoniis ac praesidiis*

It should be observed that this answer is in two parts. With the second part the present discussion has nothing to do. If a doubt rise in the mind of any person whether the deliverances of the Council of Trent have binding authority, let him consider, first, that we have here to do only with an historical fact—the Douai translators did feel themselves bound by that Council; and second, that at the present day, even if not in 1582, every Catholic is bound to the canon of Trent, for in 1870 the Vatican Council declared:<sup>8</sup> “If anyone accept not the books of Holy Scripture, entire with all their parts as they were named by the Holy Synod of Trent, as sacred and canonical, or deny that they were divinely inspired, let him be anathema!”

It is with the first part of the above answer that this discussion is concerned. By what right did the Council of Trent include these books in the canon of the Old Testament? Thus the question is simply pushed one step further back.

Whatever the *motives* that contributed to this decision of the Council,<sup>9</sup> the only rational *grounds* for the decision in *confirmandis dogmatibus et instaurandis in ecclesia moribus sit usura.*” (*Sessio quarta, Decretum de canonicis scripturis*).

<sup>8</sup> Referring to the Vulgate, the preface to the Rheims New Testament (§26) says: “The Holy Council of Trent . . . hath declared and defined this only of all other Latin translations, to be authentical, and so only to be used and taken in public lessons, . . . and that no man presume upon any pretence to reject or refuse the same.” The quotation of this decree as authoritative shows that the Rhemists considered themselves bound by the decrees of the Council.

<sup>9</sup> *Constit. de fide, xi. can. 4*: “*Si quis sac. scrip. libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sac. Trident. synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non suscepit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit, anathema sit.*” Also, *Constit. de fide, c.ii*: “*Vet. et Nov. Testamen. libri, prout in ejusdem [Trident.] concilii decreto censentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt.*”

<sup>10</sup> The motives that influenced the Council are displayed in the reports of its debates that have been published by several who were in attendance. For even among the few prelates (about thirty) who participated in these debates, there was considerable diversity of opinion. Johannes Delitzsch (“*Lehrsystem der römischen Kirche*”) summarizes these motives under the four following heads: (1) the serviceable-



were the existence of these books in the Greek Old Testament side by side with those belonging to the Hebrew canon, their presence in the canonical lists of earlier Councils, and their place for centuries in the manuscripts and liturgies of the Latin Church. Were these grounds sufficient to justify the course adopted at Trent?

(1) It is the Old Testament canon of Protestants and not that of Rome, which coincides exactly with the canon of the Jews. The Old Testament of the Jews was the Old Testament of our Lord and His Apostles. Whatever authority, therefore, is possessed by Christ and the Apostles to decide for the Christian Church the extent of the Old Testament, that authority attaches to the Old Testament *minus* the Catholic additions.

These assertions of the Protestants are attacked by Romanists. The disputed books, they say, were in the Septuagint at the time of Christ and the Apostles, who quote the Old Testament generally according to the Septuagint version, thus sanctioning it. There are even some citations of these books in the New Testament writings. Does not this prove that the New Testament guarantees the authority of the larger canon of Catholicism?

This "Septuagint", of which so much is thus made, used to be regarded as a version of Scripture definite and fixed with respect to its date, its authors and its text. So ran that

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ness of the Apocrypha for proving Romish dogmas that the canonical books do not prove. (So angelic intercession Tob. xii. 12, and that of the dead II Macc. xv. 14ff, Baruch iii. 4; purgatory, and intercession of the living for the dead II Macc. xii. 42ff; the merit of good works Tob. iv. 7). Tanner, the Catholic controversialist, (*"Das cath. Traditions- und das prot. Schriftprincip"*) admits: "The Church declared these books canonical for the reason that . . . the Church found her own spirit in these books." (2) In order not to weaken the respect for the Vulgate by sundering out the Apocrypha. (3) To strengthen in every way the contrast with the Protestants, who had committed themselves to the Hebrew canon. (4) To fill the gap in the continuous inspiration of the Church, which otherwise would yawn between the Old and New Testaments, and would thus create a presumption against the Catholic doctrine of inspiration continued in the Church after the Apostles.

ancient tradition of the seventy-two scribes working seventy-two days, which gave to the Septuagint its name. But modern scholarship has shown that the sacred books of the Jews were given their vulgar Greek dress in quite a different manner. Under the pressure of Alexandrian influence, Greek-speaking Jews turned their Scriptures into the Hellenistic Greek of the day, not all at once nor even in one generation. It was a slow work, performed by many hands and exhibiting all the unevenness of such a process. The revered Law of Moses was rendered first and best, probably before the middle of the 3d century B.C. The prophetic, poetical and historical books followed in the course of about a century. From the Prologue to the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus, about 132 B.C., we learn that before that time "the Law and the Prophets and the rest of the books" had already been translated. But not alone those "books of the fathers",<sup>10</sup> revered as divine by the whole Jewish nation, received a Greek dress. This same Prologue shows how other books, like Ecclesiasticus itself, "profitable to those who love learning,"<sup>11</sup> came also to be translated into Greek or written in Greek. Such "profitable" compositions, based upon Israel's religion and history, came not unnaturally to be cherished by Jews of a later age, and, when the Christian Church took over the Greek Old Testament from the Jews, it took with it these "profitable" writings of kindred spirit.

Yet the point at issue is not touched when certain of these books are pointed out to us in the most ancient codices of the Septuagint and in the versions made from it.<sup>12</sup> Presence in

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus.

<sup>11</sup> By "learning" the author of the Prologue means the Scriptures.

<sup>12</sup> The Vatican manuscript, B, contains the books of the Roman Catholic canon, except I and II Maccabees, and adds III (I) Esdras. The Sinaitic manuscript,  $\aleph$ , omits II Maccabees but adds IV Maccabees. Manuscript A, nearly as old as these, adds III Esdras, III and IV Maccabees, and the Prayer of Manasses. The Old Latin version of the African Church (2nd century), being made from the Greek and not the Hebrew, translated the Greek Apocrypha along with the Greek Old Testament. All these sources are Christian.



a manuscript does not prove canonicity; not even the opinion of the scribe or owner of the manuscript can be argued therefrom, much less the opinion of his age or country. To be "in the Septuagint" means really no more than to be a popularly cherished Jewish book in Greek, circulated with the Old Testament among the early Christians. Not among the Jews of Christ's time, be it noted. For we have no evidence whatever that the Jews had been in the habit of mingling these "profitable" writings indiscriminately with "the books of the fathers"; all our Septuagint codices and versions are from Christian sources. On the contrary, as will presently appear, there is most positive testimony to the unique place that the genuine Scriptures held in the esteem of the Greek-speaking Jews contemporary with Christ and the Apostles. And down to the 4th century there seems to have lived on in the best-instructed Christian circles the opinion that the twenty-two<sup>13</sup> books of the true Old Testament were all that constituted the Old Testament even in the Septuagint. For the list of the "books of the Old Covenant" received by Melito from the Jewish Christians of Palestine in the 2nd century<sup>14</sup> follows the order of the Septuagint, as well as exhibiting the Septuagint titles and adopting the Septuagint divisions: that is, it is *the canon of the Palestinian Septuagint as it circulated in sub-apostolic times*. And Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (died 386) says:<sup>15</sup> "Learn from the Church what are the books of the Old Covenant . . . and I pray you read nothing of the Apocryphal books . . .

<sup>13</sup> As will appear presently, the numbers twenty-two and twenty-four always indicate the shorter canon of the Jews. In the Protestant Old Testament count the double books (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah) as single books, and unite the twelve minor prophets in one book, and twenty-four is the sum; attach Ruth to Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah, and the total is twenty-two. The canon of Trent cannot possibly be so reckoned as to yield these numbers, nor does anyone claim that it can be.

<sup>14</sup> See page 576.

<sup>15</sup> In his instructions to catechumens, (*Catechesis* IV, "*De decem dogmatibus*"), §§ 33ff, "On the divine Scriptures"; quoted by Westcott, "The Bible in the Church", pp. 168f. See also page 578, note 28.

Read the divine Scriptures, the twenty-two books of the Old Covenant, which were translated by the seventy-two translators . . . For the translation of the divine Scriptures which were spoken by the Holy Spirit was accomplished through the Holy Spirit. Read the twenty-two books which these rendered, but have nothing to do with the Apocryphal writings."

Again, the fact that in the New Testament the Old Testament is frequently (by no means always) quoted according to its wording in the Septuagint, has clearly no bearing upon the extent of the canon. The New Testament writers wrote in Greek for Hellenistic readers, and when they quoted the Old Testament it was most natural for them to quote it as it lay at hand in this old Hellenistic version long familiar to all Greek-speaking Jews.

As for allusions in the New Testament to apocryphal writings, the argument, if it proved anything, would prove too much to suit the Roman Catholic. For the clearest cases of such allusions<sup>16</sup> to books not in the Hebrew canon concern books not even in the Roman Catholic canon.<sup>17</sup> Such references in fact lend no more authority to these apocryphal Jewish productions, than Paul's quotations from heathen poets<sup>18</sup> serve to make their writings canonical.

On the other hand, the Protestant can point to indisputable contemporary evidence that his canon contains no more and no less than that Old Testament of which our Lord said that "the Scripture cannot be broken."<sup>19</sup>

Without appealing to the uniform and repeated but un-

<sup>16</sup> "Allusions", "traces of acquaintance", "reminiscences", not citations; see admissions of this by friends of the Apocrypha, as Bleek, in *"Studien und Kritiken"* for 1853, pp. 267-354, and Stier, quoted by Oehler in Herzog's *"Real-Encyclopaedie"*, vol. vii, p. 257.

<sup>17</sup> As, for example, Jude 14, (compare the "Book of Enoch", chap. ii), and Jude 9 (compare the "Assumption of Moses", as recorded by Origen *De principiis*, iii. 2, 1).

<sup>18</sup> Titus i. 12 from Epimenides, a Cretan of the 6th century B. C. Acts xvii. 28 from Aratus, a Cilician of the 2nd century B. C. 1 Cor. xv. 33 from the celebrated comedian Menander, of the 3d century B. C.

<sup>19</sup> John x. 35.



dated testimony of the Talmud to the twenty-four constituent elements of the Jewish canon,<sup>20</sup> the Protestant can summon two witnesses who establish his case beyond question. These are Josephus and Philo. They are admirably adapted to supplement each other's testimony. That of Josephus is affirmative, that of Philo negative; Josephus was a contemporary of the Apostles only, Philo of our Lord also; Josephus was a Palestinian Jew, Philo an Alexandrian Jew. Both were of priestly origin, well-read in the sacred books of their nation, and anxious to commend them to the world.

Now Josephus, in his work against Apion, explicitly states<sup>21</sup> that the Jews have not an indefinite number of sacred writings, "but only twenty-two, containing the record of all time, which have been justly believed to be divine." He proceeds to divide these twenty-two books into three classes, consisting respectively of five, thirteen and four, and to describe each division in such a way that the Protestant Old Testament, no more and no less, is evidently intended. But as if there might be any remaining doubt concerning his attitude towards the books whose cononicity is maintained by the Roman Catholic Church, he adds: "From the time of Artaxerxes to our own time each event has been recorded; but the records have not been deemed worthy of the same credit as those of earlier date . . . Though so long a time has now passed, no one has dared either to add anything to them [that is, to the true sacred writings], or to take anything from them, or to alter anything." Whatever may be held true concerning the formation of the Old Testament

<sup>20</sup> These Jewish writings record for us the discussions carried on between rival schools and doctors of the Law, concerning the right of certain books that were in the canon to remain in it. There was never any question of admitting other books, such as Ecclesiasticus, and the canonicity of those already in the canon was never in serious danger of being disproved. In IV (II) Esdras, however, which dates from the end of the first century of our era, the canon already consists of twenty-four books; this is the number obtained by deducting the seventy secret books of tradition from the total of ninety-four written by Ezra (chap. xiv. verses 44-46).

<sup>21</sup> Against Apion i. 8.

canon, no doubt can be entertained as to what was thought to be true concerning it in the first century of our era, both in Palestine, and in Alexandria where Apion lived.

Philo flourished half a century earlier, and is the representative writer of Alexandrian Judaism. If anywhere, surely in Alexandria, the apocryphal writings received a regard that might be mistaken for canonization. Yet in Philo's voluminous works, in which he quotes largely from the canonical Scriptures of his nation, he does not once quote from the apocryphal writings. This negative testimony is all the more striking because we know that Philo must have been familiar with at least a part of the Apocrypha, and because its spirit is often singularly akin to his own.<sup>22</sup>

The assertion, therefore, that at the time of our Lord the canon of the Jews included these disputed writings, can only be made in the face of unchallenged and unmistakable opposing evidence.

(2) It is the Old Testament canon of Protestants that coincides with the Old Testament canon of the early Christian Church. This would naturally be expected after the proof of the first proposition. But there is ample evidence to prove it independently.

The evidence begins with Melito, Bishop of Sardis about 175 A.D. Eusebius, the historian of the early Church, has happily preserved for us (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 26) Melito's list of the sacred books, which he learned, we are told, "by exact inquiry on a journey to the East" (Palestine). His canon, save for the omission of Esther,<sup>23</sup> is the canon of

<sup>22</sup> "The greatest Philo scholar of the present day, C. Siegfried, says of Philo (in his '*Philo*', Jena, 1875, p. 161): 'His canon is already essentially our own' [that is, the Protestant canon]. Strack, in Herzog-Plitt "*Real-Encyclopaedie*", vol. vii., p. 425.

<sup>23</sup> This may be an accidental omission, like that of the Minor Prophets from Origen's list in Eusebius; for Esther's place at the end of the list, following Esdras (Ezra), a name that so much resembles Esther, was very precarious. Some have thought that, like Nehemiah, Esther was included in one book with Esdras, but this is improbable. It is probable that the Palestinian Christians, like Athanasius at a later time,



the Jews, of the Apostles, and of the Protestants. To the same century and probably to a date earlier than Melito, though naturally indefinite, must be referred the earliest Syriac translation. The Old Testament was translated directly from the Hebrew and included only the Jewish canon. The apocryphal books were not added to it till much later. In the Western Church, Justin Martyr (about A.D. 150), though writing in Greek and quoting the Old Testament according to the Septuagint, never quotes from the Apocrypha;<sup>24</sup> and Tertullian in North Africa, however much he quotes the Apocrypha with a respect justly due only to Holy Scripture, yet preserves the true tradition of the canon by giving the number of the Old Testament books as twenty-four.

All these witnesses belong to the 2nd century, the age of the primitive Church. In the next generation, Origen at Alexandria continues the chain of evidence by a list of the Old Testament books, preserved, like Melito's list, in Eusebius' history,<sup>25</sup> and, in a more perfect form, in a Latin translation by Ruffinus. It numbers the familiar twenty-two. In North Africa, Cyprian proves the authority of a passage that he quotes from the Apocrypha, by appealing to "the testimony of truth", the Book of Acts.

In the 4th and 5th centuries there are many lists naming twenty-two books, differing slightly in their treatment of Esther and the additions to Jeremiah, and differing considerably in the order of the books, but all of them presenting the shorter canon of Protestantism, not the larger canon of Roman Catholicism, as the true canon of Scrip-

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were misled into rejecting Esther as apocryphal because of its apocryphal additions. Thus the early "Synopsis of Divine Scriptures" (wrongly attributed to Athanasius and printed with his works, ed. Migne, vol. iv., col. 283) says that Esther "begins with the dream of Mordecai"; but this is in fact the beginning of the apocryphal section.

<sup>24</sup> In debating with Trypho, an Ephesian Jew, the differences between the Jews and the Christians, Justin never alludes to a different canon.

<sup>25</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25. He omits the Minor Prophets (but this is a copyist's error), and includes the "Epistle of Jeremiah", which is probably the same as chap. vi. of Baruch in the Vulgate.

ture. The names of the authors of these lists are the most distinguished names in Church History, and are distributed over the whole Church: in the Eastern Church, Athanasius in Egypt,<sup>26</sup> Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople,<sup>27</sup> Cyril in Palestine,<sup>28</sup> Epiphanius in Cyprus,<sup>29</sup> and Amphilochius in Asia Minor;<sup>30</sup> in the Western Church, Hilary in Gaul,<sup>31</sup> Rufinus in Italy,<sup>32</sup> and, at once the most distinguished, the most competent, and the most emphatic witness of them all, Jerome, the Roman Presbyter, father of the Latin Vulgate Bible. This learned Biblical scholar of antiquity writes in the "*Prologus Galeatus*" prefixed to his

<sup>26</sup> *Epist. fest.*, 39. He omits Esther, reckons Ruth separately, and adds to Jeremiah not only Lamentations but also Baruch and the Epistle.

<sup>27</sup> *Carmina lib. I*, § 1, 12. He counts Ruth separately and omits Esther.

<sup>28</sup> *Catech.* iv 35 (compare page 573). He adds to Jeremiah his Epistle and Baruch, as well as Lamentations. The same list, perhaps derived from Cyril, is usually appended to the decrees of the Council of Laodicea (A. D. 363), but is a later interpolation.

<sup>29</sup> He gives three lists. Two of these (*De mens. et pond.*, § 4 and § 23) are identical with the Hebrew canon. The third (*Haer.* viii. 6) adds to Jeremiah his Epistle and that of Baruch, as well as Lamentations.

<sup>30</sup> *Iambi ad Seleuc.*, 2. He counts Ruth instead of Esther, but at the end says: "Some add Esther."

<sup>31</sup> *Prol. in lib. Psalmorum*, 15. The same canon as that of Origen, without the omission of the Minor Prophets.

<sup>32</sup> *Comm. in symb. apost.*, 37, 38. His list is exactly the Jewish canon. His added remarks are worthy of notice: "These are the books which the Fathers included within the canon, and from which it was their will that the dogmas of our faith should be maintained. Yet it must be known that there are other books which have been called by the ancients not canonical, but ecclesiastical, that is, the Wisdom (as it is called) of Solomon, and the other Wisdom of the Son of Sirach . . . The Book of Tobias is of the same class, and Judith, and the Book of the Maccabees . . . all which they willed should be read in the churches, but not alleged to support any article of faith" (Tr. by Westcott). In general, from the formal lists of all these Fathers, we know how to interpret their use of the Apocrypha. Their informal, uncritical habit of promiscuous quotation when writing controversially or didactically on other topics, is to be checked by these formal expressions of their true belief when writing specifically on the subject of the canon.



translation of the Old Testament: "This prologue to the Scriptures may serve as a sort of helmeted front for all the books that we have translated from Hebrew into Latin, in order that we may know that whatever is outside of these must be put among the Apocrypha. Hence Wisdom, commonly called that of Solomon, and the Book of Jesus son of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) and Judith and Tobias and the Shepherd are not in the canon." And this is but one of many declarations by Jerome to the same effect.<sup>33</sup>

Against all this, Roman Catholics allege the presence of these books in the canonical lists of certain Councils, and the sanction given them by certain Fathers. The only Councils previous to Trent that have left authentic canonical lists<sup>34</sup> embodying the larger Old Testament canon are two

<sup>33</sup> So, for example, in the preface to the books of Solomon: "As the Church reads the books of Judith and Tobias and Maccabees, but does not receive them among the canonical Scriptures, so also it reads Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus for the edification of the people, not for the authoritative confirmation of doctrine" (Westcott's transl.). At first Jerome intended to pass by the apocryphal books in his Biblical labors, but on the entreaty of others he hastily revised Tobias and Judith.

<sup>34</sup> The Council of Carthage 397 revised and ratified the decrees of an earlier Council of Hippo 393 (Augustine's see), in which the canon had been one of the subjects debated and decided. All these African Councils expressly submitted their decisions to the judgment of the European Churches and the Bishop of Rome. But papal lists, such as those of Innocent I and Gelasius, which used to be appealed to in confirmation of the larger canon, are probably not genuine; whereas Pope Gregory's remark about Maccabees (quoted on page 581) gives a papal verdict against the equality of the Apocrypha. The Council of Constantinople called the "Quini-sexstine" or "Trullan" (A. D. 692) ratified the decrees of Carthage with their longer Augustinian canon; but it also confirmed in the same breath the shorter canonical list contained in the so-called "Apostolical Constitutions"; and finally, by erecting the canons of Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen and Amphilochius into unalterable ecclesiastical law, it sanctioned also their testimony to the shorter Old Testament canon. Hence its voice is uncertain and appeal is no longer made to it by Romanists. The canonical list ascribed to the late Council of Florence (A. D. 1439) is not found in the older collection of the decrees of this Council, but only in the Caranza collection of 1633; there is no evidence to prove that the Council ever sanctioned the list. A canonical list printed at the end of the decrees of the Council of Laodicea (A. D. 363) is identical with that of Cyril (see page 578, note 28), but it is undoubtedly an early interpolation.

Councils of the North African clergy in the time of Augustine: Carthage A.D. 397, and Carthage A.D. 419. And the only notable instance of a Church Father who not merely quotes from the disputed books but expressly includes them in a formal list, is Augustine. It will be observed, then, that these three testimonies are in fact not three but one, inasmuch as Augustine's influence was paramount in these Councils of his African fellow-Bishops. What is to be thought of this apparent contradiction between Augustine on the one hand, and the mass of emphatic testimony against canonicity on the other hand? Does not common-sense suggest in advance the answer that there must be some simple solution?<sup>35</sup>

Let Cardinal Cajetan answer for us, that famous scholar of the 16th century appointed by the Pope to argue against Luther. At the end of his commentary on the historical books he formulates as clearly as any Protestant writer the true significance of Augustine's canon. "Here", he writes, "we terminate the commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament. For the rest, (namely Judith, Tobias and the Maccabees), are accounted by St. Jerome as outside of the canonical books, and placed among the Apocrypha with Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as appears in the *Prologus Galeatus*. But be not disturbed, young scholar, if anywhere either in sacred Councils or in sacred Doctors you find those books counted among the canonical. For to the correction of Jerome must be subjected the judgment both of Councils and of Doctors; and according to his opinion addressed to the Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus, those books (and any similar books that may be in the canon of the Bible) are not canonical, that is, are not a standard for establishing matters of faith; nevertheless they may be

<sup>35</sup> Is it likely that the Bible of the Church of North Africa differed radically from the Bible of the rest of the Church, especially when in this very province we find Tertullian before Augustine and Primasius after Augustine limiting the Old Testament to 24 books, and when we find Cyprian before Augustine and Junilius after Augustine rating the authority of some books in their larger canon below the authority of other books?



termed canonical in the sense that they are standards for the edification of believers, having been for this purpose received and authorized in the canon of the Bible. With this distinction you will be able to understand Augustine's expressions and what is written in the Provincial Council of Carthage." For these natural, sensible remarks the learned Cardinal was abused by later Roman Catholic writers,<sup>36</sup> but the abuse might have been spared him if these words of Pope Gregory the Great had been given their due weight: "We do not act unduly," he says,<sup>37</sup> "if we adduce in this connection testimony drawn from books not canonical, yet put forth for the edification of the Church," and he proceeds to quote from the Maccabees. And Pope Gregory lived more than a century after Augustine and his African Councils.

But there is grave danger in such a question that the debate may degenerate into a mere strife about a word. The Protestant feels no deep concern in attaching a particular meaning to the word "canonical", no real quarrel with the Romanist who prefers to call some of the apocryphal books canonical, following a custom ancient and honorable, though unfortunate. The real point at issue is of far greater importance. When Augustine and the forty-four Bishops of the North African Church, when the Council of Trent, when Catholics to-day, call these books canonical, do they or do they not mean that all are equally the inspired Word of God? Every Protestant who holds to the fundamental principle of the Reformation, the supreme authority of the Word of God as the rule of faith and practise, is interested to know the limits of that Word of God. He may bind in the same volume with those sacred books a dozen, a score or a hundred other books. The old Geneva Bible, the most Protestant of all the English versions, contains the Apocrypha. But there is a distinction. All are of use for pur-

<sup>36</sup> For example, by Catharinus, afterwards a member of the Council of Trent, in his *"Annotations on the Commentary by Cajetan"*, book i.

<sup>37</sup> Commentary on Job ("Morals"), Book xix, § 34.

poses of edification and worship; not all are God's Word. But to the Catholic Church of to-day all alike are divinely inspired. Witness the deliverance of the Vatican Council of 1870 already quoted,<sup>38</sup> with its anathema upon all who hold otherwise. Catholic writers have differed in their interpretation of the Tridentine decree on the canon, some writers denying that the Council intended not only to admit the disputed books, but also to declare all equally canonical.<sup>39</sup> Yet only those writers do justice to the evident intent of the decree of Trent who say, with Perrone:<sup>40</sup> "The authority of both classes of books, the protocanonical and the deuterocanonical, is the same in the Catholic Church, which recognizes no distinction among them."

On the other hand hear Augustine:<sup>41</sup> "In the matter of the canonical Scriptures, let him (that is, the student of the divine Scriptures) follow the authority of the largest possible number of the Catholic Churches, among which are clearly those that were held worthy of the honor to possess the Sees and receive the Epistles of the Apostles. He will adhere, therefore, to this principle in the matter of the canonical Scriptures, that he should *prefer* those accepted by all Catholic Churches to those that some Churches do

<sup>38</sup> See page 570, note 8.

<sup>39</sup> So Lamy, "*Appar. ad Bibl.*", II, 5, p. 383; Jahn, "*Einleitung in die göttl. Bücher des alten Bundes*", 2nd ed., Vienna 1802, pp. 119ff, 140ff; Möhler, "*Symbolik*", p. 376.

<sup>40</sup> *Praelectiones*, Part II, Sect. I, chap. I. Compare also the "Declaration of an Assembly of Cardinals to Interpret the Tridentine Council" (Jan. 17, 1576), which sanctioned the infallibility of every syllable and every jot of the Vulgate-text (Van Ess, "*Geschichte der Vulgata*", pp. 208-212, 401f).

<sup>41</sup> *De doctr. christ.* ii. 8. Compare also *De civ. Dei*, xviii. 36, where Augustine denies to II Maccabees the authority of Scripture. The Donatist sect drew from this book the Scriptural sanction that they claimed for suicide, but Augustine distinctly places it outside the canon to which Christ gave His authoritative witness; however, on account of its narratives of heroic martyrs "it is received by the Church not unprofitably, if it is read and heard soberly" (*Contra Gaudentium*, i. 38). Are such limitations as these, "not unprofitably" and "soberly", appropriate to any book of the Hebrew canon, the canon of Christ? Do they not show clearly Augustine's broad conception of "canonicity"?



not accept: and that in the case of the Scriptures not accepted by all, he should *prefer* those accepted by Churches of greater number or dignity to those held by Churches of less number or authority". This weighty utterance, which immediately precedes his list of "the entire canon of Scriptures within which the above principle is to be applied", shows clearly the error of those who would have us suppose that Augustine is on the side of the Roman Catholic Church of to-day in the matter of the canon. Where there is perfect equality there can be no preference; where there is preference there is no longer perfect equality. The authority of Augustine and his Provincial Councils may justly be cited for including the Apocrypha in the canon; it may not be cited to support the equality of the books in the Roman Catholic canon, as that doctrine is implied in the decree of Trent and formulated by the Vatican Council.

Generally, Protestants go one step further and affirm the *inadvisability* of binding these disputed books in the same volume with the Word of God. For the heresy of the Roman Church of to-day is the culmination of an historic process that began in this same innocent custom of mere external incorporation, grew next into the Augustine custom, still innocent yet dangerous, of including the Apocrypha in the term "canonical", passed next into the indiscriminate use of all the "canonical" books as if all were equally the Word of God, and ended by the positive declaration, capped with an anathema on all dissenters, that all these "canonical" Scriptures alike, with all their parts, are sacred and divinely inspired. If Church History has lessons of value for the Church of to-day, surely one of them is, that it is *better* not to print and bind any apocryphal books with the Scriptures of our Lord, the Apostles and the early Christian Church.

### *The Text.*

While the most obvious difference between the Catholic Bible and the Bibles with which the Protestant is familiar

is in their canon, the most *surprising* difference is that which lies in their text.

To the average man Genesis is just Genesis, and Matthew is just Matthew. The mere suggestion of "various readings" is for him a perplexity; when he learns that these variations mount up into the tens of thousands he is confounded. Yet how could the centuries during which his Bible was transmitted to him through the manual toil of innumerable copyists, many ignorant, all fallible, fail to leave their stamp upon the sacred text in mistaken words, distorted phrases, errors of eye, of ear, of hand, omissions, transpositions, additions, even a few intentional alterations? After due reflection on all these possible sources of corruption through the long ages of manuscripts, and after comparison of the condition of the Biblical text with the text of classical authors, it is probable that the first feeling of consternation will change to wonder—a wonder now no longer that there are myriads of various readings, but that there are no more than there are, and particularly that they are so comparatively trivial as to leave the entire body of Biblical doctrine and history unaffected by the issue.

Comparatively trivial; yes, for what Christian, Catholic or Protestant, can regard the preservation and restoration of the sacred text as quite trivial? Though no fundamental truths of his religion are at stake, yet the words of divine utterance are not as man's words. If scholars devote their lives to the toilsome task of establishing the genuine text of a Greek tragedian or a Latin historian, what excuse could the Church of to-day find to give to her Lord, if she used less than her highest skill, learning, patience and industry, in restoring the very words of Prophet and Apostle, and of Him who "spake as never man spake"!

With all the progress of theological studies during the past century or two, it is safe to assert that no department has made more rapid strides than that of textual criticism. Indeed before that time there seems scarcely to have been a textual criticism worthy of the name. The Biblical schol-



ars of the 16th and 17th centuries, both Catholic and Protestant, hardly saw the outlines of the problem facing them. As textual critics, Erasmus, Ximenes and Beza are dwarfed by contrast even with Origen, Lucian and Jerome of the ancient Church. We may say that in part it was the fault of the time: a Tischendorf had yet to discover, a Vercellone to publish, a Hort to classify, and many others to contribute their share of aid, before the materials of criticism should be available for use. But also in part it was the fault of those earlier scholars themselves, who lacked the scientific principles and methods, without which even all the material now available would be a meaningless mass.

It must be confessed, however, that we at the present day are far from seeing the completion of the great task of undoing the mischief of the centuries. Not only are the original autographs of the sacred writers unfound and beyond all hope of finding, but certainty as to their exact text, the goal of textual criticism, is yet unattainable. This is especially true in the Old Testament books, where the problem presents features of peculiar difficulty. In the New Testament there is a bewildering multiplicity of readings of great antiquity, drawn from Greek manuscripts, from ancient versions, and from quotations by the Fathers. But in the Old Testament there is an almost complete uniformity in the Hebrew manuscripts, which are all late; there is only one version, the Septuagint, really ancient, and the text of this stands in as great need of purification as the text of the New Testament, yet with fewer materials for its accomplishment; and finally, there are very few ancient quotations.

Keeping in view both the progress already made and the problems yet to be solved, in what spirit ought the Christian of to-day to approach the subject of the Biblical text? The following principles ought to command the immediate assent of all who value the Bible as the Word of God. (1) Biblical scholarship should make every effort to ascertain as nearly as possible the very words of the original authors. (2) Our Bibles should be purged of every element that by

the gradual progress of the science of textual criticism is demonstrated to be a corruption. (3) Wherever the evidence is not sufficiently decisive to demonstrate which is the original reading, our Bibles should present to their readers, by means of marginal notes, the most important variations.

Passing from these considerations to our investigation of the Roman Catholic Bible, the contrast would be amusing if it were not so serious.

In the Douai Bible we are still in the atmosphere of the 16th century. It would be unfair to say, of the Middle Ages, for Gregory Martin and his Rhemish brethren were no mean scholars, and those are no idle boasts on the title-pages of their version: "diligently conferred with the Greek", "diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greek and other Editions". Vigorously as they defend the Latin Vulgate in their prefaces, and closely as they adhere to it in their entire work, they nevertheless produce a version quite different from Wicklif's, for example, or that of any other translator who had only the Latin and not the original tongues before him. Yet if we decline to do injustice to the men of Douai by exaggerating their dependence on the Vulgate, we are the more emphatic in characterizing this Catholic version a Bible of the 16th century. The basis of the text of the Douai Bibles circulated to-day is still the same as that of the first editions. The prefaces have been omitted, the English rendering has been considerably modernized and even assimilated to the phraseology of the Authorized Version, and the marginal notes have been toned down. All these are improvements. But the text itself is the same. All the progress of the centuries between is unrecorded for the Catholic reader.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The estimate of these later editions of the Douai Bible, ("most improperly so called", according to Mgr. Ward in art. "Douay Bible" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*), expressed by the distinguished English Cardinal Wiseman, (*Essays*, vol. i, pp.73-100), is anything but favorable. "So far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are generally for the worse." "Challoner's alterations were far from giving stability to the text." He calls for a definite revision conducted by competent scholars, and endeavors to show the great



Thus far in general. More particularly, the "type of text" represented by the Catholic Bible calls for remarks.

The basis of the Douai text is avowedly and actually "the old vulgar approved Latin", "the authentical Latin according to the best corrected copies of the same." Not only do the men of Douai in their prefaces announce and defend this their position while attacking the text used by Protestant translators, but they even throw down this bold challenge: "What then do our countrymen that refuse this Latin but deprive themselves of the best?" Even in our own day we find some Catholic writers maintaining the same position. Thus Heinrich, the German theologian:<sup>48</sup> "In declaring the Vulgate authentic, the Council of Trent did a thing

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need of it. This paper was called forth by the publication of Dr. Lingard's "revision" of the Rhemish Gospels, but extended in its suggestions far beyond the limits of an ordinary review. It is interesting, as furnishing a fair estimate of what ought to have been done, but has not been done, in the direction of improving and fixing the form of the modern English Catholic Bible. "Our principal object at present", he writes (p. 79), "is to turn the attention of the Catholic clergy, and particularly the Bishops of Ireland and the Vicars Apostolic of England and Scotland, to the want of a complete revision of the [Douai] version itself, for the purpose of settling a standard text, from which editors in future will not be allowed to depart . . . It is far from our purpose to undertake a complete exposure of the many passages which want emendation—such a task would require a treatise. In order to confine ourselves within reasonable limits, we will only consider the necessity which a new revision would impose on those who should undertake it, of a minute and often complicated study of the original texts. We have selected this view of the matter, because we think it the point most neglected in the past, and most likely to be overlooked, and to form the great stumbling-block in any future revision. For, at first sight, it must appear an almost superfluous task to proceed, in such an undertaking, beyond the accurate study of the work immediately translated. The Vulgate is written in Latin, and it would therefore appear sufficient to possess an accurate knowledge of the Latin language, in order to translate any work written in it into our own. It is our wish to prove the fallacy of such reasoning, and, on the contrary, to show what varied, and often delicate, questions of philology the translation may involve; and how impossible it is to correct or discover the mistakes of our Douai version, without a constant recourse to the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The object of such reference will be, to decide the true meaning of expressions obscure or doubtful in the Latin."

which no doubt is easily explicable from the ecclesiastical standpoint and according to the Catholic principle of tradition; but at the same time its choice was from the scientific-critical standpoint the best. For critical science has steadily become more and more convinced that the text of the Vulgate is on the whole the best and most trustworthy text, surpassing not only other versions but even the existing original-texts<sup>44</sup> in correctness and truthworthiness: for evidently there stood at the command of the framers of the Itala, as of St. Jerome, far older and better original-texts than the oldest and best of the manuscripts preserved to us, even as a similar fact is true of the text of the Septuagint received by the Church, over against the Massora that is often influenced by Jewish polemic."

Beside this boast, put this admission of the same writer:<sup>45</sup> "By no means is the possibility of textual errors and mistakes in translation hereby excluded, in matters that do not touch Christian doctrine of faith and morals".

The best, then, without being perfect—this is precisely what many Catholics claim for their Latin text declared "authentic" by the Council of Trent. We say, many; for there are other Catholic writers who are more distrustful of the Vulgate. Nearly a century ago, Leander van Ess, a Catholic priest and professor at Marburg, published an extended treatise on the history of the Vulgate, whose double object was to show his fellow-churchmen that "the Catholic is not legally bound to the Vulgate", and that the Vulgate of to-day is a badly corrupted form of a mixture of faulty translations made in large part from a degenerate text.

In the light of the further textual studies of the last century, it is hard to see how van Ess's verdict on the value of the Vulgate<sup>46</sup> can be disputed by any unprejudiced

<sup>43</sup> "*Dogmatik*", vol. i, p. 820f.

<sup>44</sup> By "original-texts" this writer means the text in the original languages, Hebrew in the Old Testament and Greek in the New.

<sup>45</sup> "*Dogmatik*", p. 824.

<sup>46</sup> The distinction should always be observed, between a good text in the absolute and ecclesiastical sense, and a valuable text from the standpoint of the textual critic. For example, the New Testament



thinker. A few paragraphs will suffice to show the basis of this unfavorable estimate of the current Vulgate-text.

(1) Its history has been a career of increasing corruption, only aggravated by repeated attempts to correct it. "On account of its constant and frequent use, it has had as many and as unfortunate experiences as other manuscripts and books have had, and from its very cradle it has been so uncritically handled in even its better parts that later attempts at improvement have not been able, and will not be able, to restore it to purity."<sup>47</sup>

(2) The circumstances of its origin were not favorable for producing a faithful version. Briefly, these circumstances were as follows.

The Old Latin version, at least in its African form, dated back to the 2nd century, as quotations by Tertullian and Cyprian prove. Besides this African version, there existed one or more versions or revisions current in Europe in the 3d and 4th centuries.<sup>48</sup> These became so mixed and the confusion of text thereby produced became so great, that Augustine believed there must have been innumerable in-

text of Tischendorf's famous manuscript Aleph is an exceedingly valuable text, but it is not a good text to put into the hands of the Church as her New Testament. A textual critic, for his scientific purposes, prefers a manuscript embodying a degenerate text, even an almost unintelligible text, which has escaped some ecclesiastical recension, to another manuscript that reflects that recension, even though this latter be more ancient, more homogeneous, and altogether better adapted for ecclesiastical use. Illustrations might be drawn from the history of almost any of the versions. In the case of the Latin version, the current Vulgate has preserved in the New Testament many a reading derived from the Old Latin text, and thus representing the Greek text of the 2nd century; here lies its value from the standpoint of the textual critic. But in the same chapter with such a critical prize as one of these readings, there may stand some worthless interpolation or scribal corruption that mars the version for Church purposes. In a word, the critic can pick the good and leave the bad; the Church has to take all indiscriminately.

"Van Ess, *"Geschichte der Vulgata"*, p. 472f.

<sup>48</sup> Scholars are still uncertain as to the exact relationship of the three different types of Old Latin, which it is customary to designate as the African, the European and the Italian. This at least is their true chronological order.

dependent translators,<sup>49</sup> and Jerome could say,<sup>50</sup> "there are almost as many versions as manuscripts". To remedy this intolerable state of affairs Jerome, at the request of Pope Damasus (about 382), set himself to bring order out of the chaos. His first work was the revision of the New Testament, beginning with the Gospels. He next produced two editions of the Psalter, one revised according to that text of the Septuagint which was commonly current in the Church, and the other according to the corrected text of Origen's great critical edition of the Old Testament known as the Hexapla. Then Jerome revised, with the help of the Hexapla, the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Chronicles, and probably all the Old Testament.<sup>51</sup> Of the Apocrypha he rendered Tobias, Judith, and the additions to Esther and Daniel. Finally—the crowning achievement of this ancient Biblical scholar—Jerome issued a fresh translation of the Old Testament made directly from the Hebrew original.

Not all these labors found complete or unanimous acceptance. Ruffinus and other men of influence were uncompromisingly opposed to Jerome and his work. Even Augustine, with his more profound but less critical mind, failed for a time to understand and appreciate. The various parts of Holy Scripture thus translated or revised were received differently: some readily, as the New Testament revision, some slowly, as the so-called "Gallican" Psalter (that revised from the Hexapla), and some not at all, as the Psalter

<sup>49</sup> *De doct. christ.*, ii. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Preface to the Four Gospels, addressed to Damasus. "*Tot sunt enim exemplaria pene quot codices.*" As Van Ess urges, p. 16, Jerome must have intended by *exemplaria* something more than mere corruptions in the *codices*. Whether rightly or wrongly, Jerome had in mind nothing less than divergent texts.

<sup>51</sup> Compare the expression in the well-known passage (*Comm. in Titum* c. III), "*omnes veteris legis libros emendare*". If this "all" is literally true, the rest of the books so revised have been lost; but then, Jerome complains to Augustine of this very thing: "*Pleraque prioris laboris amissimus*".



translated from the Hebrew.<sup>52</sup> Side by side with these products of Jerome's scholarship, there lived on in the Church for centuries the Old Latin versions, until at length, by the 7th century, the great reviser's triumph was complete, though dearly bought by much admixture of elements incorporated from the earlier versions.

The Vulgate declared authentic by the Council of Trent, "that old and vulgar edition which has been approved by long use through so many centuries in the Church", the Vulgate of the official Clementine edition, is made up, therefore, of the following heterogeneous elements:

The Old Testament translated from the Hebrew by Jerome, but with considerable importations from the Old Latin versions and from Jerome's own earlier revisions according to the Greek (notably the entire Psalter, which is his second revision, according to the Hexaplaric text).

The Apocrypha, partly from Jerome's version, partly from the Old Latin versions.

The New Testament according to Jerome's restricted revision of the old versions.<sup>53</sup>

Such being, in brief, the origin of the Vulgate, it is not hard to see how unfavorable were the conditions for attaining the best possible Latin text. Damasus, in whose pontificate Jerome commenced his task, died in 384. The Old Testament translation was not finished until 405. During all that time, as we learn from his letters, Jerome's work was being issued, frequently (so he says) snatched up be-

<sup>52</sup> It is a curious fact that those parts of Jerome's work which the Church received apparently with the greatest readiness, were just the parts that were latest in finding universal acceptance. On the contrary, his Old Testament from the Hebrew, against which the whole Church at first seemed to be arrayed, attained general currency far earlier than his New Testament revision, and as a consequence the former escaped much of the corruption that overtook the latter through long-continued use side by side with the Old Latin.

<sup>53</sup> How restricted this revision was, may be learned from what is said below of the ecclesiastical criticism that Jerome dreaded, and likewise from many expressions in his works, such as the following: "*Ut his tantum, quae sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur, ut fuerunt*" (from the Preface to the Gospels).

fore he was through with its correction. Long passages were often executed in incredible haste. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon were completed in three days, Tobit in one day; "sometimes", he writes, "I reach the total of a thousand verses a day".<sup>54</sup> He used an amanuensis.<sup>55</sup> His eyesight was feeble.<sup>56</sup> Many Hebrew words he failed to understand. For his Latin Jerome himself apologizes:<sup>57</sup> "I beg of you, reader, not to demand that finished style which through long study of the Hebrew tongue I have lost."

But the greatest hindrance of all to an exact version was the stubbornness of the Latin Church in holding to what was familiar even though wrong. This prevented Jerome from exercising to the full his critical gifts or using the critical material that he possessed. Again and again he complains of this opposition to all change; indeed it was only the same spirit of obscurantism and envy of superior learning that culminated in the bitter invectives of Ruffinus, Palladius and his other personal enemies. He undertook the New Testament revision and all his earlier work in this fear of offending. The well-known passage in his preface to the Gospels addressed to Damasus shows the rigor and ignorance of the criticism he dreaded: "Who is there," he asks, "learned or unlearned, that will not break out with charges of forgery and sacrilege, if I dare to add, alter or amend anything in the ancient books?" This applies to his earlier work. But that the same dread affected even his latest work, his Old Testament translation, is shown where he says of it:<sup>58</sup> "Following the old interpretation, we have been unwilling to change anything that was not doing actual harm."

(3) But, besides the history of the Vulgate, and the cir-

<sup>54</sup> Comm. on Eph., book ii (at the beginning).

<sup>55</sup> Comm. on Gal., book iii (at the beginning): "*propter oculorum et totius corpusculi infirmitatem, manu mea ipse non scribo.*"

<sup>56</sup> On Ezekiel, xx.

<sup>57</sup> On Haggai, at the end.

<sup>58</sup> Epist. to Sun. and Fretel., he writes: "*De Hebraeo transferens magis me LXX interpretum consuetudine captavi.*"



cumstances attending its origin, there is one other reason for the unfavorable verdict passed upon it. The Greek texts from which much of it was made were corrupt.

In the New Testament there stood at Jerome's command a good Greek text. But it was particularly in the New Testament that Jerome was bound most closely to the Latin text already current in the Church. Now these Old Latin versions were early in their origin, and for purposes of textual criticism to-day they rank very high as a means of confirming the earliest readings of the best Greek manuscripts. But as current in the Church in Jerome's day, these did not present what could in any sense be called a good text. They were faulty in three ways, through errors in translation, errors in transmission, and mixture with one another. The Fathers frequently point out their shortcomings. Jerome's and Augustine's complaints of them are well-known. Hilary's complaint is less often quoted:<sup>59</sup> "The Latin translation, ignorant of the real force of what is said, has introduced great obscurity, not discerning the right meaning of an ambiguous expression." And Tertullian<sup>60</sup> punningly calls the current version an "eversion", so completely does it destroy the force of the original. Yet it was to this Old Latin text that Jerome must needs adhere in his New Testament, altering as little as possible and curbing his critical powers lest he offend through novelty.<sup>61</sup>

In the Old Testament there existed three different texts among which the Latin translator might choose his original: the Hebrew, the old Greek Septuagint, and the Greek text of Origen's Hexapla, with its asterisks and obelisks to indicate divergences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint readings. As has been seen, Jerome made use of each of

<sup>59</sup> *Tract. in Psalm. 138* (43), quoted by Van Ess, p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> *De monogam., c. xi*, quoted by Van Ess, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Jerome says that he selected for his revision of the Gospels Greek manuscripts "that were old, but did not differ much from the form of the Latin text". "*Veterum, nec quae multum a lectionis latinae consuetudinis discrepant*" (from Preface to Gospels).

these at different times. Where he used the first, the Hebrew, he had before him almost precisely the same text as that of our Hebrew Bibles to-day, a good text, altogether the best attainable even with the means now at our command or then at the command of Jerome.<sup>62</sup> Where he used the Septuagint, he had but a corrupted text, vitiated by centuries of transmission, and even in its best state often unintelligible in Psalm and Prophet. It was undoubtedly due to its inherent obscurity that the "Roman" Psalter (that made first and from the Septuagint), "was soon corrupted by scribes and became more defective than the former unrevised text".<sup>63</sup> Finally, where Jerome used the Hexaplaric Greek text, he had one that was theoretically good, but practically the worst of all. Both in the Greek and in the Latin manuscripts, the asterisks and obelisks became hopelessly displaced through the error, ignorance or indifference of the scribes, and "the last state was worse than the first". While intending the best for the Biblical text, Origen actually introduced more confusion than that which he set about his laborious task to remedy. The obscurity of the Psalter in the Vulgate of to-day, and in the Douai Version made from it, is due to the fact that it is the Old Latin Psalter of the first ages of the Church, translated originally from the Septuagint manuscripts current in the Western Church, then revised in accordance with the Hexapla, then mixed with readings from Jerome's earlier Psalter, and finally corrupted by scribal errors through centuries of transmission in the Latin.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The old charges of intentional Jewish corruptions, pressed by earlier Catholic writers, have long since been exploded, unless possibly in one or two passages.

<sup>63</sup> Van Ess, p. 105, who quotes Jerome's Prologue to Psalm ii: "*Quod rursum videtis scriptorum vitio depravatam, plusque antiquum errorem, quam novam emendationem valere.*"

<sup>64</sup> What wonder, then, is it that we find in the Douai Psalter such monstrosities as the following:

Ps. lxxv (lxxiv). 10 (11), for "Thou makest it soft with showers: Thou blessest the springing thereof,"

Douai reads: "Inebriate her rivers; in her drops so she shall rejoice springing".



In the light of these historical facts, drawn from the writings of the Fathers, confirmed by examination of the Vulgate itself, and marshalled by a Catholic writer, what is to be said of Heinrich's boast quoted above, that in the Vulgate we have "on the whole the best and most trustworthy text, surpassing not only other versions, but even the existing original-texts in correctness and trustworthiness?"

Such then is the text that formed the basis of the Douai Version. The comparison of it with the Hebrew and Greek originals was, as has been remarked, no idle boast, for evidences are forthcoming throughout, but particularly in the New Testament, that these translators felt free to have recourse to the Greek because of the multiplicity of Latin readings.<sup>65</sup> "We bind not ourselves", say they, "to the points of any one copy, print or edition of the vulgar Latin, in places of no controversy, but follow the pointing most agreeable to the Greek and to the Fathers' commentaries." "We translate sometime the word that is in the Latin margin, and not that in the text, when by the Greek or the Fathers we see it is a manifest fault of the writers hereto-

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Ps. lxxviii (lxxvii). 15 (16), "A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan; A high mountain is the mountain of Bashan."

Douai reads: "A mountain crudded as cheese, a fat mountain."

Ps. lxxii (lxxi). 16, "There shall be abundance (margin, a handful) of grain in the earth upon the top of the mountains."

Douai reads: "There shall be a firmament in the earth in the tops of the mountains."

(From Eadie, "The English Bible", vol. ii., p. 144, where see numerous other examples.)

<sup>65</sup> Bellarmine, the leading Jesuit theologian of the 16th century, allows recourse to the text in the original tongues under these four conditions: when the Latin text (1) seems to show an error of copyists; (2) exhibits uncertainty of reading through variation in the Latin codices; (3) contains an expression of double signification; or (4) may receive a fuller understanding by comparison of the original. It should not be forgotten that the first edition of the Rhemish Testament (1582) appeared a decade before the publication of those official editions of the Vulgate which had been called for by the Council of Trent. The New Testament text of the Douai Bible (1609-10), however, is said to be conformed to the text of the official Clementine Vulgate.

fore, that mistook one word for another." In a word, their practice was better than their theory, for, as has been well pointed out, their "critical rules and opinions are characterized by a peculiar lubricity. Their statement is that the Latin does usually agree with the Greek text; that any disagreement is often found to be coincident with some old copy, 'as may be seen in Stephens' margin', and that the adversaries sometimes accept such marginal readings; that where Greek copies exhibit a different text, the Vulgate is found to agree with patristic quotations; that emendations may be resorted to if such authority be wanting, or recourse may be had to the Latin Fathers, and if in this appeal discrepancy should be found, the blame is to be laid to 'the great diversity and multitude' of Latin copies. So that in this easy and incoherent way of moving from post to pillar, as often as their position is felt to be untenable, the superiority of the Latin translation to the Greek original is demonstrated."<sup>66</sup>

### *The Version.*

The most immediately obvious difference which the Protestant notices between the Catholic Bible and his own Bible is in their canon; the most surprising difference is in their text; the most *pervasive* and *characteristic* difference is to be found in the motives and methods of their version, that is, in the actual work of translating into the English tongue their respective originals.

The motives and methods of translators may be compared both abstractly, as formulated in the principles avowed in their prefaces and other explanatory writings, and concretely, as exhibited in their practice, their actual productions. As just intimated, the translators of the Catholic Bible differ from the translators of the Protestant Bible in both motives and methods, both avowed principles and evident practice.

First, their motives.

The long prefaces originally published with the Rheims

<sup>66</sup> Eadie, vol. ii., p. 128.



New Testament and the Douai Old Testament set forth the intention of those English exiles who, "having compassion to see our beloved countrymen, with extreme danger of their souls, use only such profane translations, and erroneous men's mere phantasies, for the pure and blessed word of truth, much also moved thereunto by the desires of many devout persons: have set forth, for you (benign readers) the New Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may give occasion to you, after diligent perusing thereof, to lay away at least such of their impure versions as hitherto you have been forced to occupy." Now the many sections of these prefaces devoted to an elaborate attack upon the general circulation of vernacular Bibles seem to prepare the way but ill for any vernacular Bible, but they at least serve this purpose: to underscore with a hundred-fold emphasis this statement of motive when at length it is given. The evident hostility to all vulgarizing of this esoteric treasure of God's Word (this "pearl" that must not be "cast before swine"),<sup>67</sup> is in fact the exact measure of the compelling force that urged these translators to what was in itself an unwelcome task. So strong, then, was this purpose in them, to undo the harm that existing English versions were doing.

The impression thus openly created in the prefaces is only deepened by the study of what they produced. The character of its numerous controversial notes may be judged from this estimate passed upon them by the Roman Catholic priest, Alexander Geddes (1787):<sup>68</sup> "The translation is accompanied with virulent annotations against the Protestant religion, and is manifestly calculated to support a system, not of genuine catholicity, but of transalpine popery."<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup>Similarly, Cardinal Hosius, "*De expresso verbo Dei*," I, p. 640: "*Laicis lectionem Scr. permittere est sanctum canibus dare et margaritas ante porcos projicere.*"

<sup>68</sup>Author of the learned treatise "*De vulgariis S. Scr. versionum vitiiis*," freely cited by Van Ess, *op. cit.*

<sup>69</sup>The original New Testament notes were prepared by Richard Bristow. Their character may be judged from this latest chapter in their history: when reprinted at Dublin a century ago (by McNamara-Coyne, 1816, with Archbishop Troy's approbation), they aroused so

On the other hand, a careful inspection of the text of their version reveals the substantial truthfulness of that solemn asseveration with which their preface to the New Testament closes: "Thus we have endeavoured . . . to deal most sincerely before God and man, in translating and expounding the most sacred text of the Holy Testament." Allow them their uncritical Vulgate-text, with its variety of readings to support whatever was most congenial to the Romish system; grant them the methods of translating which they adopt and defend; and one must admit that on the whole they have "dealt most sincerely in translating the most sacred text". While distinctively Romish ecclesiastical terms are retained, such as sacrament, penance, priest, this is in line with an avowed principle of their method. If "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" (John 2:4) is rendered: "What is to me and thee, woman?" in order to avoid even the appearance of a slight to the Blessed Virgin, this also is but a literalism and in accord with another principle laid down in the preface.<sup>70</sup> Thus motive and method are intermingled in such a way that while the method is defended on independent grounds, the real reason for its

much indignation in Great Britain that the matter was brought up in Parliament, and the Archbishop of Dublin and the rest of the Roman Clergy were constrained to withdraw their approbation. These annotations frequently descend from doctrines to personalities; for example, the "two masters" of Matt. vi. 24 are explained as "Christ and Calvin", with more alliterative skill than exegetical soundness. Some notes that do not assail the Protestants maintain peculiar Roman Catholic doctrines, in a spirit that may be judged from the following examples (cited by Dr. Eadie, vol. ii, p. 145):—On II Tim. iv: "The parable also of the men sent into the vineyard proveth that heaven is our own right, bargained for and wrought for, and accordingly paid unto us as our hire at the day of judgment." On Rev. vi. 9: "Saints be present at their tombs and relics." On Rev. xvii. 6: "Putting heretics to death is not to shed the blood of the saints." "Heresy and apostasy from the Catholic faith punishable by death."

<sup>70</sup> Later Catholic editors are less fair than the Rhemists in this passage. Both Haydock's and Troy's Bibles read: "Woman, what is that to me and to thee?" Of the alternative interpretations permitted by the wording of the original edition (and so explained in an accompanying note), these editors have thus adopted unreservedly the inferior choice, simply because it better agrees with Roman Catholic dogma.



adoption is to be sought in the motive. Every point is to be made, in the text, that can honestly be made, against Protestantism and for Roman Catholicism.

Of the motives of later editors of the Douai Bible the following may be said. In accordance with the changed spirit of the times, the English Catholic Bible was to be made less virulent, less strikingly sectarian and partisan. Yet in accordance with the purpose of its original translators, this "minority Bible" was not to lose its identity by yielding its distinctive features, nor fail in its mission of counteracting the baleful influence of Protestant Bibles. The approved English Bibles of Catholic America to-day show the working of both these motives. No concession is made on the canon, and practically none on the text; the changes in translation are more to modernize the language than to broaden the spirit; the chief concession lies wholly outside the version as such, in the omission of the now indefensible prefaces and in the alteration of the original annotations. Yet it is emphatically to-day, as it was three centuries ago, the Bible of a sect; as we have had a Unitarian Bible, and a Baptist Bible, so in the Douai Version we have a Roman Catholic Bible.<sup>71</sup>

But, second, different motives have led to the adoption of different methods. It is therefore to the consideration of these methods of the Catholic translators that we are now

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<sup>71</sup> It is customary now to print on the fly-leaf of Catholic Bibles, together with the certified approbation of the ecclesiastics having jurisdiction, two papal pronouncements of the 18th century in favor of vernacular Bibles: (1) the decree of Benedict XIV (1757) which permits "to all the faithful to read the Holy Scriptures in their mother-tongue, if the translations are approved by the Apostolic See, or provided with notes from the Fathers or from Catholic scholars"; and (2) the letter of Pius VI to Archbishop Martini (1778) commending his Italian version of the Bible. It may be remarked in passing that this Italian Bible appeared in 23 quarto volumes. Hardly a popular Bible, this! A later edition of it, without notes (1818), was at once put "on the index" of prohibited books. "Furthermore, the Encyclical of Leo XII (1824) makes no exceptions in its denunciation of the "poisonous pastures" of vernacular Bibles, by whose publication "more evil than advantage will arise because of the rashness of men".

brought; first, to their avowed principles, and second, to the faithlessness and success with which these principles are carried out.

"We are very precise and religious", say the Rhemists, "in following our copy, the old vulgar approved Latin: not only in sense, which we hope we always do, but sometimes in the very words also and phrases." Again, "we have used no partiality for the disadvantage of our adversaries, nor no more license than is sufferable in translating: . . . acknowledging with St. Jerome, that in other writings it is enough to give in translation, sense for sense, but that in Scriptures, lest we miss the sense, we must keep the very words." And again, "knowing that the good and simple may easily be seduced by some few obstinate persons of perdition, . . . and finding by experience this same saying of St. Augustine to be most true, 'If the prejudice of any erroneous persuasion preoccupate the mind, whatsoever the Scripture hath to the contrary, men take it for a figurative speech': for these causes, and somewhat to help the faithful reader in the difficulties of divers places, we have also set forth reasonable large annotations."

Here is a profession of three principles in the method of making a version: first, honest rendering; second, literal rendering; and third, polemic and doctrinal notes. Does a candid examination of the version show actual adherence to the principles thus advertised?

It does. In treating of the motives we have already seen the sincerity of the Rhemists in the rendering of their text such as it was. Through all the violent attacks of English Protestants, this boast has never been proved idle. If the English form in which, for example, they clothed Christ's language to Mary in John 2:4 is an expression less offensive to ears accustomed to hearing Mary's name coupled with the attributes of divinity, it is at least no falsification of the original; it is too literal, it is un-English, its Catholic motive is transparent; but it is not dishonest.

Literalism is the most marked characteristic of the Douai



Bible. Being made from the Latin, this literalism means Latinity of phraseology, and as it is carried to an extreme, it means Latinity of diction to a degree unequalled by any popular book in our tongue. There are, it is true, many good Saxon words and phrases. A few of these are even used in this version for the first time; the bulk of them are borrowed from earlier English versions: in the Old Testament mainly from Coverdale, who like the Catholics translated this Testament from the Latin, and in the New Testament, strange to say, predominatingly from the men of Geneva, the most Protestant of all the translators.<sup>72</sup> Yet the distinctive tone of the Douai Bible is its excessive use of Latin words carried over bodily into English, either graced with an English termination, or sometimes quite unchanged, like *gratis* and *depositum*. Master Fulke makes fun of their professed intention to transfer into English the Greek words retained by the Latin translators and so present in the Vulgate. "As for Greek terms", he writes,<sup>73</sup> "which may well enough be expressed in the English tongue, we see no cause why we should retain them, as *Parasceve*, *azymes*, *neophyte*. And if you had so religious a care to use all the Greek words in your English translation which you find in your vulgar Latin text, then you would as well have translated these and such like Greek words as your Latin text hath: *Magi*, Mages, and not as you have done, Sages; *Ecclesia*, Ecclese, not Church; *Architrichlinus*, Architrichline, not Chief Steward; *Encoenia*, Encenes, not Dedication;

<sup>72</sup> It is but very recently that systematic comparison has revealed the closeness of the bonds by which the Rhemish Testament is bound, on the one side to the 16th century versions that preceded it, and on the other side to the Authorized Version of 1611. See "*The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*", by J. G. Carleton, D.D., Oxford, 1902. This writer gives a table containing over six hundred passages in the New Testament common to the Authorized, Rheims and Geneva versions. And besides these, there are doubtless some others common to Rheims and Geneva, that were not subsequently adopted by the Authorized Version.

<sup>73</sup> "*A Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*", Preface. A little freedom has been used in recasting Fulke's sentences for greater clearness.

*Dyscolis*, Discoles, not Wayward; *Pyra*, Pyre, not Fire; *Naclerus*, Naclere, not Master of the Ship; *Typhonicus*, Typhonic, not Tempestuous; *Bolis*, Bole, not Sound; *Artemon*, Artemon, not Mainsail; *Dithalassus*, Dithalass, not a Place between the Two Seas: where, if we should pick quarrels as you do against us, we should make ourselves to all wise people ridiculous, as you are."

A selected example will show to readers unfamiliar with the Rheims Testament the practical effect of this principle of literalism. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, chapter three, Paul is made to say: "To me the least of all the saints is given this grace, among the Gentiles to evangelize the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to illuminate all men what is the dispensation of the sacrament hidden from worlds in God, who created all things: that the manifold wisdom of God may be notified to the Princes and Potestats in the celestials by the Church, according to the prefinition of worlds." What wonder that the Protestants of their day were tempted to taunt them with intentional obscurity for the simple English reader, as where in the address prefixed to the Authorized Version we read: "We have shunned the obscurity of the Papists, in their *azymes*, *tunike*, *rationall*, *holocausts*, *prepuce*, *pasche*, and a number of such like, whereof their late translation is full, and that of purpose to darken the sense, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof it may be kept from being understood." Fulke, blunt as always, says:<sup>73a</sup> "Not the desire of sincerity, but rather of obscurity, hath made you thrust in a great number of words, not only Hebrew or Syriac, which are found in the Greek text, but also Greek and Latin words, leaving the English words of the same, which by long use are well known and familiar in the English tongue." Severe as are these arraignments, it cannot be denied that the Rhemish translators threw themselves open to them by their slavish adherence to the Latin before them. It is no discredit to their skill in English, for many a felicitous turn

<sup>73a</sup> *Op. cit.*



proves mastery of their mother-tongue. Rather, it is but another evidence of that cramped and illiberal view of the uses of Scripture which is openly avowed in their preface, but which Catholics of this later day are at great pains, if not to contradict, at least to modify and explain away.

Such was, and such remains, an all-pervasive, obtrusive blemish of a version of which a distinguished Protestant like Alford could say:<sup>74</sup> "With many great defects, it is by far the most carefully made of all in our language", (that is, up till 1868, the year he wrote these words); and of which an authority on the English Bible like Dr. Moulton of Cambridge could write:<sup>75</sup> "Every other English version is to be preferred to this, if it must be taken as a whole; no other English version will prove more instructive to the student who will take the pains to separate what is good and useful from what is ill-advised and wrong".

Of the third principle, the association of polemic and doctrinal notes with the sacred Scripture, enough has perhaps been said already. Catholics have taken a step in the right direction, in modifying the tone of the original notes. It remains for them to acknowledge the justice of that principle upon which Protestants now firmly stand: an unmixed Word of God; a Bible without note, interpretative heading, controversial preface or appendix; a volume that in its canon, text and rendering presents to its reader as nearly as possible that, and only that, which "men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit".

If there is any *unity* discoverable in the complex impression left by the detailed exhibition of these differences between the English Bible of the Catholic and that of the Protestant, is it not to be found in that one great outstanding contrast between the Romish and the Protestant interpretations of Christianity? Romanism seeks to save the world by the spread of a single, infallible, visible Church; Protestantism, by the spread of the Gospel of God's grace in Christ.

<sup>74</sup> *Contemporary Review*, 1868, VIII, 332.

<sup>75</sup> *History of the English Bible*, p. 188.

The two views of the vernacular Bible spring from these contrasted views of the essence of Christianity.

To the Romanist, the Bible is one of the sources of the Church's doctrine, written by men of the Church (of course under the Spirit's inspiration), committed to the care of the Church, authenticated by the Church, interpreted infallibly through the head of the Church, designed for the uses of the Church. As such, the Bible for the men of Rheims and Douai numbered such books in its canon as the Church of Rome pronounced divine. It existed in its only authentic form in a (hypothetical) perfect edition of the Vulgate, the text of the Roman Church. It was to be translated and issued in the vernacular, if at all, only in such forms of speech, at such times, and with such interpretative accompaniments, as might best serve the Church's immediate need.

On the other hand, the Bible is to the Protestant the message of God to mankind about salvation, promised and prepared for, granted and urged. As such, the Bible for the makers of the Protestant version, in all its various editions, is the book of the Saviour, containing the books vouched for, where possible, by Christ Himself, where that was chronologically impossible, by those who lived nearest to Him. Its only authentic form is that given it primitively by its divine Author, while present editions are more or less authentic only according as they more or less exactly reproduce that form. And it is to be faithfully translated into every tongue of earth, left quite unmixed with the words of men, and by the most practical form given the widest possible circulation. It is by such means, the Protestant believes, that the salvation of God can best be spread, which lies indeed in a "kingdom", but one that is "not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit".

Too much, however, must not be made of this contrast in ultimate *principia* as determining necessarily the attitude of Catholic and Protestant respectively toward these problems of Biblical scholarship and dissemination. For there have been not a few in the Roman Catholic Church, like Leander



van Ess, who, as right in their conclusions as they were illogical in their processes, have come out squarely for a vernacular Bible constructed wholly, in canon, text and version, on the principles that have yielded us our Protestant Bible. To the words of van Ess<sup>76</sup> would that all Christians, Catholic and Protestant, could say a hearty amen!—"As sure as it is that the hostile assertion by each Christian confession that it alone possesses the true Bible, has done much to sunder Christian from Christian and to break the bond of love and peace; just so surely will it come to pass that Christians will draw nearer to each other, if the belief becomes more general that all Christian confessions have one and the same Bible, and at length even one and the same version in their own tongue, and not, like children, childishly quarrel about rival Church-versions; if in the Catholic Church the distribution of the Bible becomes more wide-spread, while in the Protestant Church there returns that old pious belief in the Bible, which the unchristian spirit of the age is striving to destroy."

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD.

<sup>76</sup> In the preface to his "*Geschichte der Vulgata*".

## THE RELIGION OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

Julian the Emperor, of the dynasty of the "Great" Constantine whose nephew he was, will always be an object of wide concern and curious interest. The student of the History of Christianity no less than the philosopher, the politician and historian as well as the classicist, cannot but approach his figure and personality with many questions. Apostasy from Christianity is indeed not nearly so common as is the quiet denial or the practical renunciation of its noble and transcendental postulates, but here we deal with one who after some substantial acquaintance with historical Christianity, a pupil of Eusebius, though probably never more than a very young and merely academic Christian, was won for paganism largely through philosophical influences as well as by the glamor which overwhelmed his young and eager mind and by the power inherent in what he certainly considered a surpassing and triumphant culture.

"Paganism"—how easily do we pen the word, how glibly often do we utter the term! Many years of earnest and exact reading have at last taught the present writer to disabuse his mind and to redeem his historical vision from much of the idealizing glamor which like an iridescent film—but still a film—has somehow come to cling to the surface of the classical world in its distant reflection. Fine letters and exquisite marbles and bronzes and architecture, as well as the dead mechanism of sheer tradition, have much to do with this artificial and grossly unhistorical perversion of perspective.

From the fine and wearisome theories spun out by archaeologists and other aesthetical persons concerning Greek Religion so called, let us turn back for a moment, to certain data furnished by an earnest devotee of both that culture and that religion, Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> In him we have a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the writer's *Testimonium Animae* 1908, pp. sqq.



veritable exemplar of the renaissance generally associated with Hadrian—Pausanias, I say, type of the positive and affirmative side of that wide movement, the negative side of which is so admirably represented by those crackling thorns under the pot, *viz.*, Lucian of Samosata. Pausanias is a positive admirer of old things Greek, their ritual and their temples, their lore and their legends. His appropriation of Herodotus as model is not at all artificial and shallow; rather is it due to a genuine affinity. For Pausanias too believed in the Anger and Envy of the gods, and all the data of current and actual worship in older Greece he gathered with his own ears, with his own eyes, preferring to spread in his notebooks the lore and legend delivered by the local *ἐξηγηταί* such as he could find wherever he went. The grosser forms of sin and evil as well as cleansing rites (*καθαρμοί*) were to him very real and very important things.

The most impressive lesson of his detailed and precise account is this, that the crass and gross conception of Nature-forces, embellished indeed and curiously intertwined with local and dynastic legends of great age, had not even, in the practical tradition of the people at large, been touched by the refinements and the allegories of Greek Philosophy or by a few forms of esoteric rites such as those of Eleusis or the Orphic mysteries. Worship and the very justification of temples and shrines were clearly bound up with the preservation and presence of the idol or *agalma*. Anniversaries of a kind of pantomimic reënactment of certain legends in the tradition or original story of the tutelary or particular local deity had an important place in this so-called religion. The oldest idol everywhere was also held the most genuine, and therefore the most potent and the most trustworthy for the worshipper. Those then most highly prized for genuine prayer and sacrifice were not as a rule the splendid sculptures of Pheidias and Skopas, Polykleitos, Lysippos and Praxiteles, but the venerable figures of old, carved (and polished) wood (*ξύρινα*). We deal, in Pausanias, with a

motley variety of local cults and institutions, that reveal but the faintest contact with conscience or conduct or spiritual things of any sort.

From this cursory survey of the Hadrianic epoch let us advance, roughly two hundred years further, into the generation of the Constantines, of Athanasius and Basil the Great, of the boyhood of Jerome, and of the emperor Julian. I propose to submit to my readers an outline of Julian's Fourth Oration, on the theme of the regal Helios, or strictly, to the king the Sun, or Sungod (*εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡλίον*).

"I am," says he (p. 130, c Ed. Spanheim), "a follower of Helios the king." From childhood on, he said, he had entertained a deep craving for the faculty of looking straight at the Sun. All the constellations of the firmament had engrossed his soul in those tender years. Of the Christian training of his youth he speaks scornfully: "Let there be oblivion of that darkness."<sup>2</sup> At the present time (he was about thirty when he wrote this) his highest ideal of character and life is the philosopher to whom the treasures of wisdom and sacred lore are open; but he is content with his own albeit inferior lot in life, that of a regent and ruler.

The Sun (i. e., the precosmic archetype of the sun) is the creator of souls which men choose<sup>3</sup> before incarnation. May Hermes and the Muses and Apollo Musagetes guide me in my eulogy. This Universe (132, c) held together by the providence of God is eternal both as to beginning and future. Julian now enters upon a distinctly Neoplatonic delineation of things.

The primal and absolute ruler of all, whether one may call him that which is beyond sense-perception, or the Idea of the Actual World, or The One, or The Good, with Plato, is the cause of all, being a simple (non-composite) substance in itself. Now of the creations or productions of the primal One we must consider the Sun, central amid the

<sup>2</sup> λήθη δὲ ἔστω τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνου (131, a).

<sup>3</sup> προαιρούντας 131, c.



sensuous and creative causes, as something which issued out of the Divine Substance, in all ways resembling it. This Plato too<sup>4</sup> calls "the offspring of the Good, which the Good begot as rationally commensurate with itself; exactly what it is in the sphere of intelligence as related to intelligence and the objects of intelligence, such too is the Sun in the sphere of sight as related to the faculty of sight and to the objects of sight."

As the Idea of the Good rules in the Intelligible World, so in the world of sense-perception. The Good endows the gods of the Intelligible World with beauty, substance and perfection. Now this disk, our Sun, too removes from its creator and itself in the Third Category of Being, holds an analogous position in the world of sense-phenomena.

At this point (134, a) Julian cites with commendation the doctrine of the Phenicians, "wise and knowing in matters of divinity," that the all-prevailing luminosity of the Sun is elemental energy. It bestows not only the power of sight but also the visibility of objects. It makes night and day and is the moving power of the universe, specifically among the planets. And we assume by a parity of reasoning that in the world of pure intelligence and of the gods of that pure intelligence<sup>5</sup> there is some such central and dominating body of which our Sun is a mere material image. We see then, Julian's reasons; why the priests of Cyprus allot joint altars to the Sun and to Zeus. Really these are identical. Zeus, Sarapis, Hades: three terms for one substance. By Sarapis or Hades (136, a) we mean that Being invisible and comprehensible to Intelligence alone, to whom Plato says that the Souls ascend, viz. the souls of those who have led the best and most righteous life on earth. We must conceive of that Judge, not that one which the myths persuade us to shiver at, but the gentle and gracious one, who utterly frees the soul from incarnation—the power indeed,

<sup>4</sup> Rep. 6, 508 b.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς διακόσμησιν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀνάλογον ἔχειν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τάξει. 134 c.

which draws the Souls upward into the universe of the Intelligible (ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον). Julian claims to find this doctrine even in Hesiod and Homer, where (Il. 8, 24) Zeus single-handed threatens and defies the collective and united Olympians. "Does he not, in these words, endow the Sun, in addition to the quality of absolute power, with that of the faculty of accomplishment?"<sup>6</sup>

Next he takes up the central position of the Sun, then its Unity, its power of Unification. While the creator is one (140, a), the creative divinities in heaven are many. One of these is the creative force of the Sun. The purity of its light is patterned after its analogous prototype in the Intelligible World.

Next Julian discourses upon (142, c) the powers and potencies of the divine Sun. "Zeus, then, the creative force, is merely another side or property of the Sun. So too Apollo, i. e. the knowledge of the divine Sun about his own essence and substance is likely to be better: it is here that the Sun thinks with exquisite clearness. As for Dionysos, his service and function really is not anything distinct from the Sun. Dionysos is the interpreter for us of the fairest ideas connected with the Sun-god. Again the Sun is Apollo Musagetes in containing within himself all the principles of the most beautiful intellectual blending."<sup>7</sup> Further (144, b) since the Sun perfects for us the life of good order, it begets Asklepios in the Universe, and it has him with himself even in the precosmic world of Ideas.<sup>8</sup>

Next Julian takes up the Seven Spheres. To these the

<sup>6</sup>The reader here has a specimen of that religious and speculative interpretation of Homer, which Porphyry practiced and which may be observed in the Vergilian exegesis of Servius and Macrobius.

<sup>7</sup>We see the Neoplatonists of that generation were a fervid sect; much of this stuff was incessantly rehearsed and was significant for the sectaries of that cult, to us remote ones it is often barely intelligible.

<sup>8</sup>Plato indeed is "great" to the imperial Neoplatonist, but the "renowned demigod Iamblichus" is held by Julian in even higher esteem. It is to him that the nephew of Constantine and former pupil of Eusebius credits his own initiation into the doctrine of the sect.



movement of Heaven itself is added as the eighth and the eternal cycle of Birth and Death as the ninth.

What are the Dioscuri? They are the beginnings of Hellenic myths, who see light and life on alternate days. The deeper meaning is that the Antipodes see the Sun alternately with ourselves. Okeanos, as Homer has it (Il. 14, 246)

Ὠκεανοῦ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται

is the source both of mortal men and blessed gods. Further on, Julian turns to the twelve constellations of the Zodiac. These again, each of them, may be divided by Three: thus we have the deeper meaning of the Three Graces (*Charites*): "these too on earth (148, d) imitate the Cycle through their figures (*ἀγάλματα*). But why traverse the entire list of Olympian names, since all these appellations belong to the Sun? For men perceived his divinity from his works and from the benefactions which he bestowed upon men, *benefactions which to their perception were the individual gods.*" And the host of these are collected and unified and led by being assigned to the control of Athena Pronoia (Providence). The myth says that she came from the head of Zeus, but we say that Providence entirely issues from the entirety of king Sun, we differing from the myth in this that we assign the issue of Providence to his entire Being, "whereas in the other respects we hold that the Sun differs not at all from Zeus, we agree with the ancient legend" (149, b). And Athena bestows upon mankind these boons: Wisdom, and the Faculty of Perception, and the Crafts. Her favorite abode are the citadels because she has established political life through wisdom.

Aphrodite—here he cites with commendation Phenician mythology—is that side and faculty of the Sun, which endows the earth with productiveness and causes the maintenance of organic life. In Edessa (150, c) the figures of Monimos and Arzizos are placed with Helios: thereby as

Iamblichus<sup>9</sup> says they intimate ( αἰνίττεσθαι ) that Monimos is Hermes and Arzizos Ares, assessors of the Sun.

Further as to the specific souls, individual men in fact, Helios causes their spiritual blessings in this way: he endows them with judgment and justice, and he leads them to their true aim and end. For Aristotle<sup>10</sup> says: "To the Sun too we owe showers and winds and the beneficent activities of the skies."

But these benefactions are merely physical and terrestrial. Still greater are these: the Sun frees the souls from their bodies (152, b) and leads them upward to those substances which are kin to God. The Heavens, Plato<sup>11</sup> said, have come to be for us a teacher of wisdom. They teach us the science of numbers and magnitudes. We learn much from the light of the Moon which is given to this goddess from the Sun. From this observation we advance, aiming at ever greater harmony with the source of light. Again the Sun's fellow-ruler Apollo raised up oracles everywhere on the earth and furnished wise statutes to commonwealths. It was he who through the Greek colonies civilized the greater part of the civilized world and caused it that the Romans were more readily obeyed.<sup>12</sup> The same emanating forces and potencies of the Sun have blessed Rome likewise, viz. Aesculapius, Venus, Minerva—Venus joined to Minerva, for thus the wise Romans in their historical progression perpetuated their own kind.

Now not only *Jupiter* dwells among us (153, d) on the

\*The emperor here avows himself directly a follower of Iamblichus, if not a mere excerptor of his works: παρ' οὗ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν.

<sup>10</sup> Physic. II 2, p. 194, b 13: ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος.

<sup>11</sup> Epinomis 977 a.

<sup>12</sup> At this point Julian in whom many things were fused, fervently though quite unhistorically claims for the Romans in matters of religion a close adoption of things Greek "from beginning to end." (153, a). The very quality and feature of Rome which assuredly was her own, viz. her political system and efficiency was to the glowing enthusiasm of the young emperor a further proof of the essential Hellenism of Rome.



Capitol with Minerva and Venus, but Apollo too has a special habitation on the Palatine. All these are merely diversified appellations of the Sun. Now we descendants of Romulus and Aeneas have a particular relation to him, through Venus and through Mars, with the legend of the she-wolf. Our Founder indeed was a martial deity who is said to have consorted with Silvia when she brought water for ablutions for Vesta: the Soul of the god Quirinus descended<sup>13</sup> from the Sungod. So the ascent or return likewise of the same Romulus is quite plausible to Julian.

As for Numa the vestals by his ordination preserve the fire which the Earth owes to the Sun. Only we (the Romans) and the Egyptians measure the segments of the year not by the moon but by the movements of the Sun. So too Numa set the beginning of the civil year for the month of March when the regal Sun again rises higher in the heavens. And may the Sungod truly make our Rome an eternal city! Not less fervid was Julian's final turn to Iamblichus, who for the young Hellenist and Neoplatonist was as one who had found the finality and the consummation of human wisdom.

The "oration," which has many formal points of contact with a sermon, closes with a prayer which may profitably be set down here with particular precision:

"And let me bring worship to the immortal gods, to the extent of my power<sup>14</sup> not in connection with the sacrifices alone, but also in his (the Sun's) acceptance of the pious acclamations directed toward the Gods. And thirdly I do pray that in return for this devotion, the king of all, the Sun, may become gracious unto me and grant me a good life and more perfect understanding and a divine intelligence and a fated quittance most gentle from life, at the proper time, and ascent to him after this life, and a sojourning with him, by preference for all eternity: but if this

<sup>13</sup> κατήλθεν: (I54, c). We see here the facile theory of Emanations in a concrete case.

<sup>14</sup> A reminiscence of Hesiod, Works and Days 336: "καθ' δύναντα δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι . ."

should be greater than my career in life shall warrant, then (he may grant me) very many periods<sup>15</sup> and for many years' duration each."

In this discourse of the young emperor we have a veritable microcosm, in which Religion, Science, History, Culture, Art, Philosophy as well as foreign pagan cults are curiously compounded and blended, *the essence indeed in which the pagan world in its last, its Neoplatonic phase once more seemed to summarize and to reaffirm all that it had so long held precious*. And this is the world in which Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose lived and labored.

But with all the fine gossamer of the new Platonism the young imperial enthusiast still strove to lead in the traditional forms of pagan ritual and worship. When his cousin Constantius, the senior emperor and real source of power, died at Mopsukrēnē in Cilicia, late in the autumn of 361 A. D., the throne was to be Julian's but for a little more than one year and a half. Now even as recently as February 356 there has been issued an imperial decree (or "*constitutio*"), issued indeed with Julian (the cryptopagan) named as junior co-regent—a decree imposing capital punishment for sacrificing to, or worshipping, the idols of the past.<sup>16</sup> When at last Julian was able to throw off the mask he forbade to the Christians even the work of gaining adherents from among the pagans still remaining. His efforts to restore the temple of Jerusalem (Ammianus 23, 1, 2) with lavish appropriations and under the curatorship of a man who had governed great provinces—are familiar. The aim of this measure was quite obvious. A curious foil to this was the other decree, to deprive Christian *grammatici* and *rhetoires* of their professional posts.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps he sought to bring to bear his strong desire to have them abandon Christianity: at least he intended to confine higher edu-

<sup>15</sup> *I. e.*, of incarnation.

<sup>16</sup> Cod. Theodos. xvi, 10, 5: *Pœna capitis subiugari præcipimus eos, quos operam Sacrificiis dare et colere simulacra constiterit.*

<sup>17</sup> Even Ammian 22, 10, 7 cites it in a censorious manner: "*Illud autem erat inclemens, observandum perenni silentio, quo arcebat docere rhetoricos et grammaticos ritus Christiani cultores.*"



cation to positive non-Christian minds and lips. Perhaps he naïvely believed that Christianity doomed to non-culture would ultimately perish of itself, or that at least it would become enfeebled and impotent in the actual struggle of irreconcilable systems. His conviction that Hellenic culture in this fusion with paganism and in this finality of Neoplatonism might spread once more over the Mediterranean world was obviously held firmly. Whatever an imperial purse and an elemental enthusiasm could ordain, he ordained. The altars were fairly flooded<sup>18</sup> with the blood of victims: the imperial Neoplatonist strove to make the great change impressive to his day and to his world. Sometimes genuine hetacombs were offered together, white victims being preferred, an obvious symbolism of his devotion to the Sungod.

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*Note.* While Symmachus, Servius and Macrobius in the old capital flourished one generation after the meteoric reign of Julian, their cult and culture and dearest ideals were quite the same. It may seem appropriate to append a few data which illustrate further this "Dusk of the Gods" and the practical evaporation of the old Nature-religion through allegory and physical interpretation. Porphyry particularly had led the way with this elastic and ductile exegesis: e. g. on Il, I, 399, the binding of Zeus: "One must assume in this passage rather a kind of physical meaning. For by Zeus he means strong Heat which is the cause of our living and being. By Hera he means the Air, by Athena, the Earth. By Briareos he means the Sun, by Thetis the Pose (θείσις) and nature of the Universe;" at the end of this scholion: "By Apollo he means the Sun."—Or again, on Il. 4, 2. "Ganymede serves Zeus alone, because Zeus is the finest Intelligence, and it is a quality of Intelligence alone to rejoice in plannings: τὸ τοῖς μῆδεσι γάνυσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ γανυμήδης."

Servius on Verg. Aen. 4, 239 (*Talaria nectit*): "Mercurius ideo dicitur habere pennas quia citius ab omnibus planetis in ortum suum recurrit: unde et velox et errans dicitur."

*Idem.* on Aen. 5, 735: "Elysium est, ubi piorum animae habitant post corporis animaeque discretionem: unde et interitus dicitur, ubi inter animam et corpus venient, ergo Elysium ἀπὸ τῆς λύσεως.

*Idem.* on Aen. 1, 394 Jovis ales, aquila, quae in tutela Jovis est, quae dicitur dimicanti ei contra gigantes fulmina ministrasse, quod ideo fingitur quia per naturam nimii caloris est, etc. But these illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely.

<sup>18</sup> Ammianus 22, 12, 6.

A LIST OF THE WRITINGS  
OF  
SAMUEL MILLER, D.D., LL.D., 1769-1850  
SECOND PROFESSOR IN PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY 1813-1850\*

- Christianity the Grand Source and the Surest Basis of Political Liberty. A sermon before the Tammany Society, New York, July Fourth, 1793. New York, 38 pp., 8°.
- Discourse before the Grand Lodge of the State of New York, New York, June 24, 1795. New York, 1795, 32 pp., 8°.
- Sermon, at the Request of, and before, the Mechanic, Tammany, and Democratic Societies, and the Military Officers, on July Fourth, 1795, New York. New York, [n. d.] 33 pp., 8°.
- Discourse before the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, Apr. 12, 1797. New York, 1797, 33 pp., 8°.
- Sermon, on May 9, 1798, a Day of General Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer, [New York]. New York, 1798, 46 pp., 8°.
- Sermon, in New York, Feb. 5, 1799, a Day of Thanksgiving, Humiliation, and Prayer, on account of the removal of a malignant and mortal disease. New York, 1799, 36 pp., 8°.
- Sermon occasioned by the Death of General George Washington, late President of the United States. [New York], Dec. 29, 1799. New York, 1800, 39 pp., 8°.
- Sermon before the New York Missionary Society, at their annual meeting, Apr. 6, 1802. New York, 1802, 71 pp., 8°.
- Annual Report of the Directors [of New York Missionary Society], Apr. 6. 1802. Bound with above sermon. New York, 1802, 10 pp., 8°.
- Two letters concerning Thomas Jefferson, to Rev. Mr. Gem-

\* Prepared by his granddaughter, Margaret Miller—Ed.



- mil, [personal], New York, Dec. 7, [and Dec. x], 1800. Printed, without permission, in *The American Mercury*, Jan. 6, 1803. Hartford.
- The same. Reprinted in various papers. 1803.
- Extract from one of same, of Dec. 7, 1800, reprinted in *The Columbian Centinel*, [Jan.], 1803. Boston.
- The same. Reprinted in *New York Evening Post*, Feb. 25, 1803.
- The same. Reprinted in various other papers. 1803.
- Open Letter (in explanation of above personal letters) to Mr. Babcock, New York, Feb. 5, 1803. *The American Mercury*, Feb., 1803. Hartford.
- The same. Reprinted in *New York Evening Post*, Feb. 25, 1803.
- [The same. In various other papers, 1803.]
- A BRIEF RETROSPECT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Part the First, in 2 vols. New York, 1803, 1076 pp., 12° and 8°.
- The same. With Index of names. In 3 vols. New York and London, 1805, 1262 pp., 8°.
- Two Discourses: The Guilt, Folly, and Sources of Suicide, New York, Feb., 1805. New York, 1805, 72 pp., 8°.
- Address of the Presbytery of New York, as to the education of candidates for the ministry [in conjunction with Mr. Griffin], Oct., 1805. A circular, 8°.
- LETTERS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION AND ORDER OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, AS DEDUCED FROM SCRIPTURE AND PRIMITIVE USAGE: Addressed to the members of the United Presbyterian churches of the city of New York. New York, 1807, 355 pp., 16°.
- A CONTINUATION OF LETTERS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION AND ORDER OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY: Addressed to the Members of the Presbyterian churches in the City of New York. New York, 1809, 434 pp., 16°.
- LETTERS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION AND ORDER OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY [Being the two above publications on the Christian Ministry, combined and revised]. Prefaced by a Preliminary Letter, 2nd edition. Philadelphia, 1830, 538 pp., 12°.
- THE PRIMITIVE AND APOSTOLICAL ORDER OF THE CHURCH OF

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The same, entitled The Appropriate Duty and Ornament of the Female Sex. In "The Princeton Pulpit," pp. 9-28. New York, 1852, 8°.

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———— The same. In "The Acts, [etc.] of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church," by S. J. Baird, pp. 406-408. Philadelphia, 1856.

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———— The same. In "The Acts, [etc.] of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church," pp. 408-410. Philadelphia, 1856.

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The Divine Appointment, the Duties, and the Qualifications of Ruling Elders. A sermon in New York, May 28, 1809. New York, 1811, 47 pp., 8°.

AN ESSAY ON THE WARRANT, NATURE AND DUTIES OF THE OFFICE OF THE RULING ELDER IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH [with above sermon as its basis]. New York and Boston, 1831, 322 pp., 12°.

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Report (Resolutions) on Temperance, June 1, 1812. [Samuel Miller chairman.] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1789-1820*, pp. 511, 512. Philadelphia, [1847].

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Report, to Synod of New York and New Jersey, on the African School. A circular, 1817.

Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States: To which is Subjoined a Copy of the Constitution of the Seminary. Elizabethtown, 1817, 19 pp. 12°.

A Brief Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Princeton; Including the Constitution of the said Seminary, a Catalogue of those who have been Members, and a List of the Present Officers and Students. Philadelphia, 1822, 87 pp., 12°.

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- Extract from a sermon at the funeral of Rev. James F. Armstrong, in Jan., 1816. In "Memoirs of the Rev. Robert Finley, D.D.," by Isaac V. Brown, pp. 200-203. New Brunswick, 1819.
- Open Letter to Rev. Dr. James Richards. [Signed also by Dr. Archibald Alexander, but apparently Samuel Miller's.] A circular. Princeton, Feb. 12, 1819. 3 pp., folio.
- The Difficulties and Temptations which Attend the Preaching of the Gospel in Great Cities. A sermon at the ordination of Rev. William Nevins, in Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1820. Baltimore, 1820, 43 pp., 8°.
- Constitution of the Education Society of the Presbytery of New Brunswick. [In conjunction with Dr. Alexander.] Adopted at Pennington, Oct. 6, 1819. Trenton, 1821, 5 pp., 16°.
- The Doctrine and Order of the Waldenses. Signed, *Historicus*. Five articles in *The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, pp. 259-264, 297-301, 370-374, 514-520, of 1820, and pp. 57-63 of 1821. Richmond.
- Speech [portion of] on Free Masonry, before the General Assembly, May, 1821. In "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, p. 56. Philadelphia, 1869.
- A Letter to the Editor of *The Unitarian Miscellany*, "in reply to an attack, [etc.]" Baltimore, 1821, 34 pp., 8°.
- LETTERS ON UNITARIANISM. Trenton, 1821, 312 pp., 8°.
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- Christian Weapons Not Carnal, but Spiritual. A sermon at the installation of Rev. John Breckinridge, Baltimore, Oct. 13, 1826. Princeton, 1826, 55 pp., 8°.
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- Social Amusements. Two or more articles. *New Jersey Patriot*, about 1826. Princeton.
- The Importance of the Gospel Ministry. Introductory Lecture at the opening of the winter session of Princeton Theological Seminary, Nov. 9, 1827. Princeton, 1827, 56 pp., 8°.
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- The same, 2nd edition, New York, 1827, 12°.
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- The Most Suitable Name for the Christian Sabbath. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, 1836, pp. 64-73.
- Review of “Christian Union,” [etc.], by A. Van Dyck. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, 1836, pp. 11-39.
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- Review of “Toleration: A discourse delivered \* \* on Thanksgiving Day”, by Evan M. Johnson. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, 1836, pp. 185-201.
- Review of “The Practical Church Member [etc.],” by John Mitchell. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, 1836, pp. 243-268.
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- The Importance of Peculiar Attention, on the Part of Ministers of the Gospel, to the Children of their Charge. *Ibid.*, vol. X, 1838, pp. 23-33.
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- Review of "Bible Class Manual [etc.]," by John McDowell, D.D. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, 1839, pp. 31-37.
- Review of "Sermons by the late Edward D. Griffin, D.D., [etc.]." *Ibid.*, vol. XI, 1839, pp. 404-415.
- Review of "The Intermediate State," a sermon by Rev. Reuben Sherwood, and of "No Intermediate Place," a sermon by Rev. William Cruikshanks. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, 1839, pp. 453-478.
- Book-notice of "Memoranda of Foreign Travel," by Robert J. Breckinridge. *Ibid.*, vol. XII, 1840, p. 464.
- Review of "The Life and Times of Red-Jacket [etc.]," by William L. Stone. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, 1842, pp. 183-199.
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- Resolutions on Mr. Barnes, May 30, 1831. [Much altered, against the author's judgment]. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1821-1835*, p. 329. Philadelphia, [n. d.].
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The Dead Speaking. A sermon, on the death of Rev. Joseph W. Barr, Princeton, N. J., Nov. 18, 1832. In "Memoir of Rev. Joseph W. Barr," by E. P. Swift, pp. 163-193. Pittsburgh, 1833.

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Introductory Remarks. Early Rupture in the Presbyterian Church, Jan. 16.

Voluntary Associations, Jan. 30.

Voluntary Associations and Ecclesiastical Boards, Feb. 6.

The same, continued, Feb. 13.

The same, concluded, Feb. 20.

Adherence to our Doctrinal Standards, Feb. 27.

The same, continued, Mar. 6.

The same, continued, Mar. 13.

Revivals of Religion, Mar. 20.

The same, concluded, Mar. 27.

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The same, concluded, Apr. 10.

Selecting and Licensing Candidates, Apr. 17.

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- Introductory Essay, Princeton, Mar. 28, 1834, to "A History of Popery, by a Watchman," pp. 3-18. New York, 1834.
- Plea for an Enlarged Ministry. Sermon No. XXVIII, *The Presbyterian Preacher*, 1834, 16 pp., Pittsburg, 8°.
- Open Letter in refutation of "Pious Frauds," Princeton, Apr. 2, 1835. *The Southern Churchman*, Apr. 17, 1835. Richmond.
- Open Letter in same controversy, Princeton, May 9, 1835. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1835.
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- The Good Man. A sermon in memory of the Rev. George S. Woodhull, Princeton, Jan. 18, 1835. Princeton, 1835, 28 pp., 8°.
- Christ the Model of Gospel Ministers. A sermon before the alumni of Princeton Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, June 1, 1835. Princeton, 1835, 32 pp., 8°.
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- The same. In *The American National Preacher*, Sept., 1835. New York.
- The same. In *The Missionary Enterprise*, 1846, pp. 143-163. Boston.
- The Importance of Domestic Happiness. Sermon No. CXC-VIII, *The American National Preacher*, 1835, pp. 241-248. New York. 8°.
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——— The same, Philadelphia, 1842.

——— The same. Reprinted in *American Presbyterian*, in 1835. Nashville, Tenn.

——— The same. Bound with INFANT BAPTISM, pp. 3-98. Philadelphia, 1840, 198 pp., 12°.

——— The same, with same. Another edition. Philadelphia, 12°.

——— The same. Embodied in "Manual of Presbytery," edited by the Rev. John G. Lorimer, pp. 16-165. Edinburgh and London, 1842.

——— The same. *Ibid.* 1847.

——— The same. In Italian: IL PRESBYTERIANISMO OSSIA LA VERA COSTITUZIONE PRIMITIVA APOSTOLICA DELLA CHIESA DI CRISTO. Genova, 1855, 170 pp., 24°.

——— The same. *Ibid.*, 2nd edition. Enlarged. Pp. 17-144. Edinburgh and London, 1848.

Letter to Dr. Lyman Beecher [personal]. About 1828. Published by Dr. L. Beecher or his friends, about 1835.

——— The same. In Dr. L. Beecher's "Autobiography," vol. II, pp. 133-135. New York, 1865.

——— The same. In "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, pp. 140, 141. Philadelphia, 1869.

Open Letter: Reply to Dr. Luther Halsey (on his "Exceptions to the Confession"), Princeton, Mar. 16, 1836. *The Presbyterian*, Mar. 24, 1836. Philadelphia.

——— The same. In *American Presbyterian*, Apr. 14, 1836. Nashville.

Address to the General Assembly, on the transfer of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, May 26, 1836. *The Presbyterian* ("Reported for"), July 9, 1836. Philadelphia and New York.

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——— The same. In "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, p. 287. Philadelphia, 1869.

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Letter to Rev. Joseph Sanford, Dec. 19, 1823. In "Memoir of Rev. Joseph Sanford," by Robert Baird, pp. 121, 122. Philadelphia, 1836.

Letter on Temperance, to Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D., [personal], Jan. 1, 1836. Appeared in *The New York Observer* in 1836.

——— The same. Reprinted in "Life of Samuel Miller," pp. 301-303. Philadelphia, 1869.



The Sacred Office Magnified. A sermon at the installation of Rev. John C. Backus, Baltimore, Sept. 15, 1836. Baltimore, 1836, 46 pp., 8°.

Letter containing remarks on Dr. Nevins' character. In "Select Remains of William Nevins, D.D.," by W. S. Plumer, pp. 71-77. New York, 1836.

Letter to Rev. John McElhenney [personal], Apr. 15, 1837. In "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, pp. 228-236. Philadelphia, 1869.

Circular Letter to the Churches of Christ, June 8, 1837. Condensed. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, 1837, pp. 502-508. Philadelphia, 1837. [See "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, p. 331. Philadelphia, 1869.]

——— The same. In "The Acts, [etc.] of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church," by S. J. Baird, pp. 747-754. Philadelphia, 1856.

Open Letter to the Rev. William S. Plumer. *The Watchman of the South*, Aug. 31, 1837. Richmond.

——— The same. In *The Presbyterian*, Sept. 16, 1837. Philadelphia and New York.

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——— The same. Largely reprinted in *Southern Churchman*, Dec. 1, 1837. Richmond, Va.

——— The same. Largely reprinted in *The Churchman*, Dec. 23, 1837. New York.

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——— The same. New York, 1848, 16°.

The Dangers of Education in Roman Catholic Seminaries. Sermon, by request, before the Synod of Philadelphia, in Baltimore, Oct. 31, 1837; and afterwards in New York, Nov. 26, 1837. Published by Synod. Baltimore, 1838, 15 pp., 8°.

——— The same. In "Series on Popery," No. VI, pp. 227-250. Philadelphia, 1843.

Address before the American Bible Society at the annual meeting, New York, May 10, 1838, pp. 81, 82. In "Annual Report of the American Bible Society," New York, 1838.

Zion Called upon to Awake. A sermon before the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Philadelphia, May 22, 1838. New York, 1838, 20 pp., 8°.

*Micæ Ecclesiasticæ*, signed *Biblicus*. Three open letters. *The Presbyterian*, Feb. 9, 16, 23, 1839. Philadelphia and New York.

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Open Letter on Confirmation, Princeton, Jan. 29, 1840. In reply to editorial criticism. *The Southern Churchman*, Feb. 14, 1840. Richmond, Va.

Open Letter "To T——— L———, Esquire," signed *Apostolicus*. *The Presbyterian*, Feb. 29, 1840. Philadelphia and New York.

Report on Slavery, submitted to the General Assembly [1840]. See "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, pp. 292-295. Philadelphia, 1869.

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THE CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. A report to the General Assembly, 1840, ordered published. Philadelphia, 1840, 66 pp., 24°.

——— The same. Tract No. 48, Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia, 12°.

History of the Early Rise of Prelacy. Tract No. 45, Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia, 1840, 46 pp., 12°.

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- Supper," by Samuel Bayard, 2nd edition, Revised, p. 2. Philadelphia, 1840.
- Letter discussing assertions of Bishop Ives [personal], Princeton, Sept. 8, 1841. Published without the author's permission in *The Lincolnton Republican*, before Nov. 10, 1841. Lincolnton, N. C.
- The same. In *The Banner of the Cross*, Dec. 11, 1841. Philadelphia.
- Calvin Claimed by Episcopalians, Princeton, Dec. 13, 1841. [2nd], Calvin and Episcopacy. [3d], A Charge Repelled, Princeton, Dec. 23, 1841. Three open letters, in controversy with *The Banner of the Cross*, signed Samuel Miller, *The Presbyterian*, Dec. 18 and 25, 1841, and Jan. 1, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.
- Introductory Essay to "Articles of the Synod of Dort," translated by Rev. Thomas Scott, D.D., pp. 5-78. Philadelphia, 1841.
- Recommendatory Letter in "The Force of Truth," by Thomas Scott, D.D., pp. 9-20. Philadelphia, 1841.
- Open Letter concerning above letter in Scott's "Force of Truth," in reply to "Layman," Princeton, Dec. 29, 1841. *The Episcopal Recorder*, Jan. 8, 1842. Philadelphia.
- The same. Reprinted in *The Presbyterian*, Jan. 15, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.
- Calvin, II. An open letter in controversy with Bishop Ives, Princeton, Dec. 6, 1841. *The Watchman of the South*, Jan. 29, 1842. Richmond, Va.
- The same. In *The Presbyterian*, Feb. 12, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.
- Calvin Vindicated. An open letter in controversy with Bishop Ives, Princeton, Nov. 20, 1841. *The Presbyterian*, Feb. 5, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.
- Licentiate. An open letter, signed *Clericus*. *The Presbyterian*, May 21, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.
- Rights of Ruling Elders. An open letter, signed *Canonicus*. *The Presbyterian*, May 21, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.
- Rights of Ruling Elders. A series of five open letters, signed Calvin. *The Presbyterian*, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24, 1842. Philadelphia and New York.

- Open Letter on confirmation, Princeton, Nov. 24, 1842. *The Watchman of the South*, Dec. 8, 1842. Richmond, Va.
- Introductory Essay to "A Manual on the Christian Sabbath," by John Holmes Agnew, pp. I-XLIX. Philadelphia, 1842.
- Open Letter in reply to "Justice," Princeton, Sept. 19, 1843. *The South Kentuckian*, Oct. 27, 1843. Henderson, Ky.
- LETTERS FROM A FATHER TO HIS SONS IN COLLEGE. Philadelphia, 1843, 344 pp., 12°.
- The same. Philadelphia, 1852, 240 pp., 12°.
- Letter, Princeton, Aug. 6, 1831, in Circular of Maxwell McDowell, concerning the laying on of hands by ruling elders. Apr. 26, 1844.
- Letter recommending "The Antiquities of the Christian Church," by Lyman Coleman. *The Presbyterian*, June 22, 1844. Philadelphia.
- THE WARRANT, NATURE, AND DUTIES OF THE OFFICE OF RULING ELDER IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. Being a sermon, in Philadelphia, May 22, 1843. With Appendix. Philadelphia, 1844, 170 pp., 24°.
- Letter recommending "The Apostolical and Primitive Church," by Lyman Coleman, 2d edition. In flyleaf advertisement in same. Princeton, Sept. 20, 1844. Boston, 1844.
- Introductory Letter, Princeton, Sept. 19, 1844, to "The Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne," by Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, pp. VII—XVIII. Philadelphia, 1844.
- Recommendatory Letter, Princeton, Nov. 25, 1844, in "The History of the Popes," by Archibald Bower, vol. I, pp. 4, 5. Philadelphia, 1844, '45.
- Letter, to the Rev. D. V. McLean, concerning the formation of a New Jersey Historical Society, Princeton, Feb. 18, 1845, [personal]. In "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. I, pp. 5-7. Newark, 1845.
- Remarks on the Mode of Conducting the Monthly Concert in Prayer. A series of four articles. *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, 1845, vol. XII, pp. 265-270, vol. XIII, pp. 34-37, 65-69, 129-133. New York and Philadelphia.
- LETTERS ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE MONTHLY CONCERT IN PRAYER. Being the above four articles "in a revised and somewhat different form." Philadelphia, 1845, 104 pp., 24°.



- History and the Historical Society. An address before the New Jersey Historical Society, Princeton, Sept. 4, 1845. In "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. I, pp. 81-96. Newark, 1845.
- Recommendation in "Internal Evidence of the Holy Bible [etc.]," by J. J. Janeway, D.D., pp. 3, 4. Philadelphia, 1845.
- Address, on the dedication of a monument to the memory of the Rev. James Caldwell, who on Nov. 24, 1781, fell by the hand of an assassin, Elizabethtown, Nov. 24, 1845. Elizabethtown, 1846, 24 pp., 8°.
- Recommendatory Letter, Princeton, Feb. 24, 1845, in "History of the Ancient Christians Inhabiting the Valleys of the Alps," pp. 1-7. Philadelphia, 1847.
- Remarks on Clericus. An open letter, signed S. M. *The Presbyterian*, Feb. 19, 1848. New York and Philadelphia.
- Letter to Joseph H. Jones, Sept. 25, 1848; prepared for the press by Joseph H. Jones. In "The Life of Ashbel Green, V.D.M.," pp. 523-540. New York, 1849.
- Letter to H. A. Boardman, D.D. [personal], Feb. 28, 1849. A portion in "The Life of Archibald Alexander," pp. 582-584, New York, 1854; and a portion in "The Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, pp. 512, 513, Philadelphia, 1869.
- Testimony on Temperance, Princeton, Apr. 2, 1849. In "Life of Samuel Miller," vol. II, p. 303. Philadelphia, 1869.
- Letter to the Members of the Cincinnati Society of Religious Inquiry, Princeton, Jan. 24, 1849. In "Constitution of the Cincinnati Society of Religious Inquiry," pp. 7-12. Cincinnati, 1849.
- Report of Committee appointed to frame a directory for the administration of baptism to adults, and admission of persons to the Church on public profession of faith. 1849, 4 pp., folio. [See *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, 1849, p. 266. Overture 39: laid on table. Philadelphia, 1849.]
- THOUGHTS ON PUBLIC PRAYER. Philadelphia, 1849, 306 pp., 12°.
- Church Attachment and Sectarianism. Tract No. 167, Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia, [n. d.], 8 pp., 12°.

The Worship of the Presbyterian Church. Tract No. 197 of vol. X, Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia, [n. d.], 34 pp., 12°.

Theatrical Exhibitions. Tract No. 130 of vol. V, American Tract Society. Philadelphia, [n. d.], 12 pp., 16°.

Atoning Blood. Tract No. 361 of vol. X, American Tract Society. Philadelphia, [n. d.], 12 pp., 16°.

"An Introduction to 'A History of Popery by Harvey'" is enumerated in a list of Samuel Miller's works in his "Life," vol. II, p. 507, (Philadelphia, 1869); but the book has not been traced.

Dr. Miller's frequent articles in periodicals (including *The Princeton Repertory*) cannot all be identified. Also, it is impossible to specify all editions and reprints of his books; the Presbyterian Board of Publication having republished a number of them repeatedly; in some cases, even to this day.

Many of his letters are printed in his "Life."

A manuscript Introductory Letter to "A Memoir of Rev. Robert Gibson, by Robert Baird and John Breckinridge," [1835], signed "Samuel Miller," apparently never published, is in the possession of the Gibson family.

At the University of Pennsylvania, his *alma mater*, there are several volumes of his manuscript "Notes," upon lectures attended there as a student, in 1788-89.

His collection of letters received is in the Library of Princeton University.

Dr. Miller wrote the epitaphs for the tombs of: Rev. Robert Finley, D.D., Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, S.T.D., LL.D., Chief Justice Andrew Kirkpatrick, The Hon. James Sheafe, and Rev. George S. Woodhull. This last was probably not used.

There is a practically complete collection of this writer's works, including manuscripts and a few letters, in the Library of Princeton Theological Seminary.



## REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

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### PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

DAS ERKENNEN UND DIE WERTURTEILE. VON DR. HERMANN LÜDERMANN, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Universität Bern. Leipzig. Veslag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger. 1910.

In a small compass of 201 pages the learned author presents to his readers an extensive discussion of knowledge (das Erkennen, meaning the process of getting knowledge) and the judgments of value. In a brief preface he informs us, that his present publication stands in interrelation to former writings, viz. Epistemology and Theology; Individuality and Personality; the Theory of Argumentation; the Arguments for the Existence of God and Monistic and Christian World and Lifeview. The results of his investigations, laid down in those books, he does not deduce anew in the book now before us, but it is assumed that we know them.

All this is interesting to know, and in order to give a satisfactory review of the book before us, one stands in need of a thorough study of all the books mentioned. It is difficult for a reviewer, who is not acquainted with the author's former writings, to write a review, satisfactory to his readers and to himself. We confess, that we find the development of the author's subject too brief to be clear in all particulars. The framework, i. e. the disposition of the subjectmatter is clear enough, but his treatment of it in detail makes us exclaim now and then, what a pity, that we cannot listen to the author in his lectureroom, when he develops his statements more fully to his hearers. In his introduction Dr. Lüdermann sketches the present philosophical and theological trend of thought in Germany. He finds, that notwithstanding the conflict of opinion and the modification of positions, the idea of (value-judgments as guides to knowledge, is still prevalent both in philosophical and theological circles. The conclusion of the matter, wherein many seem to find rest, is "Weil Wert für mich—darum Sein an sich," which means, freely translated, There is no reality for me, unless it has value for me, or, my valuation of things gives them existence. Very instructive, I think, is the following statement, "Handelte es sich früher bis auf *Schleiermacher* vorwiegend um den Fehler einer intellectualistischen Theologisierung der Religion, so handelt sich es jetzt um den entgegengesetzten Fehler einer individualistischen Religionisierung der Theologie, die ihrem Wesen als Wissenschaft widerstreitet, und die von *Schleiermacher* gefundene richtige Unterscheidung

der Theologie von der Religion als dem positivgegebenen Gegenstande ihrer Erforschung, kritischen Reinigung und Darstellung nicht weniger gefährdet als der Zustand, dem seine Entdeckung des Wesens der Religion ein Eude machte." This long German sentence is almost untranslatable in English. In former times, our author maintains, religion was transformed into an intellectualistic system of theology; in our times theology is being metamorphosed into a kind of individualistic religion. In this his judgment is correct. On this account he thinks it timely to reopen the problem of the significance of the value-judgements in the realm of knowledge.

The subjectmatter is divided into two parts. The first is of a positive, the second of a critical nature.

In the first part the author builds up his own view. In order to do this systematically, and to prevent misunderstandings, he separates two investigations. In the first he tries to establish the significance of the judgments of value for the knowledge of value, and in the second the significance of them for the knowledge of being.

In order to understand the first of these questions, the author deems it necessary to preface it with an elementary psychology and logic, which results in judgments of value.

He distinguishes two values, "Der Bedürfnis-Wert" and "der Normen-Wert", i. e. values, which are considered as such, because we need or want them, and values, which are acknowledged as such, when they are measured by a certain rule.

With regard to the former the author speaks first of the origin of the conception of value. He comes to the conclusion, that the conception of value, as far as its genesis and contents are concerned, is a subjectively conditioned notion of relation. From the consideration of the notion of value he proceeds to the judgment of value. His analysis of the several kinds of judgments of value, as far as they are based on "die Bedürfnis-Werte," is complete. I concur in his judgment, that they all are of a purely subjective character. The individual need and desire determine, as it were, the quality of the value.

The norm-values are of a different kind. There is a subjective element in them too, because the judgment about them rests upon man's knowledge of the norms. But after all the values of this kind are determined not exclusively by man's arbitrary desires or needs, but by certain rules, by which they are measured not only in practical life but also in the realm of science in general and natural science in particular.

After this discussion the author enters upon the difference and connection between "Werturteil und Seinserkenntnis," i. e. judgment of value and the knowledge of being. This part of the subject is also divided into two subdivisions, viz. "Der Gegenstand real gegeben: Qualitäts-Erkenntnis" and "Der Gegenstand in der Vorstellung gegeben." Only in the former case there is a connection between value and being, in the latter everything is hypothetical and leads to no true knowledge. The result of all this is, that anything which exists only



in our conception, is at its best hypothetical knowledge; values are only valuables, if the value is a quality of a subject which exists.

The second part, which is of a critical nature, deals with the current philosophical and theological use of the value-judgments. The author deals only with German philosophers and theologians. Many of the positions of these men have gained currency among us. We are growing more cosmopolitan also in philosophy and theology. The author combats in this part the following positions of his opponents.

1. Their opinion of the scientific impossibility of metaphysics, which prevails in philosophical and theological circles.
2. The position of philosophers, who, having rejected metaphysical convictions, find a substitute for them either in the mechanically-causal world view of natural science, which does not concern itself about values, or in the knowledge of last and highest "values".
3. Theologians find such a substitute in the possession of convictions of faith regarding last and highest realities, which enables them to look upon the mechanically-causal nature as a subordinate reality, as a world of means for the purposes of the spirit.
4. Both, philosophers and theologians, have for their foundation the needs of man as apparent in his consciousness of the necessity of values.
5. Philosophers distinguish between relative and absolute values of need, but they look upon the latter as a reflection of the unknowable.
6. Theologians conversely look upon the values of need as a reliable proof of the existence and quality of transcendent realities.
7. Philosophers however forget, that they in speaking of absolute values enter upon the metaphysical knowledge of being.
8. While theologians forget, that it is impossible to derive knowledge of being from any of the value-judgments, and that they move in a circle, presupposing as they do the knowledge of being, which they try to derive from judgments of value.
9. Both forget that determinations of value ought to rest upon the conception of being, and that values as real and absolute can only be derived from knowledge of being.
10. As a matter of fact even philosophers endeavor to derive knowledge of value from knowledge of being, and the author thinks, that they are, unconsciously as it may seem, on the right track.
11. Theologians on the contrary try to reach knowledge of being by means of knowledge of value, which leads them as it were, into a blind alley.

In the following discussion he joins issue on these points first with the philosophers Windelband, Rickert, Groos and Riehl, and finally with the theologians Rithl, Lipsius, Scheiße, Hermann, Reischle and Haering. Space and time forbids us to follow the author in detail.

In conclusion let me say, that he presents a fine case in favor of his position. Values are of great importance, but they must be valuable, and they are valuable only when they are found in things that exist. We value Christ highly, because He is, and is what He is; an idea of Christ may be found in our estimation, but if there is no reality back of it, then—Christ is a dream. And the whole of the beyond sinks into nothingness.

*Holland, Mich.*

NICHOLAS M. STEFFENS.

## GENERAL THEOLOGY.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute; Member of the Council of the Palestine Exploration Fund; Editor of *Dictionary of the Bible*, and *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. With the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. VOLUME III: BURIAL-CONFESSIONS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1911. 4to, pp. xvi, 901.

It is not necessary on the appearance of this third volume of Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, to describe again the general scope and character of the work. For this, the reader must be referred to the notices of the first and second volumes, printed in this REVIEW for April 1909, p. 326, and April 1910, p. 271, respectively. Suffice it to say, the third volume carries forward this great undertaking—the greatness of which is increasingly manifest as the work progresses—in the same spirit and with the same large success with which it was inaugurated in the former volumes. Some hundred and sixty-seven contributors have been at work on this volume (of whom some twenty-four are Americans) and their work is throughout painstaking and careful. The long articles in the volume are those constituting the groups on "Calendar" (80 pages), "Charms and Amulets" (80 pages), "Communion with Deity" (40 pages); "Church" (40 pages), and the long discussion—the longest single article—on "Confessions". But many others approach these in length and it is not always the longest articles which are the best. The alphabet seems to be fairly complete for the section covered, and it will be seldom that one in search of guidance on a matter of ethical or religious lore will go away from this *Encyclopaedia* disappointed.

We shall attempt only a few desultory remarks on points which have attracted our attention as we have turned over the pages of the book.

In an editorial note printed in *The Expository Times*, it is said that it is the policy of the *Encyclopaedia* to have its articles written from the inside. Accordingly we have "Christian Science" treated by a member of the sect (3 pages). No doubt, from her own point of view, the author has contributed a good article. But it sharply raises the question whether the policy of having subjects treated "from the inside" is a good one in the case of "strong delusions". If it enters into the purpose of the *Encyclopaedia* to give its readers reliable information concerning religious phenomena and trustworthy scientific guidance in estimating their significance, obviously this policy may be pushed too far. It might give us an *Encyclopaedia* of unique interest to have "Crime" treated by the greatest criminal accessible, "Falsehood" dealt with by a consummate liar, "Lunacy" by a thoroughly deranged person; but such a collection of human documents would hardly serve the purpose of scientific digests of what is known on these subjects. Why should not the readers of this *Encyclopaedia* have a sane, critical account



of the movement which calls itself "Christian Science"? The best thing about the article we are given is that it is short. It is shorter, for example, than the article on "Christianity", to which is given twenty-one pages. Proportionate emphasis in this Encyclopaedia has not always been on this side: there has been observable a tendency, which is far from unnatural, but which should, we think, be resisted, to give fuller treatment to obscure and little-known topics in the ethical and religious world, than to matters of real importance but already generally known. No doubt an Encyclopaedia is the place to record items of curious information; but surely it has a higher function also,—and it need not be misleading. We may agree, for example, that "Christianity" is seven times as important as "Christian Science", but shall we agree that "Charms and Amulets" are four times as important as Christianity? The illustration we have chanced on is a bad one; for Christianity finds treatment elsewhere than in the article specifically devoted to it—there are numerous subordinate articles on Christian subjects; the whole Encyclopaedia is filled with them—whereas "Charms and Amulets" scarcely stray out of their own article. But the general fault complained of is real.

We may as well say at once, we do not like the article on "Christianity". Not merely because we are not in full agreement with Dr. Garvie's standpoint. We are not in full agreement with it; but our disagreement with the standpoint of many other articles which we like better is greater. It seems to us a wooden article, joined together with pegs, and to jolt along very much on the surface of things. We should like to have had a non-apologetical article, "written from the inside" in the deepest sense of that phrase. Could not some Christian be found who would do for Christianity just what Miss Ramsay has done for "Christian Science"—tell positively what it is and let it speak for itself? Surely it has enough to say for itself, if it is only permitted to say it. Such an article, we take it, is Dr. Orr's article on "Calvinism". We have faults to find with this article, too; but they concern details. The substance is all here, taken up into a rich and sympathetic mind, and given out in a clear and illuminating account. The bibliographers have misled Dr. Orr as to the existence of Greek and Arabic versions of the *Institutes* (p. 147), and he himself (or his printers) may mislead his readers by a sentence in his own Bibliography like this (p. 155): "A good edition of the *Institutes* is that by Tholuck (2nd ed. 1846, re-edited by Baur, Cunitz and Reuss in 2 vols. 1869)." "Baur" is, of course, a misprint for Baum (there are other misprints in this "Literature"). But, of course, Dr. Orr did not mean to say that the Baum, Cunitz and Reuss edition of 1869 was a re-editing of Tholuck's second edition of 1846; it is simply the separate issue of the two volumes containing the *Institutes* of the Brunswick *Opera*, mentioned immediately before, but assigned to 1860-1900 instead of 1869-1900. Dr. Orr is in error in supposing that Augustine does not teach the *predestinatio bipartita* (p. 151a), in attributing the doctrine of "mediate imputation" to Calvin (150a), and supposing him to have held to an

"indefinite atonement" (p. 150b), as well as in representing the Westminster Confession as attempting a compromise "between 'Supralapsarian' and 'Sublapsarian' modes of statement—only with the result, however, of introducing inconsistency into the total presentation" (p. 154b). There are modes of statement of his own also (e. g. p. 151b, bottom of page) which are scarcely perfectly exact. But the article in its general presentation is thoroughly good.

If the editor's policy is to have the articles "written from the inside", one wonders why an American Lutheran pastor was selected to write the article on the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms (pp. 255-256). Dr Horn is a man of a fine and varied culture; but he has no particular interest in, or special knowledge of these Catechisms. The result is what might have been expected. The information given concerning them is meagre, antiquated and inaccurate. Of the extensive literature which has grown up about them, he seems to know nothing. There is not even mention made of the critical studies of Gooszen and A. Lang on the Heidelberg Catechism or of the work of Mitchell and Carruthers on the Shorter Catechism. We are still told that the Larger Catechism "was chiefly the work of Anthony Tuckney and is based on Usher's *Body of Divinity* and Wollebius' *Compendium Theologiae*", and that the "concise and severely logical answers" of the Shorter Catechism "are traced to" John Wallis,—for none of which statements is there the least justification. Nor is it true that the two Catechisms were "approved by Parliament, 15. Sept. 1648." Having said this of Dr. Horn's unfortunate article, candor compels us to go on and say that when these Catechisms come up again for treatment later in the volume, under the head of "Confessions", by a Presbyterian writer, we get very little better accounts of them. This article is by Professor W. A. Curtis of Aberdeen, and is written fluently and interestingly. As a whole, it offers a good survey of its subject. But its treatment of the Westminster Catechisms is very superficial. Dr. Curtis tells us, quite erroneously in both items, that the Larger Catechism was composed in "1647", "simultaneously with the Confession", and adds with no warrant that it was "drafted by Herbert Palmer and Anthony Tuckney"; and later connects Tuckney's and Wallis' names with the composition of the Shorter Catechism with as little justification. The accompanying account of the Westminster Assembly and Confession is no more exact. The status of the Scottish Commissioners is not clearly set forth. The protestation taken by the members is inaccurately given. Only three (instead of four) "parts of uniformity" are enumerated as constituting the work of the Assembly. It is erroneously said that the Confession was issued in 1648 by Parliament in both English and Latin (the Latin version was not issued until 1656, and then, not by Parliament and not in the Parliamentary form). It is strangely remarked that the Confession "anticipates" a modern order of topics. It is wrongly asserted that it is "strictly infralapsarian" in theology. Dr. Orr declares, as we will remember, that it unsuccessfully attempted to compromise between



"Supra-" and "Sublapasarianism." Neither is true—the Confession states the fundamental doctrine in which both parties agree and leaves this dispute untouched. The Amyraldians are spoken of as preferring the term "preterition" to "reprobation", a matter in which they had no difference with other Calvinists; and it is absurdly said that the Confession "seems to halt" "between 'particular election' and 'hypothetical universalism'"—as if all "hypothetical universalists" did not believe in "particular election". Already at p. 864 b, however, the Amyraldians are said to have taught "at variance from accepted views on 'particular' Predestination", "that the decree of Divine grace was of conditional universality." Amyraut would rise in his grave to protest, could he hear these things said of him; no one could be more emphatic in his assertions of his faith in "particular election", or "particular Predestination", and that, the *predestinatio bipartita*. Professor Curtis appears to be confusing "particular redemption" (cf. Orr, p. 150b.) with "particular election", and so de-Calvinizing the Amyraldians despite their strongest protest. The history of the "Covenant" idea is also misconceived,—but we forbear. To speak quite frankly, the treatment of the Westminster formularies by Drs. Horn and Curtis falls below the standard of accuracy which one has the right to expect in such an Encyclopaedia, and it is much to be hoped that under some such head as "Westminster Assembly and Formularies" the editor will give us later something more adequate as well as more accurate on the subject.

This volume is not rich in biographical articles. There is, of course, some account of Calvin's life and influence incorporated in Dr. Orr's "Calvinism". Then we have good but short articles—among the moderns on Bushnell, Butler, Carlyle, Chalmers, Coleridge,—the last by a Roman Catholic divine, but fair and judicious in tone. Professor Davidson of Aberdeen writes admirable articles on Cleanthes and Chrysippus. There is a careful short account of Cerinthus. The orientals are represented only by Chaitanga and Chandragupta. If we add Cecrops we have the whole list of separate biographical articles, although the articles on Cambridge Platonists and Cappadocian Theology need to be kept in mind if we would survey the whole biographical material.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

#### THE NEW SCHAFF-HERZOG ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

Based on the Third Edition of the Realencyklopädie founded by J. J. HERZOG and edited by ALBERT HAUCK. Prepared by more than six hundred scholars and specialists under the supervision of SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, D.D., LL.D., with a distinguished staff of associate and department editors. To be complete in twelve volumes, large quarto. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London. \$5. per volume in cloth. Volume IX. Petri-Reuchlin.

According to the "statistics" given by the publishers the number of

pages in this volume is 518, the number of collaborators 170, the number of topics treated 687. In the earlier pages is the usual bibliographical appendix, bringing up to date the literature of the subjects treated in the first nine volumes. There are also tables of addenda and corrigenda, and of biographical addenda, the latter showing deaths and other changes, occurring in 1910, in the case of persons whose biographies have appeared in the Encyclopedia. The effort to keep the successive volumes up to date makes its mark also on many of the articles, for example those on Portugal, Pragmatism, Psychotherapy, Religious Dramas, Religious Education Association.

A noticeable feature in the present volume is the number of articles, some of them important, that are treated by reference to other articles in the Encyclopedia. Instances are Philemon, Philippians, Postmillenarianism, Premillenarianism, Quakers. Of course, this is good method, securing for a topic adequate treatment in one place instead of inadequate treatment in several places.

Of biblical articles those on the Proverbs and the Psalms are the most important. The article on Proverbs is by Kittel. He regards the contents of the book as at least in part preëxilic, and the date of the book itself as at least as early as "the third or fourth pre-Christian century".

In his discussion of the date of the Psalms, Dr. Kittel betrays a consciousness that his reputation for loyalty to the so-called Modern View is at stake. The Psalms to such an extent presuppose the Pentateuch that one who dates Deuteronomy in Josiah's time, and the priestly legislation some generations later, is compelled to regard practically all the psalms as postexilic. For twenty years past this has been the current doctrine of critics of this type. Dr. Kittel's correct literary perceptions go far toward leading him to the old-fashioned position that David was the great originator of the Psalms, but he is reluctant to break away from the traditions in which he has been educated. Nevertheless, he raises several successive questions. Had Israel a recognized body of religious songs before the exile? Cautiously but firmly he answers this question in the affirmative. Did their preëxilic psalmody include some of our existing psalms? Yet more cautiously and somewhat less firmly, he answers this question also in the affirmative. In answer he says concerning certain of the psalms:

"When the originality and freshness of these compositions are taken into account, and also the poetic strength, it becomes difficult to attribute them to a late period."

At this point there is an editorial note in expostulation. It says that there may have been originality in Israelitish writing after the exile. The note shows that Dr. Kittel's apprehensions are not groundless. He proceeds, however, to raise other questions. Did David write religious songs? Yes, probably. Did he write some of our existing psalms? "The attribution to David of seventy-three psalms cannot be wholly without some historic basis." Dr. Kittel is also



cautious in regard to assigning any of the psalms to a very late date. He opposes the idea that some of them are as late as the first century B. C.; and while he mentions respectfully the opinion that some are of Maccabaeian date, he avoids fully committing himself to it.

In view of Dr. Kittel's reputation and ability, these utterances of his are significant. The significance does not mainly consist in the fact of his returning part way toward the older tradition, but rather in the fact that he recognizes the genuine literary values in the case, and the value of the testimony, in contrast with the merely theoretic values that enter into the criticism now in vogue. Logically, one who takes Dr. Kittel's position cannot stop short of accepting the New Testament doctrine that David is the principal author of the Psalms.

The article on the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, extending to nearly twenty columns, is as full as it is compact, with a bibliography that is remarkably complete. Of like fullness and character is the article on the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and other Forgeries.

Certain great religious words occur in this part of the alphabet—among others Polytheism, Predestination, Providence, Rationalism and Supernaturalism, Redemption, Regeneration, Religion in its General Treatment and Special Methods of Study, Religion and Literature, Philosophy of Religion, Resurrection. These articles are full, some of them very full. As a rule they are able and valuable. It is noticeable, however, that they treat religion mainly as one class of the phenomena of human habits. The idea of God as an actual Being they leave in the background, and they have still less to say of God's revealing Himself to men, or of Christ or the Holy Spirit or the Scriptures.

To illustrate by a specific instance, the article that comes nearest to being an exception to what has just been said is Dr. Zöckler's article on Polytheism. He holds that polytheism is a degeneration from monotheism, a turning away from the one true God as he makes himself known to men, and he supports this by many citations from the Scriptures. To us who believe that the Scriptures are truthful his position seems a reasonable one. We see nothing absurd in the Bible testimony to the effect that Abraham was a monotheist from the time when God called him, and that all worship of other gods by Israel was apostasy. It seems different to the scholar who supplements Dr. Zöckler's article in the encyclopedia. He repudiates this view, and by implication the scriptural testimony by which it is supported. He asserts, that there is a consensus of anthropologists and of "the entire critical school" to the effect that monotheism is an evolution from polytheism, and polytheism from animism; that Jacob was in the animistic stage; that when a monotheistic people practices polytheism it is a case of "reversion and not degeneration".

It is not by way of adverse criticism on the encyclopedia that attention is thus called to these facts. It is a correct thing for an encyclopedia to present a subject from different points of view. Our

generation is much given to the study of religion as a matter of human habit, and such study is legitimate. The fact that a dozen men, writing articles, have written mainly from this point of view does not necessarily indicate that any of them would reject the idea of God as an actual Being who reveals himself to his children. It suggests, however, certain serious questions as to the trend of much of the thinking now current. Religion loses both its truth and its power just in proportion as we come to think of God as the creation of the human mind instead of its Creator.

Religious practices and institutions are also prominent in this volume—Ecclesiastical Polity, Practical Theology, Prayer, sixty-two columns on the History of Preaching, Presbyterate, Priest and Priesthood, Ecclesiastical Property, Prophecy and the Prophetic Office, Psalmody. Equally prominent are articles on the great movements in religious history—Pharisees and Sadducees, twenty-nine columns of Pietism, Platonism and Christianity, Plymouth Brethren, Christianity in Poland, Pope, Papacy, Papal System, Positivism, seventy-seven columns on Presbyterians, Protestant Episcopalians, Protestantism, Puritans, the Reformation, the various Reformed churches. The article on Pope and Papacy, with its list of the popes, is a model of compactness and fitness for use.

The article on Pius is a series of biographies of the ten popes of that name. That on Ptolemy is an account of the fifteen Egyptian kings so named, while the Ptolemy who is distinguished as a philosopher and astronomer and chronologer is left out. Within the scope of the volume come such subjects as Phenicia and the Phenicians, Philip of Hesse, Philistines, Philo of Alexandria, Photius, Precious Stones, Prison Reform, Proselytes, Prussia, and many others equally interesting. For persons interested in religious study, the work has the character of a well selected library.

*Auburn.*

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

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### APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE ICE AGE IN NORTH AMERICA, and its Bearings upon the Antiquity of Man. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, D.D., LL.D., &c. Oberlin Ohio: Bibliotheca Sacra Company, Fifth Edition, Dec. 1910.

We can recommend this fine book to every person who desires to understand, and thereby to appreciate the natural scenery of this North American Wonderland; for all its more important characteristics bear more or less deeply the stamp of the glacial mill. Starting from one side with Greenland the book conducts you on the other side to Alaska, and leads you across the Northern continent in a serpentine way, generally between the 40th and 50th degree of latitude, explaining every feature that is explainable by the help of the ice, and you find that glaciers are like animals, born at a particular time, and under special influences, growing and at last in their "re-



cession" and ultimately dying; and during their active life themselves moving, and helping to move and change the face of the earth, and sometimes leaving behind them singular memorials of their presence and power.

After astonishing us by a description of subglacial Greenland which is found to have mighty rivers partly frozen, partly fluid, hidden out of sight far below the icy floor of the broad peninsula, and carrying water and ice-masses away to the ocean, the author takes us onward upon a transcontinental tour, telling us about Plymouth Rock, and Bunker Hill, and Martha's Vineyard, and the other New England relics of glaciation, and through Long Island, and Hell-Gate; then we are led to Trenton, and the Delaware Watergap, and round by the Great Lakes, and down the Ohio River, the whole geography being illuminated at every stage by the explanation of every point, from what we may call its "life-history" in the presence and under the influence of glaciers. And we learn of the metamorphoses of the different parts of our country, of the explanations presented by different investigators, and the pros and cons for each view that has been advocated, often with striking explanations of puzzling problems, which show that the evolution of our beautiful continent is frequently as curious as the explanations offered for the evolution of animal or vegetable species.

Very often Professor Wright makes his book a clearing-house for the different explanations offered to account for interesting phenomena. North America has been blessed with a large number of high-class geologists, and we have their views set forth, and due credit accorded for their service: so that whilst its author has been himself a good worker, and an original thinker, justice is accorded to all; and the result here reached is in most cases the consensus of the numerous specialists who have worked for the common cause.

An interesting feature in this large subject, is the considerable number of lakes which existed in glacial times, and united to form the plains and prairies, by afterwards disappearing, or becoming reduced in size. At one time Erie and Ontario were conjoined as a single lake, with no Niagara between them; Southern Canada, above what is now the Red River region, had a huge lake, recently named Lake Agassiz, and now represented by the comparatively small Lake Winnipeg; and Utah rejoiced in a Lake Bonneville (as it is now called) fully ten times as large as the Great Salt Lake. (In this connection Dr. Wright goes aside to inform us of the probability that the Dead Sea of Palestine, was somehow related to the development of glaciers in the Lebanon Mountains; and that I. C. Russell of the U. S. Geological Survey, is of opinion that some of its gravel deposits, at various elevations, are relics of the glacial period.)

Professor Wright is probably our best man for offering an opinion on the problem of human antiquity. And this must be determined in some measure by the lapse of time since the close of the ice-age; for there are evidences that man was living in America as well as in

Europe before the ice had withdrawn from the Delaware River and from the English and Scottish Highlands. Wright appeals to three classes of facts for light as to the date of the glacial period: (1) the time required for erosion, since its close, as of the Niagara gorge, which is seven miles long; (2) the extent to which lakes have been filled with sediment; (3) the apparent freshness of remains of animals and plants in glacial deposits. Dr Wright himself has been engaged in estimating the age of Niagara gorge since its beginning; and he cites the opinions of others, with the general result that Prof. N. H. Winchell gives, of approximately eight thousand years as having elapsed during post-glacial erosions of the Falls of St. Anthony, in the Upper Mississippi; Dr. Andrews estimates seven thousand five hundred years for erosion of shores of Lake Michigan; Professor Wright gives the same estimate for erosions at Lake Erie; and only seven thousand years have been required, according to Mr. G. K. Gilbert, for the erosion of Niagara. Similarly in judging by palaeolithic implements, as chipped implements from various kinds of hard rock, and skulls, thigh-bones and other parts of human skeletons. Whilst no precise estimate can be reached on such a question, it appears to me to favor a result so closely approaching what the Old Testament suggests as to be a substantial confirmation. We know that since Abraham's time somewhat more than four thousand years have elapsed; and we have no means of deciding how long it was before Abraham that man was created, just as we cannot decide as to the exact mode of his creation, whether it was or was not such as to involve some sort of Evolution. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that man may have been in existence at least as long time before Abraham as since, perhaps the Egyptian and Oriental records may point to a still longer pre-Abrahamic age. Dr. Wright does not discuss this aspect of the case, but he leads us to a conclusion which appears to us very closely in harmony with the ideas which have been reached on independent grounds from the Bible itself.

We can easily recall the time, forty or fifty years ago, when there was some controversy, even at times acrimonious, over the Bible-Science opinions; and we thought that neither side had a monopoly of the right or the wrong on these topics: but now there is substantial peace all along the line, much to the benefit of both science and the cause of the Bible. We are very largely indebted to Professor Wright for helping to bring a change for the better, and we heartily wish him much success with this new edition of his excellent book.

*Princeton.*

GEORGE MACLOSKIE.

PSYCHIC PHENOMENA, SCIENCE AND IMMORTALITY. By HENRY FRANK.  
Boston: Sherman French and Company. 1911. \$2.25 net.

Here we have what might be an entertaining and profitable book, if it had a right setting; all about body and its components, plasms, and cells, and infinitesimal corpuscles, and their inter-relations with ether,



and emanations, lower and lower in the order of vanishing into smallness; with theories annexed as to their relations to life and spirit, and soul, and hearing, seeing, thinking and willing; rather clumsily mixed in one part with demi-science about table-turning, and telepathy, and ghosts and such stuff; but on the whole done carefully, with a knack of happily expressing what has been got from great speculators.

The setting, however, is horrible; soul as well as body, are presented as material entities or their derivates; even human will as only the etherial waves; and after the wonders are eloquently detailed, the writer faces the question of their Author, and declares that it is only ignorant persons who conclude that they demonstrate the superintending activity of a Supreme Being. For his part he cannot accept this solution, as the Agent so described cannot be found in the chemical or biological laboratory. In another part he bravely declares his conviction that Nature cannot fail; and follows this up by showing how terribly it has failed with ourselves, filling our little life with disappointment and dismay: and he even confesses that if he were questioned as to the desirability of immortality, he would answer negatively; and thus he gives away the subject and title of his book, concluding that immortality is doubtful at best, with the probabilities against it, and that at all events, it is of small importance whether we shall exist after death or not.

*Princeton.*

G. MACLOSKIE.

MODERN THOUGHT AND TRADITIONAL FAITH. By GEORGE PRESTON MAINS. Pp. xxi, 279. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Copyright, 1911. Price \$1.50 net.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE MODERN MIND. By SAMUEL MCCOMB, co-author of "Religion and Medicine" and "The Christian Religion as a Healing Power"; author of "The Making of the English Bible". Pp. xvi, 343. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1910.

THE FAITH AND MODERN THOUGHT. Six Lectures by WILLIAM TEMPLE, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Pp. xi, 172. Macmillan & Co., Limited: St. Martin's Street, London. 1910.

Modernism, in the strict sense, is a movement within the Roman Catholic Church, but it has a near equivalent among Protestants in "modern thought" or "the modern mind". This rather vague but formidable abstraction, like the spiritual man of Scripture, judgeth all things but is judged by no man. Certainly the adjective "modern", as these volumes and others of similar title show, is at present a favorite one with author and publisher (Dr. Mains is both), and holds out to the prospective buyer or reader the alluring promise of something new. We all wish to be up-to-date in our thinking as well as in apparel, and it is necessary to know the "spring styles" in theology which are said to originate in Berlin just as the fashions in men's and women's attire are dictated from London and Paris.

Such books as these before us are intended to interpret theological opinion rather than to form it. Dr. Mains says that in dealing with critical questions he acts "far more in the capacity of a reporter than

as an original investigator"; while Dr. McComb declares his function to be "that of a kind of theological middleman, who would mediate to thoughtful but non-academic persons the main conclusions about the origin and meaning of the Christian religion, to which the general body of scholars have come or are coming". The rôle of prophet has of course its risks, and even the reporter of what Dr. Mains calls "the general consensus of devout and special scholarship" is in some danger of regarding a debate as closed just when the special scholarship in question realizes that it must be re-opened. While there is no claim in these volumes to any great degree of unity, to depth of research, or to any well organized body of thought, yet each of them deserves and will repay careful reading. Dr. Mains's manner is rhetorical and at times a little repetitious; Dr. McComb writes with the polished pen of a trained essayist; while Mr. Temple's lectures preserve the direct and pointed style of the spoken appeal.

Dr. Mains feels that he has a message for his own denomination, in which there has not as yet been reached "a desirable adjustment to the critical movement". Recalling the broad and tolerant scholarship of its founder, he utters a warning cry against the organization of Methodism "into an ecclesiasticism repressive of, not to say menacing to, the spirit of freest intellectual investigation on the part of its teaching faculties, its ministry, and its scholarly laity". In the opening chapters he sketches in a rapid but luminous way the intellectual movements of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and more recent times, which have created what is called modern thought. The central chapters are taken up with an account of Biblical criticism and its results; and the author tells of the modification of his own opinions, and of the "great mental restfulness" which he has found through his study of the critic. Genesis, he believes, "in its compilation and present form is one of the most recent books of the Old Testament"; the narratives of its early chapters are "borrowed from the older traditions of Babylon"; patriarchal events "are clothed more in a traditional than in an historic drapery;" Isaiah, as seems indubitable, "cannot be the work of a single author, but was the product of different and of distinct periods"; the critical process "is just as certainly of divine purpose as was the selection and installation of the books themselves, or the preservation of their text in its integrity;" and the "documentary theory of the Old Testament" is comparable in the method of its establishment and in the improbability of its ever being displaced with the laws of planetary motion formulated by Kepler. In the New Testament field Dr. Mains finds that critical conclusions are more in agreement with tradition. While doubts are expressed as to the authorship of James, 11 Peter and Jude, and as to whether the Fourth Gospel was written by John or merely contains his teachings, we are assured, that "as to the genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels there is substantial unanimity of opinion"; that the authors of the New Testament "have given us genuine and faithful portrayal of the teachings of both Christ and his apostles"; and that "the New Testament as a whole gives us an



unimpeachable record of the vital beginnings of Christian history". Many readers will find in Dr. Mains' critical views taken as a whole a certain lack of homogeneity or consistency, not conducive to mental restfulness. Has not Dr. Cheyne, to take an extreme example, recently said (in the *Hibbert Journal*): "The 'Twelve Apostles,' too, are to me . . . as unhistorical as the seventy disciples"? It is not clear that we can continue to hold the New Testament and its history intact, and yet dissolve the Old Testament history so largely into myth. In his closing chapters Dr. Mains writes with enthusiasm and sometimes with eloquence of the meaning and growth of the kingdom, and the influence of Christ upon the modern age. "Christ is not a literary creation." "He was not a child of evolution. He is the Lord of life who himself directed the very process of evolution." "The most luminous light spot in this surge of modern thought, the center to which converge the most serious interests and the profoundest thinking of our times, is that which is marked by the cross of Jesus Christ." "From every Calvary and every sepulchre prepared by his foes Christ has emerged with richer laurels and with a more fully acknowledged sovereignty."

Dr. McComb has made a readable and attractive book by bringing together, with no very strong thread of connection but with every evidence of wide reading and serious reflection upon the subjects treated, some essays published in periodicals, with the addition of several new chapters. He discusses both the difficulties which the modern mind finds in Christianity and the help which it brings to the understanding of it. As was to be expected, he emphasizes the mission of Christianity to promote health and happiness and to abolish oppressive social conditions. While he argues for the Resurrection as alone accounting for the growth and influence of the Church, his modernism appears in the treatment of the Gospel miracles, which he can accept only in case some modern scientific analogy can be found. Thus the cure of the demoniac of Gerasa, "a sad crux for the commentators", is thought to be relieved from difficulties when it is discovered to be a plain case of hysteria. The sufferer, convinced that the evil powers which have ruled him are about to depart into the swine, "is caught in a final paroxysm. He utters piercing cries. His gestures are wild and terrifying. Some animals, catching sight of him, stampede, communicate their panic to the rest, and they all blindly rush to their death." We wonder whether the animal psychologists would think the occurrence to be "in harmony with analogy", especially as it happened at the precise moment when the man (and Jesus himself, we are told) thought that the demons were entering the swine. The chapters on prayer are suggestive, although the case for prayer is scarcely strengthened when in the search for analogy the author seemingly reduces intercessory prayer to a matter of thought transference between human beings. The closing chapter discusses the motive for missions as it is felt in the Church to-day, and finds that it consists in a sense of debt to give to others what we enjoy, in a belief in the universality of the Gospel ("If the Gospel is not a message for all

men, it is a message for no man"), and in its utility as the only means whereby not so much the individual as the race and its civilization and progress can be saved. We may compare another statement of the missionary motive in Dr. Mackenzie's recent book, "The Final Faith": "This fact of the Incarnation concerns all men infinitely more even than food and drink. It must be the will of God that it should be known to all men."

Mr. Temple, in his little book of lectures, is very bold in defense of the faith. His thesis is that "this ideal of reason [the demand for coherence] and the facts of experience stand over against one another in hopeless and irreconcilable antagonism unless all the essential points of the whole of dogmatic Christianity are true." As an evidence for theistic belief Mr. Temple emphasizes the argument from religious experience. But experience, our own or that of others, is a precarious basis for our faith unless supported by objective fact. We need the historic fact of the life and character of Christ. The exquisite flower of His character is an evidence of the nature of the root-principle of reality. But are we sure that the governing Power of the world is more interested in this instance of spiritual pre-eminence than in any other being? "If we are to be on sure ground in taking Him as the revelation of the Divine, it is necessary that the Divine Power should be seen clearly coöperating with Him, carrying Him through His ultimate self-surrender and bringing Him out victorious. We need the Resurrection." The candor and directness of the argument wins the reader's confidence. He feels, as is suggested in the Introduction, that he is following a guide who knows his way up the mountain, although there may be other paths by which the ascent may be made. Not every reader of the interesting chapter on "The Atonement and the Problem of Evil" will agree, however, that the lecturer, even "by a wise use of the conceptions of Personality and Evolution, which play so large a part in our modern thought", has been able to solve the mystery of the Atonement or has sounded the depths of the great doctrines of Paul and of John.

Modern science and culture have raised many difficult and, to some, distressing questions about the details or even the fundamentals of the Christian faith, but the study of the relation of Christianity to the "modern mind" inspires in all three of our authors a feeling of reverent wonder that the Teacher of Nazareth should after nineteen centuries more than ever dominate the thought and guide the progress of the world. The influence of Jesus, says Dr. Mains, is the miracle of history, and he can account for it only on the hypothesis of the Divine Sonship; while Mr. Temple believes that "apart from the doctrines of the Incarnation and of the Spirit, the whole experience of Christendom is absolutely unintelligible."

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WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

ORPHEUS, a General History of Religions, from the French of Salomon Reinach by FLORENCE SIMMONS, Revised by the Author. New



York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: William Heinemann. 1909.  
pp. xiv, 439. \$3.00 net.

M. Reinach is well known to the students of the phenomenology of religions by his *Cultes, mythes et religions*, 3 vols., Paris, 1904-1908, and by his contributions to the journals devoted to the subject. The volume at present under review, in its English translation, deserves attention because of the discussion which the publication of the French original aroused on the continent and because of the indisputable learning of the author. While no account can be given here of the numerous controversial articles which it called forth in the appropriate journals, J. Bricout's *L'histoire des religions et la foi chrétienne, à propos de l'Orpheus*, Paris, 1910 and P. Batiffol's *Orpheus et l'évangile*, Paris, 1910, may be mentioned among the monographs which seriously take issue with M. Reinach's facts as well as with his construction of the history of religions. His learning is sufficiently established by the comprehensive bibliography with which each of the twelve chapters is furnished; and the captions of the chapters display a wide range of subjects. The captions must needs be various; for M. Reinach calls his book *Orpheus* merely to invoke the patronage of the son of Apollo and a Muse who was "poet, musician, theologian, mystagogue, authorized interpreter of the gods", while he really regards it, as the sub-title rather leads us to anticipate, as "a little book destined to summarize religions and their histories". This is no easy task, particularly as M. Reinach does not intend to follow the example of Conrad von Orelli and Chantepie de la Saussaye in omitting Christianity from the history of religions. He sees no reason for isolating Christianity. "It has fewer adherents than Buddhism; it is less ancient." And the task is no easier because M. Reinach designs to be popular. Even a due admiration for Voltaire's "incomparable gifts as a narrator" will not make it easy. No doubt the translator has been well advised in omitting from the preface the plea for popularity which the French edition makes, "J'affirme aux mamans qu'elles peuvent donner ce livre à leurs filles, pour peu que la lumière de l'histoire ne les effraie pas", and the promise some day, if the public is kind, to provide "une édition plus complète—pour les mamans". If the task which M. Reinach sets himself is not easy, he has himself made it impossible by his definition of religion. Religion, he says, (p. 3) is, "A sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties" (Un ensemble de scrupules qui font obstacle au libre exercice de nos facultés). And the next paragraph promptly though innocently admits that the author need write no further; for it asserts that his definition "eliminates from the fundamental concept of religion, God, spiritual beings, the infinite, in a word, all we are accustomed to consider the true objects of religious sentiment", that is to say, it eliminates from the fundamental concept of religion precisely the fundamental concept of religion, the concept of a superior spiritual Other. This is not a minimum definition of religion: it is no

definition of religion at all. It may be brilliant and even shocking—it is nevertheless useless. Taylor's definition of religion as "a belief in spiritual beings", which Reinach criticizes, is at least a definition of religion. Religion without the concept of a spiritual Other or others, whose existence is presupposed—whether it is real or not, is another question—is not religion. As modest a book as F. B. Jevons' *The Idea of God in Early Religions*, issued from the Cambridge University Press in 1910, might be of no inconsiderable value to M. Reinach. There is no possible objection to M. Reinach's attempting to write a natural history of religion, but any attempt which does not realize that the essence of religion is a belief, whether right or wrong, in superhuman spiritual beings, is foredoomed to failure. Our author next remarks that "scruple" is too vague a word and somewhat over-secular. *Taboo* is better. Religion is a sum of *taboos*, a compilation of all the barriers opposed to the destructive and sanguinary appetites of men; it is, moreover, a heritage transmitted to man by beast. And it is not the only one; nor is religion, we are surprised to learn after M. Reinach's concise definition, summed up in *taboos*. Animism must be added. Animals are animists. So are men and their animism is a part of their religion. It is difficult to stretch the previously propounded definition of religion to include animism and we must be content with the declaration (p. 7), "Animism on the one hand, and *taboos* on the other, such are the essential factors of religion." They are the essential factors, but they are not the only ones. Totemism and magic, though less primitive, have been no less general in their action. M. Reinach is tireless in the pursuit of *totems*. The fish is an ancient Syrian *totem*. The practice of eating sacred fish to sanctify themselves was adopted by the early Christians. "The eating of the sacred fish was a primitive form of the Eucharistic meal"—such is his historical method. M. Reinach now addresses himself to the detection of his fundamental factors in the historic religions. He passes in review the Egyptians, Babylonians and Syrians, the Aryans, Hindus and Persians, the Greeks and Romans, the Celts, Germans and Slavs, the Chinese, Japanese, Mongolians, Finns, Africans, Oceanians and Americans, the Musulmans, the Hebrews, Israelites and Jews, and finds among all of them evidence that *taboos*, animism, totemism and magic are the somewhat misty and inchoate depths out of which their religions rise. Indeed, the chief service of *Orpheus* to ethnological science is in connection with its display of *survivals* in the more developed religions. It need hardly be re-affirmed, however, that neither the discovery of these *survivals*, nor even the demonstration that these peoples have passed through periods of religious history in which *taboos*, animism, totemism and magic were important factors, can ever by any possibility serve to justify M. Reinach's definition of religion. The problem of Christian origins (chap. 8) is then approached. Here the Abbé Loisy is his most frequently cited authority. The succeeding chapters deal with four epochs of Christian history: from St. Paul to Justinian, from Justinian to Charles V, from Luther to the



Encyclopedia, from the Encyclopedia to the condemnation of Modernism. In M. Reinach's estimation these are the sign-posts of the "infinitely curious products of man's imagination and of man's reason in its infancy" (p. vii), but M. Reinach has grown up and lost his way.  
*Princeton.* HAROLD McA. ROBINSON.

TRUTH IN RELIGION. STUDIES IN THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN CERTAINTY.  
 By DUGALD MACFADYEN, M.A. Macmillan & Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London. 1911.

"This book aims at setting in relation to one another, two movements which threaten to divide christian thought in England; but which together ought to issue in a great strengthening of its hold upon the public mind. One is a movement towards the use of larger generalizations and wider categories in religious thought. It is largely in the hands of men trained in the methods of science who see that in the debate between science and religion, religion commands the fuller truth, and owns the larger categories. The other movement is toward more exact study and more careful definition of Christian experience; and clear vision of the historic facts on which that experience rests.

The line of reconciliation suggested is that the first movement may be welcomed as an expansion and enlargement of the truth on which all spiritual religion rests. The second movement is a definition of the exact contribution to religion which comes through Jesus Christ and creates the specific Christian experience. The first movement emphasizes the Incarnation, the second centers around the Atonement.

The first section traces the action of the consciousness of God in the race. Its object is to outline the categories which the religious mind brings to Jesus Christ, and is intended to suggest that His life, teaching, death and rising again, are a final answer to the perennial questions which the human spirit asks about life in its relation to God. The conclusion of the section is that the universality and potency of religion finds its best explanation in the declaration of our Lord that the world is really a Kingdom of God.

The Second Section deals exclusively with the place and function which religion assigns to Jesus Christ. This is necessarily critical of any estimate which sets Him in any history or theory other than a history of religion. Its purpose is to point out that we must bring to the Person and Life of Christ the postulates which belong to the history of religion. We must deal with man as we find him—as a being in whom the consciousness of God is a fact, in whose history that consciousness is a supreme factor, a being to whom sin is a reality, and in whose experience the knowledge of a Redeemer, and the experience of an upholding and perfecting Divine Life is one of Life's chief necessities."

This extended quotation from the preface is given, since the author has there most admirably outlined all that he attempts to do. The task which he has set before him is a very large one and naturally the time and space at his disposal have been greatly limited; but in

this volume, while we find no exhaustive consideration of the subject and no demonstration of the truths for which the author contends, yet there is much, there is very much, to stimulate thought and to aid the reader in looking at Spiritual truth from a new and fresh view point. The book is divided into three parts. First—"The Historical Method in Religion"; second—"Facts and Factors in Religion"; and, third—"The Gospel is Jesus Christ."

In the first part Mr. Macfadyen notes the advantage which the student now possesses in the historical method of studying religion, and all the wealth of material which recent study has brought to light, and then goes on to show how religion has been liberated from the burden of subjection to other masters. Religion had been made a department of philosophy and cramped into the narrow forms and categories of systems of thought. From this it is now happily freed by the realization that in "its sphere it is autonomous. The facts with which it deals belong to the deepest sphere of reality which comes within our knowledge." Then follows a discussion of the relation of faith to history as illustrated in different modern teachers and after a short note on the rise and fall of religion comes a very important discussion of the categories of religion.

The author's contention is that "comparative religion supplies the student with a number of terms and ideas belonging to the history of the relations of God and man as they have been conceived from time to time, such as priest, prophet, Son of God—holiness . . . redemption . . . justification, etc. . . . Ideas of this order are the categories of religion." And so "religious criticism must deal with these or similar categories employing a relationship between man and God." That is, all religions and Christianity in particular must be studied from this point of view with these characteristics of man understood and appreciated. No general denial of any of these or similar categories can serve as a basis for any fair or profitable study. We are told to note that "Jesus does not offer himself historically as a character: He offers himself in history as a Saviour." All His teaching and all His ethics are from this view point and from this they must be judged.

Truth in religion may be considered in many ways but the best test is whether it produces the true fruits of religion "to interpret truly God's relation to man and to bring man into a right relation with God." This part closes with a few words on orientation and on religious experience.

By this first section the way has thus been cleared for the consideration of the religion of Jesus on the basis of the categories common to all religions and as dealing with truth vital to the life of man and not to be arbitrarily bounded by theories of philosophy. The method of study is that of the religious nature of man in race and individual.

Under the "Facts and Factors" in religion the author briefly discusses religious personality, illumination, personality and conscious-



ness, the background of personality the Mystic Experience of God and the Natural and Moral orders. He only has time to touch on these as they bear on the greater theme. Then he turns to historical religions and the religion of Israel and shows how the religious consciousness of the people was awakened and ever widened. The classic religions are all recognized as being founded on some revelation of God but their weaknesses are clearly shown. The author in his summary of this part says: "We find man endowed with a nature which fits him to enter into fuller relations with God—capable of receiving God. We find God so revealing Himself in history that we may expect continuous revelation in days to come. It is His nature and His character to make Himself known." The historic meeting-point of human inspiration and divine revelation is Jesus Christ.

There is neither time nor opportunity in this place to even outline the author's admirable manner of showing how the historic Jesus Christ is the perfect fulfillment of all that man has longed and hoped for and is the perfect and all satisfying revelation of God to man. Particularly helpful is the section on the appeal of Jesus to man, but all through is the evidence of deep thought and a deep spirituality. Naturally many will not agree with some of the conclusions reached by the author, but the view point and the method call for much praise.

In the brief compass of this book are to be found very many thoughts on the whole round of theological truth. Many are only suggestions not yet fully considered or amplified, many seem to be in little apparent relation to the rest of the discussion; but the book is so well written, its spirit is so irenic while it remains ever loyal to the Master, that it deserves a wide and thoughtful reading.

*Cranford.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

THE GLEAM. By HELEN R. ALBEE, author of "Hardy Plants for Cottage Gardens," "Mountain Playmates," etc. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1911. \$1.35 net.

Autobiography, if true and directly told, is always interesting to any thoughtful student of human nature. That history of a life which deals with the awakening of a human soul and describes its search after truth may well merit our sympathetic study. "The Gleam" claims to be such an autobiography. It sketches the search of the authoress for spiritual certainty. Orthodoxy fails to give relief; certain branches of science also prove useless; but finally there comes a direct consciousness of the influence of the Spirit and with it the awakening of the Higher Self.

The strength of the book is in its manifest sincerity. The style is clear and the subject matter made interesting. The weakness, on the other hand, is also very noticeable. The attempt to found spiritual instruction for others on the peculiar psychical experiences of an abnormal personality cannot prove successful.

Most of the readers of this work will have neither the artistic tem-

perament nor the extreme mystical tendency expressed by the writer. Most people who think are very unwilling to commit their religious life to the safe keeping of inward feelings and to a confidence in their own inherent greatness. The criticism of the orthodox position as made by Mrs. Albee is to some extent justified. There are cold churches and there is far too much formalism. But it still seems that most of these criticisms arise from a spirit of real ignorance of the inherent truths which underlie all our Theology—a sinful fallen race and a salvation through God alone. This is and must ever remain foolishness to all those who are ruled by the Spirit of the Greeks, to all who worship mankind and expect such salvation, as is needed, to arise from within man himself.

*Cranford.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

THE ETERNAL RIDDLE. By JOHN WIRT DUNNING. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. \$1.20 net.

Sixteen of the greatest questions that can confront the mind of man are here considered and briefly but very helpfully answered. With a spirit deeply religious and conservative and yet wideawake and progressive Mr. Dunning leads the thought of his readers to strong, healthy, and inspiring convictions on such great subjects as the nature of man, his immortality, God, suffering, the Bible, prayer and the opportunity and conditions of Salvation. The book is popular in style, abounding in illustration, but still thoughtful and convincing. The most conservative may fail to agree with certain minor points, but the whole work is so full of the Spirit of the Gospel that it can only prove helpful and refreshing to all who are fortunate enough to read it.

*Cranford.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

THE VOLITIONAL ELEMENT IN KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF and Other Essays in Philosophy and Religion. By DELO CORYDON GROVER, S.T.B., Dean of Scio College, Professor of Philosophy and Religion. Introduction by FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL, D.D., LL.D., President De Pauw University. 8vo; pp. ix, 168. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. \$1.20 net.

These essays, seventeen in number, are exceedingly, we had almost said, excessively brief; but there is not one of them that is not worth while. The wide range of subjects treated is indicated by such titles as "The Higher Criticism," "The Theological Education demanded by the Times of Jesus," "In Christ," "The Philosophy of Christian Prayer," "The Bible—What is claimed for It," "Origin of the New Testament and the Fixing of the Canon," "A Brief Examination of Spencer's Definition of Evolution." These and the remaining papers are written consistently from the Arminian position; but they would and do magnify the guilt and pollution of sin, the grace of God in Christ, and the supernaturalness and consequent authority of the



Scriptures. Some of the author's conclusions are as important as they are sound. Such, for example, is that with which he closes his paper on "The Theological Education demanded by the Times"; viz., "The doors of the theological school should be wide open; the doors of the Christian ministry should be well guarded."

The first essay, which is on "The Volitional Element in Knowledge and Belief," both gives the title to the volume as a whole and presents the philosophy on which its several papers are based. This philosophy is in the main that of Prof. James in "The Will to Believe" and especially that of Prof. Bowne in "The Theory of Thought and Knowledge." With much in this philosophy we find ourselves in accord, but from what is most characteristic of it we cannot too strongly dissent. It is true that faith and feeling are often inseparable; but it is not always the case; as Dr. Chas. Hodge says (Sys. Theol. III, p. 51), "when the object of faith is a speculative truth, or some historical event past or future; or when the evidence or testimony on which faith is founded is addressed only to the understanding and not to the conscience or our emotional or religious nature, then faith does not involve feeling." It is also true that feeling has much influence in determining our faith: "but it is not so of all kinds even of religious faith; there is belief of which, as in the case of a dead orthodoxy, it is not the fact that love or congeniality is an element. And, finally, it is true that saving faith always involves the will to believe: but this will is not that which is ultimate in such faith; the Christian wishes and wills to believe on Christ as his Saviour, but the reason why he so believes is not in his inclination or even in his resolution, but in the evidence that Christ is his Saviour, even "the witness of the Spirit" within him. In a word, faith is a voluntary conviction. This, however, is not the essence of it. It is a voluntary conviction produced by testimony; it is consent constrained by evidence: and this may evince its primacy by compelling consent against inclination. We cannot believe without the will as consent, but we may and often must believe against the will as inclination. That is, while the subjective element by itself explains the unbelief in Christ of those to whom he has been presented, saving faith in him demands an objective cause. We do not believe on him only or chiefly because we wish and will to, but we wish and will to because, in view of the revelation which he has made to us who believe of Himself, it would be irrational not to do so. In a word, "the final consummation does not rest with the human will", but with the revealing and enabling God.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE UNCAUSED BEING AND THE CRITERION OF TRUTH. To which is appended an examination of the views of Sir Oliver Lodge concerning the ether of space. By E. Z. DERR, M.D., Author of "Evolution versus Involution." 8vo; pp. vii, 110. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. \$1.00 net.

It is refreshing in this age of indifference and often of avowed

hostility to metaphysics to find a writer who, as the author of this little volume, is nothing if not metaphysical, and whose metaphysic is invariably clear, sound and impressive.

Dr. Derr's aim is twofold; first, to prove the necessity of an "Uncaused Being" and, second, to establish a "criterion of truth". His argument for an Uncaused Being is, that if anything exists, an Uncaused Being exists; that the world exists; and that the world itself can not be the Uncaused Being: for inasmuch as the atoms or ultimate elements of the universe are in motion, it can not be a continuum, it can not be as large, consequently, as if it were a continuum, and hence it can not be infinite and so uncaused; and, on the other hand, no more may we say that the world is the uncaused being, if we regard it pantheistically, for that would mean that we, though only parts of the great whole or God, were comprehending and so judging him, and this would violate the *a priori* and so necessary axiom that the whole is greater than the parts. That is, unless the universe is a caused thing like man himself, it can not offer, as it does, a legitimate field of conquest for the human mind. In a word, we can not entertain the idea of cosmic evolution without violating an axiomatic truth. To be reasonable, therefore, we must hold to a First and Infinite and so Uncaused Cause; and while we can know him only in so far as he reveals himself to us, we must conceive of him as at least personal, intelligent, conscious and free—as at least all that dignifies us, who are most like him, only without limitation.

As to "the criterion of truth", the author finds it in "the concordance between pure or *a priori* conceptions of the understanding and sense perception." Whatever will not stand this test in both respects, he would reject; whatever will, he would accept.

It is evident at once that such a discussion as the above must reckon with the pluralism of Prof. James and with Sir Oliver Lodge's teaching that the ether is a continuum and that universal space is a plenum of it. This Dr. Derr does; and his criterion, though brief, is effective and even adequate.

We regard this little book as a valuable addition to our literature in fundamental apologetics.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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## EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT IN VERBINDUNG MIT DER REDAKTION DER "BIBLISCHEN STUDIEN" herausgegeben von DR. JOH. GÖTTSCHEBER, Professor des Alttestamentl. Exegese in München und DR. JOS. SICKENBERGER, Professor der Neutestamentl. Exegese in Breslau. Siebter Jahrgang. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. St. Louis, No. 17 South Broadway: B. Herder. 1909. 4 Hefte pp. 440. By mail \$3.00.

Our announcement of the seventh year's issue of the *Biblische*



*Zeitschrift* is somewhat belated. The able manner in which the periodical continues to be conducted and the interesting répertoire which it again offers to its readers in this volume certainly deserve the fullest notice that can be given to any scientific theological publication, no matter whether published in the interest of Protestant or Catholic convictions. A mere glance at the table of contents of these four *Hefte* will show how varied and up-to-date the contributions are. We find here such articles as the following: The Bible-Canon of Flavius Josephus; the Genealogy of Jesus according to St. Luke; On the Number Seven of the Diaconate in the Mother-church at Jerusalem; The Name Mirjam; Aretas IV, King of the Nabataeans; a historico-exegetical study on II Cor. xi. 32 ff. and many others of an equally important and timely character. The only criticism we could wish to offer as to the makeup of the *Zeitschrift* is the one we have made before, viz. that it seems to avoid the discussion of more strictly doctrinal or even biblico-theological problems, as the enumeration of the above titles, which is fairly representative of the entire table of contents of the volume before us, will easily show. Can this have anything to do with the absolutely fixed doctrinal position of the Roman Church, which would leave room for freer movement only in the fields of literary history, and archaeological research? None the less we can heartily recommend the perusal of this periodical to Protestant readers. The time is surely past when the old adage was true *Catholica non leguntur*. A very careful bibliography to which an alphabetical index of all the authors discussed is appended, renders the volume highly valuable as an aid in Biblical study independently of its own contents.

Princeton,

GEERHARDUS VOS.

ANNALES DE TUKUTH-NINIP II, ROI 'D ASSYRIE 889-884, par V. Scheil avec la collaboration de J.- Et. Gautier. Ouvrage illustré de 2 héliogravures et 8 planches. Paris: Honoré Champion. 1909. 62 pp. Prix 7.50 frs. (Le 178<sup>e</sup> fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.)

In view of the fact that no remarkable "finds" have as yet been announced by the German excavators at Assur, although it is reported that much valuable material has been discovered, M. Scheil's enthusiastic conclusion of the Preface of this volume "On peut dire sans emphase que de longtemps n' a été faite en Assyrie une découverte plus remarquable, plus digne d'enrichir le Musée du Louvre" is well warranted. When we recall that in "The Annals of the Kings of Assyria" (1902), the editors, Budge and Kink were only able to say: "Adad-nirari II was succeeded by his son Tukuth-Ninib II, who reigned from B. C. 890 to B. C. 885; but of the reign of this king we know nothing and his fame rests upon the fact that he was the father of Ashur-nasir-pal the Great", there is indeed cause for rejoicing when a part even of the annals of this king are discovered.

The greater part of this tablet which contains c. 150 lines is taken up with an account of a military expedition in which the king "made a circuit of that part of Mesopotamia which is bounded by the Tartar, Tigris, Euphrates and Khabur". Several other previous expeditions are alluded to with more or less brevity. Whether the editors are correct in affirming that this expedition was the sixth and whether the *na'-di ilu* governor of Commogene in whose eponym it took place is to be identified with the *Ya-ri-i* of the Eponym Canon are questions which will probably not be definitely settled until further records are brought to light. The value of the tablet is as Schiffer (Gött. gel. Anz. 1911, Heft 1. s. 14f) points out chiefly of an historical and geographical nature, although as in the Annals of Ashur-Nasir-pal we find some data of interest to the philologist.

It is clear that the editing of this tablet, a task which was attended with considerable difficulty, because so much time and pains had first to be devoted to cleaning the tablet, was a labor of love on the part of the editors. The photographic reproduction, transcription and transliteration and translation, together with the notes, itineraries and chart are admirably executed. And M. Scheil and M. Gautier are to be congratulated on the success attending their efforts to make scholars everywhere acquainted with and to give them access to this new treasure of the Louvre.

Princeton.

OSWALD T. ALLIS.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL QUESTION IN THE GOSPELS AND OTHER STUDIES IN RECENT NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By the Rev. CYRIL W. EMMET, M.A., Vicar of West Hendred. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George St. 1911. 8vo, pp. vii, 239. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50 net.

Of the seven essays which make up this volume, six were published before in various periodicals. New is the opening essay on The Eschatological Question in the Gospels, and both in point of size and timeliness it deserves the first place given it by the author. It is an attempt to show the weakness and fancifulness of the interpretation of the life of Jesus, which in his remarkable book *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* Schweitzer has recently propounded on the basis of what he calls the principle of "thoroughgoing eschatology". It is not in itself a difficult task to expose the glaring defects of this structure and the arbitrariness of the process by which it was reared. The faults are so obvious that exposure might even seem superfluous. But it should be remembered that they are covered up to the uncritical reader by the magnificent stylistic features of Schweitzer's book. Moreover the hyper-eschatological interpretation of Jesus' career is so introduced in this book as to seem the inevitable correlate of the lengthy preceding critique of the liberal Life-of-Jesus literature; a critique so incisive and convincing that it has earned the author just praise even from quarters where the "thoroughgoing eschatology" is not exactly in favor. Not only Father Tyrrell, who swallowed the whole theory,



but men of far more critical and cautious temper, such as Burkitt and Sanday, own their indebtedness to Schweitzer's book. In view of all this a real danger exists that out of admiration for the splendid historical critique, the crude wild theorizing which the brilliant German author has so closely linked with it, will receive more serious consideration than it should and would receive were it offered by itself. Consequently Mr. Emmet performs no superfluous task in carrying Schweitzer's critique one step further and including in it the "thoroughgoing eschatology"-stage itself. After first giving a succinct but extremely lucid and thoroughly fair exposition of the hypothesis to be criticized, he applies to it the usual exegetical and historical tests and finds it wanting in both respects. He further contends, with much force, that the Christ of "thoroughgoing eschatology" is unfit to figure as the ideal and inspirer of historic Christianity, and that the little that might be gained by this new interpretation of his life (such as e. g. the direct derivation of the idea of the church and the sacraments from his teaching) would be bought at an altogether disproportionate cost, seeing that the theory makes Christ himself a deluded visionary and his whole career a tragic failure.

Emmet throws back upon Schweitzer the charge which the latter so persistently makes against the liberal biographies of Jesus, viz., that they read too much between the lines of the Gospel-tradition, especially as found in Mark, and psychologize too much in weaving the single items together. He has no difficulty in showing that Schweitzer is equally guilty of both these faults. It is, however, hardly fair to characterize this as inconsistency. The two cases are not alike. There is this difference that, while Schweitzer openly acknowledges his work to be a mere experimenting upon the data, the writers in the liberal camp would have us regard their work in the light of scientifically constructed biography. The latter assume the interlinear meaning and the psychology to be somehow suggested or intended by the sources themselves. To this delusion Schweitzer is not subject; he knows that the ideas which bind the parts together are of his own devising. Of course it remains quite possible that the psychology of the liberals may in individual instances prove more correct and better to fit in with the tradition than the psychology of the extreme eschatologists. An illustration of this is furnished by Emmet's discussion of the element of secrecy in the Messianic self-presentation of Jesus. The earlier writers explain this from the desire of Jesus to keep his person and work free from all association with the political Messiahship. Wrede gives a literary explanation, finding in these features the dim reminiscence in the tradition, or in the mind of the Evangelist of the fact that Jesus had not been the Messiah during his life-time. The eschatologists, and especially Schweitzer, claim all this material in the interest of the mystery attaching to the eschatological Messiahship as something inherent in and inseparable from the conception, as part of the whole apocalyptic, transcendental frame of mind, by which they

think Jesus was dominated. Now, in order to preclude the older explanation from the outset, Schweitzer goes to the extreme of denying the existence of a politically-colored Messianic hope at the time of Jesus. If such a hope did not exist, then the secrecy practiced by Jesus cannot have been induced by it. But Emmet argues forcibly that there is no reason to assume the political Messianic hope to have been dead or dormant at that juncture in Jewish history, and that consequently it is quite permissible from a historical point of view to bring the phenomena of secrecy into connection with it. One might, however, well add the caution that sweeping, all-inclusive explanations should be avoided here as elsewhere. Wrede made the mistake of lumping all the instances of secrecy and quasi-secrecy together, and forcing them all to conform to his peculiar hypothesis. The older writers were perhaps equally unwarranted in attributing everything in the nature of secrecy to a recoil from the political Messiahship. In all probability a variety of motives were at play and some of the secrecy was actually due to the mysterious atmosphere which naturally accompanies the transcendental eschatological Messiahship. Especially into the use of the Son-of-Man title this seems to have entered. Mr. Emmet himself admits that the two traditions in regard to the Messiahship, the political and the eschatological, were alive and active side by side in Jesus' day. And it is at any rate significant, that, while silently rejecting the former, our Lord appears in no wise to have shunned or criticized the latter.

This brings us to the main caption we have to make on the author's work. He seems to us not to emphasize sufficiently Schweitzer's merit in focussing attention upon the general, eschatological atmosphere of Jesus' consciousness and teaching. Crude and arbitrary as Schweitzer's treatment of the record may be, on this one point it appears to us convincing; the eschatological was much more prominent and dominant in the Saviour's mind than the old liberal reproduction of his life and teaching allowed for. The framework of his thought was more supernatural, more superhuman, in the old orthodox sense, than had come to be believed. Emmet thinks that Harnack and Bousset are more nearly correct in distributing the emphasis as between the ethico-spiritual and the Messianic-eschatological than Johannes Weiss and Schweitzer. He also believes that a positive Christianity can more easily attach itself to Harnack's and Bousset's interpretation of Jesus than to that of the eschatologists, because, although the former give us a reduced Christianity, they give us something that can be built upon. We question the correctness of either view. Neither Harnack's theory, according to which the Messianic consciousness was a mere time-conditioned form, nor Bousset's according to whom it even was a burden to Jesus, can furnish a fit foundation for any adequate embodiment of the historic faith of the Church. We may add to these, but it would not be possible to *build* on them. And it is precisely here that the eschatological interpretation is strongest; after all excrescences are allowed for, it still must be said that it approaches far more



closely than the other to the core and center of the supernatural consciousness of our Lord, as the Church has always recognized it.

The second essay on M. Loisy and the Gospel Story admirably shows how radical and negative the French critics' conclusions as laid down in *Les Evangiles Synoptiques* really are. The next paper adds to this a searching critique of Loisy's view of the resurrection. It well brings out the peculiar difficulty in which all those involve themselves, who, like Loisy, first reject the Gospel narrative in toto, and then endeavor to show how by some psychological process the Apostles might have arrived at their belief in the resurrection. It is curious to observe how in the face of this unsparing exposé of radical departure from the common Christian faith, the tender feelings for a persecuted fellow-critic continue to assert themselves in Mr. Emmet. He tells us that in the matter of M. Loisy's excommunication the sympathies of English students could only be on one side (which means, we take it, M. Loisy's side). And even his horror and revulsion from the most extreme deliverances of the French critic assume the following mild form: "If the Roman Church is ever to excommunicate, it could hardly be expected to hold its hand here." There is something in this urbane treatment of extreme critics by their more believing confrères which reminds us of the attitude of the labor-unions towards those of their numbers whose methods are destructive of life and property in the civil sphere. We miss the true note of indignation. Why should the state have the right to defend itself against those who assail its very foundations and not the Church? A Church which must hold its hand everywhere, in order not to violate the sacred rights of criticism, would afford a truly pitiful spectacle indeed.

The fourth essay deals with Harnack's monograph on the Second Source of the First and Third Gospels. It gives a clear and skillful resumé of the German critic's well-known conclusions.

The fifth paper briefly reviews the evidence, textuo-critical and contextual, bearing on the question whether the Magnificat should be ascribed (in the intention of Luke, not as to actual authorship) to Mary or Elizabeth. The author decides in favor of the traditional view.

In the next following paper the title of Galatians to be considered the first Pauline epistle in point of chronology is upheld chiefly on the ground that Galatians must have been written before the Apostolic Council (referred to in Gal ii. and identified with the proceedings of Acts xi., not of Acts xv.) since otherwise it would have been impossible for Paul to pass by the decree of the Council in silence. We looked in vain for a mention of Zahn's name in this connection. Mr. Emmet also inclines to accept the Western reading of the decree of Acts xv. in its recent Harnackian interpretation according to which it refers exclusively to moral and not to ceremonial questions.

The concluding chapter deals with the Problem of the Apocalypse, which it classifies with the general rubric of Apocalyptic literature. The inspiration of the writer is defined as subjective, which means

not only that it came from within, but also that it moves on various levels, high and low. And to the question: "What right, then, have we to speak of the Spirit at all? How do we know that the book is in the deepest sense true?" the answer is given: "Simply because our Christian consciousness recognizes it as such." And "we believe it to contain the 'Word of God', because the Divine in us answers to the Divine mind of the writer". Which amounts to saying that the test of inspiration is such as by its very nature to make inspiration superfluous.

*Princeton.*

GEERHARDUS VOS.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By HENRY C. SHELDON, Professor in Boston University and Author of "Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century", "Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century", etc. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. 8° pp. 364. \$1.50 net.

Prof. Sheldon's book bears evidence on almost every page of thorough acquaintance with the subject and of quite unusual skill in presenting its matter to the best advantage. The field of New Testament Theology is a large one in itself and the intensified discussion of its many intricate problems during the last decades has vastly extended it. Yet in 364 pages the author succeeds in giving a fairly adequate, if not exhaustive, survey of its entire compass. No important phase of teaching or problem is passed by without at least some suggestive and illuminating reference. The condensation is even greater than the size of the volume indicates, for out of 364 no less than 76 pages are devoted to introductory discussion of the literary provenience of the sources. But the compression is not secured at the expense of thoroughness. Of the sketchy, superficial character which is apt to belong to small handbooks of theological science there is not a trace. To be sure the author has had to sacrifice, in order to secure this reduced compass, on the one hand all detailed exegetical discussion, on the other hand all but the most meagre reference to the literature. The naming of scholars prominently identified with certain problems or theories is avoided even where the text plainly shows that some well-known name was in the author's mind. Still another thing that is perhaps connected with the compactness of the book consists in what might be called its anatomical character. It analyzes and summarizes the doctrinal content of each source and does this admirably. But it scarcely ventures beyond this to describe the development of New Testament truth as a living organism, or to raise genetic questions. E. g., while attention is duly called to Paul's peculiar doctrine of the Spirit as the substratum of the entire Christian life, the problem how this peculiar Pauline advance upon the previously attained position is to be explained, is not discussed. It is only fair, however, to remember that the incorporation of these other, more abstruse, matters might have easily interfered with the positive and straightforward presentation which forms one of the main attractions of the book. While



in the sphere of anatomy the student deals largely with assured facts, in that of biology nearly everything is problematic and hypothetical. The origins and connections in the history of revelation are highly mysterious.

There are, of course, individual points wherein other students of the subject might take issue with the writer's conclusions. Thus is the treatment of the Pauline antithesis of "flesh" and "Spirit"; we believe that it is a mistake to choose one's point of departure in the psychological conception of "spirit". The contrast is not between the predominance of one part or element in man and that of another part or element, but between the natural and the supernatural. With the psychological use of *pneuma*, also found in Paul, this has little to do. On p. 238 a few words might have been devoted to the modern Ritschlian conception of "the righteousness of God" as a gracious principle, especially in connection with Rom. iii. 21ff. Exception also must be taken to the summary way in which the author disposes of the predestinarian element in the Pauline and Johannine teaching, principally on the ground that it is irreconcilable with the obvious universalism of their presentation of the Gospel as a whole, and that therefore the apparently absolute predestinarian statements must be explained as oratorical effusions not meant to be expressive of any fixed theory. It is entirely overlooked that both in Paul and John the principle of predestination is turned to the eminently practical account of furnishing the basis of the believer's assurance. Why is the one passage 1 Cor ii. 27 quoted to prove the possibility to Paul's mind of his own falling from grace, whilst all the numerous passages, which voice his absolute assurance of salvation are passed by in silence? But it were too much to expect from Prof. Sheldon an adequate exhibition of the predestinarian strand in New Testament teaching even as a matter of purely historical interest. Let us congratulate ourselves that in regard to the other, more common and fundamental issues, which the Church has at stake in the interpretation of the New Testament, such as the supernaturalism of religion and revelation, the deity of Christ, the vicarious character of the atonement, the supremacy of grace in salvation, the author throws the weight of his opinion unqualifiedly on the side of the old historic faith. While undogmatic in its methods, the book is essentially an orthodox book in its results. It proves that the Evangelical Protestant doctrine is in a large sense the faithful reproduction of New Testament teaching.

*Princeton.*

GEERHARDUS VOS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. International Theological Library. By JAMES MOFFATT, B.D., D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1911. Pp. xli, 630. Price \$2.50 net.

In the days when the Tübingen criticism was in the ascendant

Salmon wrote his *Introduction* and Lightfoot and Westcott made permanent contributions to the history and interpretation of the New Testament. Since that time the *Introductions* of Jülicher and Zahn have been translated. Dr. Moffatt's *Introduction* is, however, the first of its size and importance, conceived and written in English, to treat its subject in the light of current critical opinion and to register the results of recent investigation in statements of fact and judgments of appreciation. It is not strange therefore that it should be characterised as "a work which must for long be the only manual for English students and the basis for all their work on the subject" (Denney, *British Weekly*, May 18, 1911, p. 178). The book is well written in a delightfully clear and interesting style; and it is very learned—packed full of information about the subject and about the literature of the subject. Indeed the references to the literature constitute a most useful feature of the book. All students of the New Testament may well be grateful for the information it brings although all cannot be equally satisfied with its point of view and conclusions. The *Introduction* is a better book than the *Historical New Testament*. It will be more influential. But those who know the *Historical New Testament* will know also the method and in a large measure the results of the *Introduction*. For Dr. Moffatt is not in his day, as Salmon, Lightfoot and Westcott were in their day, opposed to but is rather in sympathy with and represents the "liberal criticism" of the New Testament. The service he renders therefore is a different one and will be less enduring.

Dr. Moffatt begins his *Introduction* with a Prolegomena which treats of the collection of the NT writings into a canon; method and materials of NT Introduction; arrangement of NT writings; literary sources of NT; structure and composition of NT (interpolation, displacement, pseudonymity); some literary form in NT (dialogue, diatribe, the address, the epistle); the circulation of the NT writings; some literary characteristics of the NT writings. Then follow chapters on the correspondence of Paul (1 and 2 Thess., Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom., Col., Philm., Phil.); the historical literature (the Synoptic problem, Mk., Mt., Lk.—Gospel and Acts); homilies and pastorals (1 Pet., Jude, 2 Pet., 1 and 2 Tim., Tit., Heb., Jas., 2 and 3 Jn.); the Apocalypse of John; and a closing chapter on the Fourth Gospel, a Johannine tract (1 Jn.) and the Johannine tradition.

In general Dr. Moffatt accepts the Pauline authorship of nine of the thirteen epistles which bear Paul's name in the New Testament. He rejects the Pauline authorship of Ephesians, largely on literary grounds, and admits only Pauline materials embodied in the Pastorals, especially in 2 Tim. (p. 398), although in setting aside the release of Paul from his first Roman imprisonment he scarcely reckons seriously with the implications of this admission (p. 313). The nine genuine epistles are grouped in the usual order, 1 and 2 Thess., constituting the earliest group and written from Corinth on the second missionary



journey. Harnack's theory of the address of 2 Thess., (SAB, 1910, 560ff), was evidently published too late to be included in the discussion. In the literature on Galatians, as in certain other instances, some important books are omitted, but such omissions are generally rectified subsequently either in the text or in the notes. In the interpretation of Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23 the significance of the close and constant association of *χώρα* with *Γαλατική* in the changed order of the sentences might have been pointed out as it materially strengthens the argument for the North Galatian theory which Dr. Moffatt seems to favor. "Paul's correspondence with Corinth", writes Dr. Moffatt (p. 109f), "so far as traces of it are extant, included four letters from him": (a) 1 Cor. v. 9; (b) 1 Cor.; (c) 2 Cor. ii. 4, vii. 8-2 Cor. x. 1-xiii. 10; and (d) 2 Cor. i-ix. Our 1 Cor. was written from Ephesus. In discussing its attestation Dr. Moffatt says, apparently basing his statement upon NTA p. 85 which he quotes in the context (p. 115): "Alone among the Apostolic fathers, he [i. e. Polycarp] uses *οικοδομεῖν*, a favorite term of 1 Cor." This will strike even a casual reader of the Apostolic fathers as strange and a reference to any good index such as Goodspeed's (p. 165) will fully confirm the feeling. There is another somewhat startling piece of exegesis on p. 121 which plainly shows how deceptive extra-contextual appearance may be. Taken alone the expression *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας* (2 Cor. xi. 9) does seem to "suit Ephesus better than Macedonia as the place of composition", but in its context it has reference to a past situation when Paul was in Corinth and thus has no bearing on the place of composition of the last four chapters of 2 Cor. Dr. Moffatt favors the view that Rom. xvi is a special note addressed to the church of Ephesus. "The balance of probability is upon the whole in favour of the hypothesis that i. 1-xv. 33 represents substantially the original epistle; that xvi. 1-23 was added to it when the Pauline canon was drawn up at Ephesus; that xvi. 25-27 represents an editorial climax to this composite production, and that the omission of *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* in i. 7 and the relegation of xvi. 25-27 to a place after 14 were due to subsequent liturgical procedure" (p. 142). Col., Phil.—the last letter he wrote (p. 159, cf. 166)—and Philm., are assigned to Rome after consideration of the Caesarean and Ephesian theories. The identification of the epistle *ἐκ Λαοδικίας* (Col. iv. 16) with Eph., is rejected.

Dr. Moffatt adopts the two-document hypothesis of the Synoptic problem. In discussing the statement of Papias' presbyter about Mk., he holds that the "divergence, e. g., between Mark's *τάξις* and that of the Fourth gospel seems to have occasioned surprise" (p. 187). He remarks further (*ibid.*) that Papias "quotes the presbyter in order to defend Mark against a certain depreciation, and his defence presupposes that the authority of the Fourth Gospel was so strong in certain local circles that it served as a standard for estimating the style and shape of earlier" (cf. also pp. 190, 567, 618). The process by

which Mk., reached its present form is outlined thus (p. 232): "Notes of Peter's reminiscences written down by Mk. (hence the Aramaic colouring and vivid detail of certain sections) were afterwards edited by a (Roman?) Christian who used not only the small apocalypse but some logia of Jesus (not necessarily Q)." There is not the slightest evidence that the original conclusion of Mk. was intentionally removed and all the evidence of the transmitted text is opposed to this hypothesis, yet Dr. Moffatt states with apparent sympathy (p. 239) the view of Rohrbach that it was suppressed because it gave, like the lost (suppressed?) part of the Gospel of Peter, a Galilean account of the Resurrection-appearances. The Gospel of Mk. is held to represent a final version of the Ur-Marcus composed shortly after the events of A.D. 60-70 (p. 212). Of Mt. it is said (p. 194): "The style and contents of Matthew show that it is neither the translation of an Aramaic source nor composed by an apostle. For this and other reasons it is impossible to identify it with a translation of the Logia-source mentioned by Papias. But the large amount of discourse-material which Mt. has incorporated with Mk. permits the identification of this special source with the Matthaean Logia of Papias." Mt. is assigned to a date between 70 and 110 (p. 212). Luke's date is left uncertain because of the uncertainty attaching to "the relations between his work and Josephus" (p. 212), but the following reconstruction of Luke's literary activity is suggested (p. 312): "Between A.D. (50) 55 and 65 he wrote his memoranda of Paul's travels; later, between A. D. 80 and 90 the third gospel; finally c. A. D. 100 he worked up his memoranda into the book of Acts. Unless the Josephus references, however, in the gospel are subsequent additions, the first of his works may also need to be placed towards the end of the first century."

Of the homilies and pastorals 1 Pet is assigned to Peter and its form in large measure attributed to Silvanus, Peter's amanuensis. Harnack's theory of pseudonymity is rejected. The situation implied in the sufferings of the Christians is found during the third quarter of the first century, especially subsequent to A.D. 64 (p. 325), which fixes the date between 64 and 67, if the traditional date of Peter's death be maintained. Jude falls in the early decades of the second century (p. 355) and 2 Pet.—a true pseud-epigraphon—sometime in the second century before 170 (p. 367). Ephesians is "a catholicised version of Colossians, written in Paul's name to Gentile Christendom" (p. 393), sometime previous to A.D. 96 (p. 394). The Pastorals are of unitary but unknown authorship and were written probably between 90 and 115. Of the traces of the Pastorals in 1 Clem., Dr. Moffatt says (p. 418): "Unless we attribute all these phenomena to a common milieu of church feeling, a literary dependence must be postulated on the side of the pastorals, or of Clement. The former is not impossible. It is erroneous to assume, in the case of a NT writing and an extra-canonical document, that the literary filiation must be in favour



of the former as prior: this is a misconception due to the surreptitious introduction of the canon-idea into the criticism of early Christian literature." Nevertheless Dr. Moffatt concludes with the admission (p. 419) that "the hypothesis of the use of the pastorals in Clement has also a fair case, which would involve their composition not much later than A. D. 80." The authorship of Hebrews remains unknown, but the readers, it is thought, are to be sought in some direction other than Jerusalem or even Palestine, most probably in Rome (pp. 443, 446f). James is a post-Pauline homily addressed to Christendom in general; and 2 and 3 John are second century notes of the presbyter John. The Domitianic date of the Apocalypse is favored (pp. 503f), and authorship by John the presbyter (p. 513). Of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel Dr. Moffatt says (pp. 569f): "Unless John the presbyter is brought in ( . . . ), the author of Jn. i-xx and the editor who revised it and added the appendix are both unknown." The appendix was added in the first half of the second century, not long after the composition of the Gospel. 1 Jn. is a tract from a member of the "Johannine school" who occupied a slightly different ground from that of the author of the Fourth Gospel (p. 592).

Dr. Moffatt's treatment of the Johannine literature culminates in the closing chapter in which he sets forth the grounds upon which he rests his adherence to the view that the Apostle John suffered an early martyrdom. The evidence for this view has been stated frequently of late—notably and most ably by Bousset—and Dr. Moffatt has nothing to add to it. His argument has been reviewed by Sir. W. M. Ramsay in the *Expositor* for June and July. A careful and judicious weighing of the evidence for and against the Ephesian residence of the Apostle John ought to disclose the superior strength and quality of the former; but the decision is not infrequently influenced not merely by the view which is held of the character and possible authorship of the Johannine literature but also by the presuppositions or assumptions with which early Christian literature is approached and interpreted (cf. C. Clemen, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1911 (xxxvi) 295ff, and J. Drummond, *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1910, 196).

Unfortunately the printing of the book cannot be praised for its accuracy. There are many typographical errors, especially in the Greek—some of which are corrected in the *Expositor* for July, pp. 78f—and in the German. One of these furnishes an interesting example of the kind of phenomena upon which a really valid literary argument might be based. Even an English reader possessing only a fair knowledge of German will feel that something is wrong with the sentence (p. 407): "Doch zeigt sich in der Bilder mancherlei Umbiegung" etc. Conjectural emendation might easily go astray by correcting what appears to be wrong, for in this instance what appears to be right is wrong since for "in" should be read "im Sinn". The reference is also wrongly given: ZWT 1902 should be ZWT 1903. Another error is more serious since it seems to rest upon confusion.

On p. 225 O. Holtzmann is represented as regarding "Christ's verdict on this woman as an incident at the beginning of the Monday when he ate the passover meal with his disciples", etc. Of course, Holtzmann does not place the eating of the passover meal on Monday. He is arguing to show the accuracy of the Johannine tradition in dating Jesus' death on Friday Nisan 14 and in definitely fixing the time of the supper in Bethany on Monday Nisan 10. Again on p. 259 the Gospel according to the Hebrews is said to represent Jesus as refusing "at first to accompany his father and mother" to John's baptism, but the passage in question, which is preserved by Jerome (contra Pelag. iii. 2) speaks only of the mother of the Lord and his brethren (Ecce mater domini et fratres eius).

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

THE CHILDHOOD OF JESUS CHRIST according to the Canonical Gospels.

With an Historical Essay on the Brethren of the Lord. By A. DURAND, S.J. An Authorized Translation from the French, Edited by Rev. JOSEPH BRUNEAU, S.S., D.D. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey. 1910. Pp. xxv, 316. \$1.50 net, prepaid.

The Modernist movement is helping to bring Roman Catholic scholarship to bear upon historical questions relating to the Bible. Startled by division within their own ranks, scholars of the Roman Church have rallied to the support of supernatural Christianity. The book of Père Durand is an example of this activity. It is a sensible defence of the historicity of the Virgin Birth, with full reference to recent discussion both Catholic and Protestant. The last chapter, on the Lord's Brethren, brings a defence of the perpetual virginity of Mary. Though probably inferior to the contributions of Bardenhever and Steinmetzer, the book should not be neglected.

Detailed criticism would consume too much space. When Père Durand concludes (p. 61) from the well-known passage, Justin Martyr, *dial* 48, that most Christians even in Palestine believed in the Virgin Birth, the conclusion is correct, but it is insufficiently grounded. On pp. 86f., Harnack is quoted in favor of the view that Lk. i. 34, 35 was inserted by Luke himself into a Judæo-Christian document; whereas even in the article which Père Durand is here referring to (1901), and even more decidedly in his later contributions, Harnack represents the two verses as an interpolation into the completed Gospel, and favors the view that in the first two chapters of the Gospel Luke was employing merely oral tradition. On p. 100, the articles of T. Allen Hoben in the *American Journal of Theology* for 1902 are apparently included (erroneously) among treatises in defence of the Virgin Birth. On p. 179, in speaking of the "Hebrew ring" of Lk. i-ii, Harnack's investigations of the style of the two chapters should have been at least noticed if not refuted in detail.

Although the reviewer has not been able to examine the book in



its original language, he has the impression that a good deal has been lost in translation. On p. xi, *pur bavardage* has been translated "mere gossip" with doubtful propriety. On p. xiv, the "apparition" of the canonical Gospels is spoken of. In general the style of the translation is not all that might have been desired.

The "Ferrara" group of manuscripts appears several times (for example on p. 4) instead of the Ferrar group. Typographical errors are not infrequent. On p. 86, Haecke appears instead of Haecker. Greek accents and breathings have occasionally been a snare to the proof-reader.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

VORSCHLÄGE FÜR EINE KRITISCHE AUSGABE DES GRIECHISCHEN NEUEN TESTAMENTS. VON CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1911. pp. 52. M. 1.50.

A generation has passed since the great editions of the Greek Testament by Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort were published, and the need has long been felt of a new edition which should bring the critical apparatus up to date, and review the evidence for readings in the light of recent discovery and research. Two scholars in Germany, as is well known, Gregory in Leipzig and von Soden in Berlin, are now working independently upon such an enterprise, and Dr. Gregory has sent this pamphlet, outlining his plans and asking for suggestions and advice, to all the New Testament students whose names he could learn.

Up to the present the honors in textual criticism are pretty evenly divided between Germany and Great Britain. Tischendorf has added to the materials of textual criticism, especially by his discovery of the Sinai manuscript, and in the successive editions of his critical apparatus has made these materials accessible to scholars. Westcott and Hort, on the other hand, have done the most for the principles of criticism, and their *Introduction*, written by Hort, is still the glory of British scholarship in this field. Both the new editions are to appear in Germany, but it is a satisfaction to know that one of the editors, Dr. Gregory, while a Frenchman by descent, and for the greater half of his life a resident in Germany, is by birth and training an American, born in Philadelphia and a graduate of Princeton Seminary.

Both editors have been compelled by the multiplication of uncial manuscripts to alter the old method of designating them by letters, but it is unfortunate that a common system of notation has not been agreed upon. Von Soden has an elaborate system of numbers prefixed by Greek letters (δ., *διαθήκη*, for the whole N. T., ε., *εὐαγγέλιον* for the Gospels, α *ἀπόστολος*, for Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse) intended to show at a glance, to those who master his system, the age, contents and in some cases the character of a manuscript. Gregory's notation is simpler, heavy faced numerals prefixed by O being used for

the uncials and smaller numerals for the cursives. The "primary uncials" are thus indicated by Gregory and von Soden respectively:

$$\begin{aligned}\aleph &= \mathbf{O1} = \delta_2 \\ \mathbf{A} &= \mathbf{O2} = \delta_4 \\ \mathbf{B} &= \mathbf{O3} = \delta_1 \\ \mathbf{C} &= \mathbf{O4} = \delta_3 \\ \mathbf{D} &= \mathbf{O5} = \delta_5\end{aligned}$$

Gregory proposes, we believe, to retain the old Latin and Greek symbols, A-Z, Γ-Ω, and  $\aleph$ , giving them alternative numbers,  $\mathbf{O1}$  to  $\mathbf{O45}$ , and to number the other uncials from  $\mathbf{O46}$  upward. His system has been adopted by Nestle in the 3rd edition of his *Einführung in das griechischen N. T.*, and is approved by Kenyon, Sandy and many other scholars. Yet, as Lake has pointed out, the nomenclature of what proves to be the standard critical edition must of necessity come into general use; and while Gregory has done invaluable service in the description and cataloguing of new manuscripts, von Soden has been able under the patronage of a wealthy Berlin lady to send to every library of the world known to contain a MS. of the N. T. and to secure a description of its character. It is to be noted that Gregory has catalogued (*Griechische Handschriften des N. T.*, 1908) 161 uncial MSS., 14 papyri, 2292 cursives, and 1540 lectionaries: total 4407. His *Vorschläge* brings the number of uncials to 168, of cursives to 2320, and of lectionaries to 1561; and the total to 4063.

What type of text will be adopted in the new edition? Gregory is a strong advocate of the principles of Westcott and Hort, and as he believes that the work of these editors and of Tischendorf was scientifically done, his own text will naturally not differ greatly from theirs. Von Soden, on the other hand, differs from Westcott and Hort, both in his arrangements of the families of manuscripts and in his theory of their genealogical relation. He distinguishes these types of texts with sub-types under each; a K-text ( $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ), roughly W&H's "Syrian" or conflate text; an I-text ( $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ) roughly the "Western" text of W&H; and an H-text ( $\eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ) practically the "Neutral" or  $\aleph\mathbf{B}$  text of W&H with their "Alexandrian" text incorporated as an unimportant subdivision. Underlying these three main forms of text von Soden thinks there can be discovered what he calls an I-H-K text of which these three are different recensions.

Those who have not the courage to follow von Soden through the closely-printed octavo pages of his prolegomena, now complete (1910) in some 2100 pages, may find information upon points at issue in Lake's "Text of the Gospels", *Expositor* vol. ix (1910); in Kenyon's "Numeration of the N. T. Manuscripts", *Church Quarterly Rev.*, Apr. 1909; and in the chapter on Textual Criticism in *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909). Prof. von Soden's volume of the text has been announced as likely to appear "early in 1911", and Dr. Gregory intimates that he has no intention of forestalling this edition, except in



the improbable event of a delay in its publication "until the Greek Calends". It is likely that the attention of New Testament scholars for some time to come will be occupied with these forthcoming editions and with the textual questions which they will raise.

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WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY AT BETHLEHEM. By W. HARVEY, W. R. LETHABY, O. M. DALTON, H. A. A. CONSO and A. C. HEADLANS. Illustrated from drawings and photographs by W. Harvey and others. Edited by R. WEIR SCHULTZ, Honorary Secretary of the Byzantine Research Fund. London: B. T. Batsford. 1910. 4to; pp. xii, 76; Fig. 29; Pls., 12.

The Byzantine Research Fund, associated with the British School at Athens, has set a high standard for themselves in the publication of this their first volume. The book is in size large enough to permit of satisfactory reproductions. The drawings have been carefully made and the printing is excellent. The Fund has wisely selected for publication this "unique, oldest and worthiest amongst the remaining monuments of Christian art", and distributed the task to several capable scholars.

Mr. William Harvey, a goldmedallist and travelling student of the Royal Academy of Arts, made the drawings, took most of the photographs, transcribed the inscriptions with the assistance of Mr. Martin Sprengling of the American School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, and wrote the first chapter, which gives a particular description of the church.

Mr. W. R. Lethaby, who is widely known through his excellent book on Mediaeval Art and his thorough studies of Santa Sophia and of Westminster Abbey, follows with a general historical and descriptive account. After surveying the evidence, historical and stylistic, he concludes that the church, though it has experienced many modifications, is a monument dating from the time of Constantine. In this view he is sustained by de Vogüé, R. de Fleury, Leclercq, Baumstark and Stizygowskie. Viollet le Duc held it to be the work of Justinian, and this view is upheld by Diehl. Other writers believe the church to have been founded by Constantine and enlarged by Justinian.

The chapter on the surviving mosaics was entrusted to Mr. O. M. Dalton, who is otherwise known to us from his special studies of Byzantine monuments. Owing to the accumulation of dust on the walls, photographic reproductions are of little service; but the two colored plates bring before us a general view of such mosaics as survive. These show between the upper windows of the nave a procession of angels. Near one of them is inscribed *Basilus pictor*. Below is a broad zone on which are represented churches or architectural arcades framing inscriptions relating to the general or Provincial Councils. These inscriptions mention the number of Bishops

present, the purpose for which the Council was called and a summary of its decisions—in fact, an epitome of the history of doctrine. The intervening foliage decoration, half Roman, half Persian, is noteworthy. In the transepts there remain, in complete preservation, the incredulity of Thomas; almost complete, the Entry into Jerusalem; the lower half of the Ascension and a fragment of the Transfiguration. In the Bema is an important bilingual inscription, in Greek and Latin, indicating that the mosaics were finished by Ephraim, historiographer and mosaicist in the year 6677, second indiction, i. e., A. D. 1169. In a clear and well reasoned argument Mr. Dalton proves that this date may be accepted for all the surrounding mosaics of the church.

Mr. H. A. A. Cruso has gathered the accounts by pilgrims and other visitors to the church up to the year 1500 and arranges them in chronological sequence. This furnishes a valuable table of 35 documents, to which the authors of this volume frequently refer. On the other hand, Mr. Cruso appears to be over-deferential to previous translators, and in as many as nine cases publishes his documents out of their chronological sequence. He is not very successful in his translation from the Italian of Luriano, and his final paragraph, as it stands, is self contradictory.

Mr. A. C. Headlam contributes the concluding chapter on the Cave in Bethlehem. This subject evidently appealed to the author as an unimportant one and he accordingly devotes to it scant attention. In his annotations to the Mount Athos Manual Didron tells us *à propos* of representations of the Nativity that the Cave became a characteristic feature in the art of the Christian East and the Stable in the West. This distinction, however, was not always preserved. For example, in the 15th century the Italian sculptor Andrea Della Robbia frequently represented the Nativity, the scene being placed in a cave five times to once in a stable. It would be interesting to know the exact source of both traditions. The account in St. Luke's Gospel, ii. 7, "And she brought forth her first born son; and she wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger (*ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ*), because there was no room for them in the inn" is indecisive as to whether the manger was in a building or in a courtyard or in a cave. The account in St. Matthew's Gospel is equally indecisive until the account is given of the visit of the Wise Men (Matt. ii. 11): "And they came into the house (*εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*) and saw the young child with Mary his mother." This was of course sometime subsequent to the birth of the child. A European is likely to conceive of a "manger" as existing only in a stable, in either a simple barn or an elaborate construction like those pictured by Botticelli or Leonardo da Vinci. But an Oriental is more likely to conceive of a manger as in a courtyard or in a cave. Mr. Headlam says, "We do not know what was the origin of the tradition which transformed the stable at Bethlehem into a cave." The Oriental might well remark "It is a strange thing that the Europeans should have transformed the cave at Bethlehem into a stable."



The quotations which Mr. Headlam cites from Justin Martyr (155-160 A. D.) and Origen (249 A. D.) as the earliest testimony on the subject assume or declare a cave as the scene of the Nativity, and no authorities are cited for a built stable. The passage from Origen (*c. Celsum*, i. 51) is evidently based upon earlier testimony. It reads, "Corresponding to the narrative in the Gospel about his birth, there is shown the Cave in Bethlehem where he was born and the manger in the cave where he was wrapped in swaddling clothes." Now what Gospel is it that mentions the cave? Evidently none of the canonical Gospels, or the cave would have been familiar to Mr. Headlam. If he had referred to the apocryphal Gospel known as that of Pseudo Matthew, he would have found these words (xiii. 2): *Et cum haec dixisset, angelus iussit stare jumentum, quia tempus pariendi advenerat; et praecepit beatae Mariae ut descenderet de animali ea ingrederetur speluncam subter caverna, in qua lux nunquam erat sed semper tenebrae, quia lumen diei recipere non potest.* The same Gospel makes a distinction between the cave and the stable (xiv. 1): *Tertia autem die nativitatis domini nostri Iesu Christi beatissima Maria egressa est de spelunca, et ingressa stabulum posuit puerum suum in praesepio, quem bos et asinus adoraverunt.* Or, if it be held that the Gospel of Pseudo Matthew was not written until after Origen, we may refer to a still earlier Gospel, dating from the first or second century, known as the Protevangelium of James, in which are found these words (xviii. 1): *Καὶ εὗρεν σπήλαιον ἐκεῖ καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτήν, καὶ παρέστησεν αὐτῇ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐζήτει μαῖαν ἐν χώρα Βεθλεέμ.* The Protevangelium also implies a transfer from the cave to the stable (xxii. 2): *Καὶ ἀκούσασα Μαριάμ ὅτι ἀναιροῦνται τὰ βρέφην, φοβηθεῖσα ἔλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν φάτνῃ βούῳ.* It would appear therefore that the cave, as well as some kind of a stable with a manger, had become a fixed element in narratives concerning the Nativity from very early times and requires no further explanation.

Princeton.

ALLAN MARQUAND.

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## HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By S. S. HEBBERT. Borough of Queens, N. J.: Maspeth Publishing House, 76 Milton Street. 1908. 8vo; pp. 307.

This is an interesting book. It holds the attention of the reader firmly from beginning to end, not by the charm of its style, but by the interest of the facts set forth and by the interpretation of them. It is a book alike for philosopher, theologian, historian. We can heartily recommend it as stimulating, especially for ministers, yet it is necessary to call attention to its weaknesses. Like others who have written on this subject, our author feels that he has discovered the key to all

the enigmas of history. His book closes with these words: "Is there now any flaw in this argument? . . . If there is not then a new epoch has opened in the history of human thought."

The dominant thought of the work is the author's theory of causality. He defines all thinking as a relating of cause and effect. God then becomes an "Infinite Cause acting self-sacrificingly for the sake of others". The explanation of historical development is always to be sought in the attitude of a people to causality—is it cause that they emphasize, or results? For instance, the Hindu civilization was perception." Whatever will not stand this test in both respects he based upon the overemphasis of causes, whereas Greco-Roman culture between pure or a priori conception of the understanding and sense rested upon a similar overemphasis of results. The same comparison can be made between the mediaeval and the modern Christian world. Thus the failures of the past and present have been due to one-sidedness, and the hope of the future lies in a proper balancing of the emphasis upon cause and effect.

The introduction to the book discusses the nature of thought. This must be carefully read, or else the book itself cannot be understood. In it the author purports to give the philosophical ground for his arguments. In order to prove his thesis that all thinking is in its essence causal-relating, our author naturally touches upon Hume and Kant. He easily shows the weakness of Hume's position. "Thus in the very act of denying causation, Hume is really affirming it over and over again." He has a profound contempt for the illusionism of Kant, and the idealism of Berkeley. "The so-called 'idealism' is at present so evidently in a state of disintegration that to oppose it seems very much like an attack upon the dead or dying." However, he does attack it in his discussion of space; but the discredited "Idealism" is not settled so easily as he thinks. What our author has to say of causality is largely true enough, but when he claims that he has a better way than "Idealism" by which to instruct mankind in the primary convictions of morality and religion, we are perhaps justified in a mild scepticism.

Book I takes up the civilization of India. This is really a fine piece of work. The writer has made a careful study of his sources. For such a work as this the sources are the monographs which have been written on Hindu religion, morality, science, art, commerce, social life, etc. For those who know little about the civilization of India we cannot recommend these pages too strongly. They are packed with valuable information. We can see here the author's method at its best. The explanation of all that is peculiar to India is found in "engrossment with causes, neglect of results". Thus, in religion the Hindus evolved the doctrine of metempsychosis. "The individual passes on through an endless series of mutations from an insect to a god, and then back again, perhaps nowhere is there finality, any definite result or purpose to be attained. Can anyone conceive of a more perfect portrayal of what I have described as the essence of the Hindu spirit—exaggerated



emphasis upon causality and a corresponding neglect of results?" This too, accounts for the fact that "the very essence of Hindu religion came to be the faith without hope." In Hindu morality we see the worst effects of this one-sided view of things. Ethical perspective is absolutely lost, when results are ignored. So "the slaughter of a cow excites more horror among many of the Hindus than the slaying of a man," while veracity and justice became unknown terms in India, because the people failed to see the valuable results of these two practical virtues. In science India has been distinguished only in mathematics. (The author incidentally remarks that he has certainly been hitherto the only thinker to explain this preëminence). The Indian mind perceived that numbers were merely the mental process of causation. Mathematical processes do not need to be verified by comparison with observed results. Thus the Hindu overemphasis of causes and neglect of results enabled him to be a leader in mathematics, but was also the cause of his absolute failure in the physical sciences.

In Books II and III our author applies the same method to the civilizations of the Classical and Mediaeval periods. The dominant feature of culture among the Greeks and Romans was interest in results, whereas the mediaeval church emphasized causes much in the manner of the Vedas. This is the reason that classical antiquity and the Middle Ages alike failed in the physical sciences, though for exactly opposite reasons. A similar explanation is found for social conditions. "Wealth is the product or the result of labor. India emphasizing causes exalted labor and despised wealth. Classical antiquity, absorbed in results, exalted wealth but despised and crushed labor. It is an almost mathematical antithesis; the same movement but in exactly opposite directions." (p. 152). The Middle Ages return to the spirit of India. "As mediaevalism strove to suppress the passion for wealth, so it strove for the exaltation of labor, the cause of wealth." Again the author says, "The ideal of the Middle Ages, I think, was a far nobler one than that of Classic antiquity. But in the realizing of that ideal there was a most lamentable deficiency." We have given enough to show the author's method, and plan of work. We also would call attention to his excellent treatment of the art of different periods, and to his portrayal of social and economic conditions. His treatment of the economic theories of the Middle Ages, though necessarily brief, is well informed and the results decidedly interesting. We are, of course, concerned to see what he will make out of the modern world. He classes it with the Greco-Roman world as being too much engrossed with results. Many of his statements about modern civilization are true, but this section is undoubtedly the weakest part of the book. The author lacks perspective and he fails to understand many of the currents in modern life.

The chapter on Protestant Religion is exceedingly weak. The facts are made to fit his theories. Thus, "Calvinism is really a lowering of faith in infinite causality." Calvinism is interpreted as part of a movement which in the world of nature gives us scientific determination.

Then we are informed that Calvinism is extinct. The same treatment is extended to the doctrine of justification by faith. Our author thinks that this shows a strange engrossment with results, and that it causes the fundamental principles of religion and morality to be left in the background. All this is pretty good evidence that the author does not have the slightest hold upon the great doctrines of Christianity; moreover, there is no evidence in the book that he has consulted any literature on this subject. If our author had studied Christian theology as carefully as he has studied the Vedantic philosophy or the commerce of the Middle Ages, it is probable that his treatment of Christianity would be largely changed.

Wooster, Ohio.

J. B. KELSO.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE. A study of the history of the prohibitory and expurgatory indexes, together with some consideration of the effects of Protestant censorship and of censorship of state. By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, Litt.D. In two volumes, 8vo. \$2.50 each. G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press. 1906.

As the author himself remarks in his preface, these volumes will be used chiefly for purposes of reference. This work is the only one in the English language which presents, with any measure of completeness, the record of the Indexes. Even more than this, the book can justly be considered the best book in any language, giving a general survey of the purposes and results of the censorship of the Church.

In 1830 Joseph Mendham published a work, entitled, "*The Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*". This was based upon a study of many Roman and Spanish Indexes. From the nature of the case it was only a partial study of the field, and furthermore the book was intensely polemical and controversial from the Protestant standpoint. Hitherto this has been the best available book on this subject in the English language. In 1904 Joseph Hilgers, S. J., issued his "*Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher*", the best defense made so far of the policy of the Roman Church. This is a very scholarly and readable book, but it has the weakness of most Roman Catholic histories. It is one sided in the sense that all the facts are not stated, everything that is hostile to the purpose of the book being omitted. In this respect Hilger's book reminds us of Jannsen's "*Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*". The present work by Putnam is free from these defects. It covers the entire field, it presents both sides of the question; and though it is free from the polemical attitude, yet our author is not afraid to pass a definite judgment, when the facts demand it.

Although this work is largely for reference and for the specialist, there are portions which will interest the general reader. In the opening chapter one is given a general history of the Index and Censorship. The invention of printing and the Lutheran Reformation were



the two causes which forced the Church of Rome to its policy of Indexes. The history of papal censorship may be said to begin with the Council of Trent in 1559. From that time on the various Indexes have been of great value for the history of literature, since they have preserved a knowledge of many books, which otherwise would have been entirely lost. The Indexes were published at Rome, and other Catholic centres. They had a large part in saving the Latin nations to the papacy. In Spain, with the help of the Holy Office, they were the means of purifying the country from all traces of heresy, and incidentally of making Spain intellectually the most stagnant country in Western Europe, virtually destroying all literary production. In the other Latin countries the work could not be done so thoroughly, and hence the superior literary activity of France and Italy. Another interesting problem touched upon is the influence of the Index *Expurgatorius* upon the various editions of the Fathers. The works of Benson and Koch show how the text of Cyprian was tampered with in favor of the theory of papal supremacy. Uudoubtedly Putnam is correct when he thinks that this entire matter needs further study. The influence of the Indexes on the various patristic texts, would make a good topic for investigation in some doctor's thesis.

By means of a comprehensive index it is possible to utilize the two volumes in a very practical way. To most people it will be very interesting to know what is the policy of the church to-day, and we find that the latest utterance of the church is the Index of 1900, under Leo XIII. This Index is very attractively printed, and in the prefatory matter we find a good defense of the literary policy of the Church. We are specially interested however in noting some of the important books, which are specifically condemned. Among others are Lord Acton's, *Zur Geschichte des vaticanischen Conciles*; Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*; Sabatier, *Vie de S. Francois d' Assisi*; Thomas à Kempis, *De imitando Christo*; Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste*; F. D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*; Mill, *Principals of Political Economy*; James I, *Four treatises*; Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*; Frederick the Great, *Works*; *Book of Common Prayer*; the works of Descartes, Locke, Spinoza, Hobbes and other philosophers. "Of the publications of the last ten years of the 19th century, 131 works, representing 82 authors, are selected for condemnation. These books of recent date comprise 60 Italian volumes, 47 French, 16 Spanish and Portugese, 4 German and 4 English. This selection may be considered as indicative of the lack of familiarity of the examiners with the language or with the modern literature of Germany or of England." We see then how the index has to-day become largely an Italian and almost exclusively a Latin institution. In this respect it is very much like the papacy itself. Another thing that we note at once is that there is no settled principle in which certain books are put upon the Index, whereas others are omitted.

Not the least interesting portion of this work to Protestants is the account of the censorship in the countries of the Reformation. Dr.

Putnam admits all that Hilger is able to bring against this censorship, but he shows where Hilger is weak. He points out the fact that in these countries it was the state and not the church that acted as censor, that the object was more often political than religious, and that for practical purposes this censorship was generally a dead letter. That is, in Protestant countries the censorship had no appreciable influence in checking the development of learning or literature. On the other hand our author does not hesitate to give his compliments in vigorous language to the Prussian political censorship, which to-day is a much more vigorous institution than the Index at Rome.

*Wooster, Ohio.*

J. B. KELSO.

THE INQUISITION IN THE SPANISH DEPENDENCIES. SICILY—NAPLES—SARDINIA—MILAN—THE CANARIES—MEXICO—PERU—NEW GRANADA. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D., S.T.D. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1908. Pp. xlv, 564. Price \$2.50.

It would be a work of supererogation to attempt any belittling criticism of this book. It goes without saying that in this field this is the best available work in any language. It is a great historical book, superceding and making unnecessary all else that has been written on the subject. Dr. Lea examined all the authorities, from the Archives at Simancas to the latest monograph, and as the Germans say, "he made himself master of his stuff." It is a book for scholars, as the valuable footnotes indicate, and we gain confidence in the work, when we see every statement so amply supported.

It is a pity that such a careful and diligent investigator as Dr. Lea did not possess also the other qualities requisite to an historian of the first rank. Although to be classed with the greatest American historians, Parkman, Motley, Bancroft, he will never be widely read, for he lacked the power to make scenes live. What would not Carlyle or Motley have brought forth from such material and such a workshop! This book can never be popular; it is scientific history, and not great literature.

One notes a sarcastic tone from time to time in Dr. Lea's writing. This is not surprising. He was dealing with an institution ostensibly maintained for the defence of pure religion and morality. He finds it in reality the supporter of tyranny in church and state, the enemy of all liberty a business concern for the purpose of enriching corrupt princes and corrupter priests, and above all in the name of religion temporizing with indescribable immorality and vice within the church. It is rather surprising that Dr. Lea is so restrained, and that he shows his standpoint only occasionally by his irony.

The Spanish Inquisition flourished in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the mainland of Italy it never displaced the Papal Inquisition, but everywhere else it had no rival. In Sicily we get a very good picture of the workings of this "Holy Office" in the European dependencies of Spain. At first the chief victims were the Jews. They were always looked upon with favor by the Inquisition,



because of their wealth. Undoubtedly Lea is right in his contention that the Holy Office was to a large extent used for the purpose of extorting money. It was one of the regular financial agents of the Spanish Crown. Thus in 1575 King Ferdinand was able to make a gift to his Queen of 10,000 florins, the confiscations of the year in the city of Syracuse. However, others than the Jews were made to suffer, and these methods of raising money became exceedingly unpopular. The Holy Office in consequence had a rather troubled existence, on the one hand fearing the popular disaffection, and on the other hand being continually engaged in conflict with the civil authorities.

After the Reformation had fairly started in N. Europe, the Lutherans were feared more than any Jews or Moors. In 1541 three Protestants were burnt at Palermo, and thereafter for many years these new heretics furnished the chief material for the *auto-da-fe*. Unfortunately the Holy Office did its work only too well in this case. All vestiges of Protestantism were stamped out in Sicily. It is natural that the author should indulge in occasional sarcasm, as he tells of the horrors on one page, and on the next describes the characters of the spiritual judges. These were often men of good families but criminals, committing their crimes under protection of their office; assassination, rape, and fraud in money matters being mentioned in official reports.

It is interesting to note the activity of the Holy Office in Milan, which was Papal and not Spanish. Milan was the part of Italy most endangered by the Reformation on account of its proximity to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland. Charles Borromeo was here the mainstay of the Counter-Reformation—we note the fairness of Lea in giving this saintly man all due praise. However, he hated heresy, and one of his wishes was to prevent all commerce with lands infected with the disease. Thus a Lombard merchant visiting Zurich was likely to find himself apprehended by the Holy Office on his return. No wonder that after the Reformation Protestant lands out-distanced their competitors in wealth and commerce.

The story of the Inquisition in Spanish America has a melancholy interest for all Americans. It tells how the faith was kept pure in these lands, but also why they are so low in the scale of knowledge, culture and morality. Protestantism never had a chance in any of these lands. As soon as anyone suspected of Lutheranism or Calvinism was taken, he had to choose between recantation and the stake. Under these conditions the Reformation never got the slightest hold in Mexico or S. America.

In contrast to this desire for purity in doctrine was a corresponding laxity in moral discipline. Herein we see the secret of the immorality prevalent in Latin America. One common crime among priests was that known as solicitation, or the seduction of women in the confessional. It was the duty of the Holy Office to discipline this. A typical case is that of Fray Francisco Diego de Zarate, President of a large Franciscan Mission. In his trial it was proved that he had

solicited on 126 occasions and that he had seduced 56 women. The worthy father admitted these charges, and confessed many other similar acts. Now as to his punishment. The Fray was deprived of the right to hear confession, forbidden to celebrate mass for six months, and ordered to spend two years in the seclusion of a monastery. This sentence was regarded as unduly severe by the clergy. It is plain that many priests indulged in these practices and in most cases with impunity.

The Holy Office was not only a bulwark against heresy and morality in the church, but by its censorship of books it kept the people of Latin America in the densest ignorance. In the period of the French Revolution it was kept busy trying to exclude the new political ideas, but here it was destined to fail. With the opening of the 19th century even the benighted and neglected continent could no longer tolerate such an unholy institution as the Holy Office.

*Wooster, Ohio.*

J. B. KELSO.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS. New and illustrated edition. By HENRY V. VEDDER. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1907. 8vo; pp. xvi, 431.

As the author states in his preface, this work is the outgrowth of a smaller book published in 1892, also entitled "Short History". The new volume is about twice as large as its predecessor, and in addition contains many illustrations hitherto unpublished. It is not too much to say that this book is the best in the English language on the history of the Baptists. For that matter it is the best published in any language if we wish to find a single book in which the history of the Baptists is given from the earliest times down to the present day. We can heartily recommend this book to anyone who wishes to gain a knowledge of the subject. There are several reasons for this commendation. In the first place, the book can be looked upon as authoritative. The author gives abundant evidence of having consulted all the important literature on the subject, and he has also gone to the original sources. He thus has done the fundamental work of a true historian. Nor is the judicial attitude lacking. The author has tried to discover the facts as they really are and to be impartial in his conclusions. In addition to these essential qualifications, without which no book can be termed a history, this present work has some special features that are worthy of note. Chief among these is the fine series of illustrations. This is probably the only available book in which are to be found the portraits of the leaders of the Anabaptists of the Continent and their brethren in England. The literary form is suitable to the subject, and the book is quite readable.

It is not in our province to take up any controversial points and to join issue with the author. However, after having said these good things about the book it is necessary to call attention to its limitations. In the first place, this book must in its present condition be of the popular order rather than a book for scholars. The author quotes



freely, but there is an absolute lack of references. Its scholarly value would be greatly increased by an appendix giving the exact authority for each statement of fact or quotation. In the second place, it is apparent on every page that the author is a Baptist and that he is writing history from the Baptist standpoint. This, no doubt, is an excellent standpoint, but history written from any standpoint loses some of its scientific value. This book is about as judicious and impartial as, for example, most of the articles in the Catholic Encyclopedia, with of course the fundamental difference between the Baptist and the Catholic viewpoint. It is for this very reason that the book loses its value to one who is not a Baptist. It is a historical plea for a particular denomination, meant for the edification of its members. In the third place there are some remarkable errors in a book which has been so thoroughly and carefully revised. Thus on p. 270 we are told that Vavasour Powell was born in 1677, that in 1642 he went to London and joined the parliamentary party there, and in 1646 he returned to his native land of Wales. In the fourth place, there are some notable omissions. On consulting the index we find that the word "negro" is not given, and a careful perusal of the book shows that there is no account of the Baptist movement among the American negroes. The author estimates that "one person in every seven or eight of the entire population may be reckoned a Baptist in sentiment." (p. 366.) This is based on the census of 1900 which gave the Baptists 4,181,686 members out of a total population of a little more than seventy-four millions. It would have been only fair to have explained that almost half this number were negroes. (The denominational reports for 1905 give 2,189,000 negro communicants.) In fact this absolute omission of the Negro Baptists from the history has two serious sides. It gives a wrong impression of the actual influence of the Baptist Church in America, and it also fails to give the well-merited praise to the Baptists for their great missionary work among the negroes of North America. A chapter could well have been written on the Baptist Church as the greatest missionary agency of modern times.

*Wooster, Ohio.*

J. B. KELSO.

THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT, unter Mitwirkung von — — —, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. G. KRÜGER in Giessen und Prof. Dr. M. Schian in Giessen. Neunundzwanzigster Band enthaltend die Literatur und Totenschau des Jahres 1909, erster Theil. Des ganzen Bandes iv. Abteilung: KIRCHENGESCHICHTE bearbeitet von PREUSCHEN, KRÜGER, VOGT, HERMELINK, KÖHLER, ZSCHARNACK, WENDLAND, SCHIAN, WERNER. Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger; New York: G. E. Stechert & Co. 1911. 8vo, pp. 742. Price, mk. 30.55.

As usual in recent years the section of this indispensable survey of current theological literature which deals with Church History is late in coming out; this volume though due in 1910 has reached us only in the early summer of 1911. As usual, also, it is by far the largest sec-

tion of the work, equaling in extent, in fact, the whole remainder. It is interesting to observe that the great activity in the study of Church History which it chronicles has been largely expended on the modern period. Half of the present volume is occupied with the literature which deals with the period subsequent to 1648; only 26 of its 742 pages are given to literature on the Ante-Nicene age; seventy-two pages suffice to bring us to the Middle-Ages; only 188 are devoted to literature dealing with the Pre-Reformation period. On the other hand 220 pages are required to give an account of the literature which treats of the period since 1815,—the latest Christian century. The men of our time seem determined to know their time.

It was in 1909 that the Calvin Jubilee fell and possibly the most interesting single group of publications reviewed in this volume is the mass of literature called out by that event (pp. 302-342). "The Genevan Calvin-jubilee", remarks Köhler, the reviewer, "became a great and impressive manifesto of the whole of Protestantism. The host of evangelical Christians scattered over the whole earth gathered together, as Lobstein well says, in a single great congregation, the old contradictions between Lutherism and Calvinism seemed to pass away, even universities like Giessen or Breslau which are through and through Lutheran, honored the Reformer." The immense output of Calvin literature called out by the jubilee is reviewed by Köhler with fair but not perfect impartiality; but without any attempt at orderly arrangement. There are some marks of haste, indeed, throughout the volume, as well there might be when such a mass of literature had to be dealt with in so short a time.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

## SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

PERSONALITY IN CHRIST AND IN OURSELVES. By WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret Professor and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Hon. Fellow of Exeter College; Fellow of the British Academy; Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. 1911. 8vo, pp. 75.

Dr. Sanday's *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, published last year, was reviewed in this journal for January, 1911, pp. 166-174. His purpose in that book was, he tells us, to suggest a "tentative modern Christology". The "modernness" of the Christology he suggested consists in two things. First, it deserts the historical Christology of the Two Natures and proposes to us a Christ who is, phenomenally at least, of only a single nature, and that nature purely human. Secondly, it seeks to explain what is divine in Christ by pointing to the "subliminal self" which underlies the conscious self of every man, and explaining that even in common men this "subliminal self" is invaded by divine influences—or rather washed into by the Divine—and may



well be supposed in Christ's case to have been so invaded in a unique measure. Thus, as was pointed out in our review of the book, the Divine-human Christ of the New Testament, and of historical Christianity deriving from the New Testament, was reduced to a purely human Christ, in whom God dwelt, though in a fuller measure, just as He dwells in all men.

In the pamphlet now before us, Dr. Sanday gives us a supplement, or perhaps we may rather say a complement, to the *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*. As the title of the pamphlet advises us, its interest lies in the philosophical basis which that volume proposed to us rather than in the Christological structure erected on it. The pamphlet consists of two lectures delivered in November, 1910, in which an effort is made to ascertain precisely what personality is in man, with a view to preparing the way for Dr. Sanday's doctrine of the subliminal self as the *locus* of divine influences; and a "retrospect" in which he passes in review such of the criticisms of the *Christologies, Ancient and Modern* as he considers especially worthy of remark, chiefly or wholly, again, with reference to the philosophical side of that work. As will be seen, the Christology suggested in that work passes largely out of sight in this supplementary material. This, we think, a pity. Partly because we do not find Dr. Sanday's further remarks on the philosophical basis of his new Christology very helpful; and partly because the purpose of the book was, after all, to suggest a new Christology, and the Christology suggested ought to hold, and in our own case, we frankly admit, does hold the place of chief interest.

It must be confessed that the few allusions to Christology which are found in the pamphlet are distinctly discouraging. In reading the book, one could not help hoping that, in the enthusiasm of propounding a new theory of the Person of Christ, Dr. Sanday might have failed to observe all its implications, and especially its reduction of Christ to merely a divinely endowed man. But our startled eyes can scarcely miss taking up from the pamphlet phrases and even paragraphs which though few, seem only too clearly to intimate that Dr. Sanday's conception of the Incarnation is fatally inadequate, that the Incarnation is reduced in his thought of it to mere inhabitation, and that, indeed, to all appearance it is confused with the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

Already at the opening of the first lecture we hear the Incarnation spoken of as "the meeting of Human and Divine" (p. 4), in a context which suggests that its specific character is not fully allowed for. But it is towards the end of the second lecture that the most disturbing phraseology occurs. It is not merely that inexact language is employed. Such a phrase as "His incarnate nature" (p. 4), for example, as Dr. Sanday uses it, is distinctly untheological. In strict speech it can mean nothing but our Lord's Divine Nature: which is the one Nature in His Person of which incarnation can be affirmed. But Dr. Sanday does not mean by it His Divine Nature, in distinction from His Human Nature; but apparently uses the phrase to speak of our Lord's total Being

as some sort of composite. What clear sense can be attached to the term "incarnate" in the phrase does not appear. If our Lord has but a single nature and that nature is human, to qualify this nature by the epithet "incarnate" seems merely a very loose and misleading way of saying that Christ's human nature is in some way more divine than that of other men. "Incarnate" has sunk to be little more than a honorific epithet, notifying us that in Christ we are dealing with a particularly divinized man.

A couple of pages further on Dr. Sanday cites Paul's great words: "Nevertheless I live, yet not I; but Christ liveth in me," and pronounces them the enunciation of an ideal which "never has been, and never will be, completely realized." Paul, however, is not here proclaiming an ideal but describing an experience; and an experience cannot but be realized. Not only Paul, but every Christian, in point of fact, realizes this experience; and no one is a Christian at all of whom it cannot be affirmed, each no doubt in his own measure; for it is only another way of saying that the Spirit of Christ dwells in us and takes the guidance of our lives, and "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His." But Dr. Sanday comments on it as follows: "If we could conceive of it as realized we should say, not that there were two Gods, but that there were two Incarnations" (p. 49). This comment is not perfectly clear to us; we do not understand what the import of the negative clause is. But it seems certainly to imply this much: that in Dr. Sanday's mind a perfect indwelling would be an incarnation,—the ideal of Paul carried to its complete realization is what Dr. Sanday understands by Incarnation. "Incarnation" is, therefore, in its mode an indwelling.

On the immediately preceding page (p. 48) he tells us this explicitly. There is only one God, he tells us, and only one Divine; and the Holy Spirit who dwells in us is the same Holy Spirit who dwelt in Christ. What is the difference, then, between Christ and us? "The difference," he tells us, "was not in the essence, nor yet in the mode or sphere, of the indwelling, but *in the relation of the indwelling to the Person*" (italics his). The Divine influences working alike in Him and in us "do not *hold and possess*" our person, "as the Deity within Him *held and possessed* the Person of the incarnate Christ" (italics again his). Then, does the fact that the Holy Spirit (Dr. Sanday explicitly mentions the Holy Spirit as the indwelling agent), dwelling alike in us and in Him, "held and possessed" His Person—"meaning the whole Person—each several organ and faculty—but especially the central core of Personality, the inner controlling and commanding Person"—as He does not "hold and possess" ours, constitute our Lord "the incarnate Christ"? "Incarnation", we perceive, is reduced explicitly to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit: Christ is just the man in whom the Holy Spirit dwells without measure. Needless to say, here is a complete evacuation of the meaning of the term "incarnate"; and equally needless to say, here is a complete evacuation of the conception of incarnation. Christ is



merely a man in whom the Holy Spirit dwells in greater measure than He dwells in other men. He is not God and man; He is not even God in man; He is man with God dwelling in Him—as, but more completely, God dwells in all men.

Now, of course, the Scriptures teach that the Holy Spirit does dwell in Jesus Christ, and they teach that the Holy Spirit that dwells in Him is the same Holy Spirit that dwells in us, and that He dwells in Him after the same fashion in which He dwells in us, only beyond measure in Him, while He dwells in us each according to his measure. But the Scriptures do not confound this indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the human nature of Christ with the Incarnation. This indwelling is, according to the Scriptures, additional to the Incarnation, and fits the human nature which is assumed into personal union with the Divine in the Incarnation for its great companionship. The substitution of this indwelling of the Spirit in Jesus Christ for the Incarnation is just the elimination of the Incarnation altogether: Christ's Divine Nature is cut away from Him and His Spirit-indwelt Human Nature is presented to us as the whole Christ. How this differs in essence from Socinianism and Ebionism, it would certainly be interesting to learn.

If we may be permitted conjecturally to penetrate behind what lies on the face of Dr. Sanday's pages and attempt to discover the origin of the error which has led to these conclusions, we should be inclined to find it in a conception of the incarnating act as the entrance of God into a man, or a human nature, so that God, so to speak, clothed Himself in human nature. Such is not the conception of Scripture. According to Scripture God the Son did not at the incarnation enter into a man, but took a human nature up into personal union with Himself. Accordingly "assumption" is the theological term to describe the act; and it would be truer to speak of the human nature of Christ as existing in God than of God as existing in it. Jesus Christ is primarily not a man in whom God dwells, but God who has assumed into personal union with Himself a human nature as an organ through which He acts. Even historically, the term Incarnation does not mean the insertion of Deity into flesh, or humanity. *Incarnari, incarnatus, incarnation* are just the Latin equivalents of *σαρκοῦμαι, σαρκωθείς, σαρκώσις* (cf. *Iren Adv. Haer.* I. x. i., III. xix. i.) and mean just "to be made flesh", "made flesh", "making flesh." The impression which has grown up among us that reads the sense of the insertion into flesh into them, is just a "disease of language", and is perhaps responsible for more bad thinking on the Incarnation than we realize.

This pamphlet has been incorporated into a new edition of the *Christologies, Ancient and Modern* (1911).

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

GRUNDRISSE DER EVANGELISCHEN DOGMATIK. VON DR. OTTO KIRN, Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Dritte, durchgesehene Auflage. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme). 1910. Ss. 141.

Since the publication of the first edition of this Outline of Dogmatics in 1905, two editions have appeared—the second edition in 1907, and this third edition in 1910. It is not necessary to give any detailed account of the contents of the book, or criticism of the Author's general standpoint and views on the several Christian doctrines, since this has already been done in this REVIEW in a notice of the first edition, THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, 1905 (vol. iii.) pp. 694-697.

The author's general standpoint remains essentially the same as in the first and second editions. Professor Kirn occupies, as we said before, a mediating position between the tendency which, broadly speaking, may be called Ritschlian and that of evangelical Lutheranism, his position being very much nearer the former than the latter. His views in regard to specific doctrines also remain essentially unchanged. Accordingly we shall refer the reader to the statement and criticism of these views in the above mentioned notice, and proceed at once to indicate briefly the additions and alterations in this new edition of the book.

The second edition contained two sections which were not in the first edition—Part I, § 23, on "The Proof from Scripture in Dogmatics", and § 29 on "The Proof (i. e., of the truth of Christianity) from the History of Religion."

In the third edition Professor Kirn has had three ends in view, as he tells us in the Preface to this edition. These are, to remove obscurities, to introduce new problems so far as the character of the book will permit, and especially to keep in mind the results of investigations in the sphere of the historical criticism of the Scripture, because the Revelation which lies at the basis of Dogmatic theology is one that has taken a historical form.

Apart from a number of merely formal changes, the most important additions and alterations which appear in this third edition are the following:—in Part I, § 3, on "The Method of Dogmatics", is added a closing paragraph in which the author takes a critical attitude in reference to the application of the method of the history of Religion to Dogmatic theology; in Part I, § 8, on "The Psychological Phenomenon of Religion", a paragraph is added at the beginning of the section in order to emphasize the truth which is the subject of this section, *vis.*, that Religion, subjectively speaking, embraces man's entire inner life; Part I, § 32, of the second edition (§ 30 of edition first) on "Faith and Knowledge", is in this third edition expanded into three sections—§ 32, "The Genesis of the Knowledge which belongs to Faith" (*Glaubenserkenntnis*), § 33, "The Knowability of the Objects of Faith", § 34, "The Reconcilability of Faith and Knowledge"; in Part II, which contains the doctrinal system, there is added a section (§ 34) giving a "Systematic Summary of the Christological Views". Besides these more important additions and changes, there are certain minor ones in the sections on the Attributes of God and on the Sacraments. The references to literature at the head of each section have been increased, though no attempt has been made to make the bibliography exhaustive. These



references are for the most part to books which have appeared since the publication of the second edition of this "Outline", though in some cases references to earlier works have been added.

It is no easy matter to pack so much into such small compass, and at the same time to avoid making the subject obscure. We can, however, commend Professor Kirn's "Outline" for its clearness and conciseness, though we differ fundamentally with his theological views, as can be seen by referring to the notice of the first edition, to which reference was made above.

*Princeton.*

C. W. HODGE.

THE BASAL BELIEFS OF CHRISTIANITY. By JAMES H. SNOWDEN, D.D., LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pp. ix, 252. \$1.50 net.

This book could only have been written by one who possesses that talent for omission which, as Stevenson says, might make Iliads of daily newspapers. It is no ordinary achievement to expound a system of doctrine in 250 pages not only keeping the perspective but also expressing the thought in a charming English style.

Summaries are always inadequate and often misleading. Nevertheless, the leading thoughts of the present volume may be put as follows: The sources of our knowledge of God are nature, man, the Jewish people on whom God bestowed "a genius for religion", Jesus Christ in whom the "chosen race came to its highest and one perfect blossom", and personal experience "the source . . . that is more important than all others". God's personality is to be emphasized and in connection with it the Trinity. The divine attributes are Holiness and Love; after them come Fatherhood and Sovereignty. To make clear God's relation to the world a system of idealism is used closely akin to that of Berkeley. "Nature as we know it is the experience we have as our minds react on God's mind. . . . It is therefore not an extended and insensate substance and is nothing apart from God, but is his own life as he thinks and feels and wills the world. . . ." Man's origin is divine but "the Scriptures speak in general terms, describing the end and result of the process (i. e., of man's formation)" and so room is left for any length of time and number of links in the process itself. Evolution is to be accepted as the process through which man came into being, and "Evolution is simply God's way of doing things". Sin is defined not ethically by reference to an objectively set norm but psychologically as selfishness. The heredity of sin is explained by the fact that human beings are "units in a social organism in both the good and the evil of which they must share". In dealing with sin "God is necessarily limited by the freedom of the human will, but within these bounds he is exerting all power in heaven and on earth to overcome and cleanse and cure human sin." A purely theistic faith proves insufficient to cope with the problem of salvation and so Dr. Snowden introduces at this point the Incarnation, the Bible and Miracles. The Bible

is a "human book" and "a great national literature that grew through the ages". It is also "divine" but this is hard to define. Concerning Miracles the "first and fundamental difficulty is their relation to natural law". To meet this the idea of the supernatural must be reconstructed. The idealism already alluded to provides for this and so the question of miracles reduces to one of historic fact. The laws of nature are "the habits of God" [a phrase which Joseph Cook once used] and God may modify his habit whenever the occasion arises. In regard to Christ the union of the two natures is one in which each imparts itself in some degree to the other so that "Jesus Christ the man had knowledge and powers which he could not have had as a mere man . . . In like manner the humanity was imparted to and in a degree limited the divinity." But why should not our author follow the historic Reformed Christology which has consistently refused to see in the union any limiting of either nature but rather a fitting of the Theanthropic person for his work? In regard to the death of Christ "we never can fathom the depths of its mystery and can only catch glimpses of its meaning." Of the Cross it may be said that Christ died as our example, to show us God's love, as a vicarious sacrifice, as a substitute; he is the head and representative of humanity and the cross satisfies God. It cannot, however, be said that the meaning given to satisfaction is consistently penal, it leans rather towards "satisfactory". The Virgin Birth of Christ is defended, but "we do not think belief in the Virgin birth is now essential to faith in the Gospel." In salvation the starting idea is the believer's union with Christ, "effected on the divine side through the sovereign agency of the Holy Spirit, but on the human side it is effected through the free action of the soul itself." Concerning the church "the one outstanding fact . . . is that there are no divinely appointed or authoritative officers and polities enjoined upon the church in the New Testament, but they grew up as they were needed to meet the existing conditions."

This interesting volume, if it does not attempt theological reconstruction, still aims at theological restatement. The restatement is for those who find the old formulations of theology inadequate for their own personal needs as well as for the requirements of their work. Can we use the book before us to estimate some of the agreements and differences between old and new? The old phraseology is retained but frequently with a subtle change of meaning not always apparent at first glance. The old and the new recognize the "light of nature" and "the light of revelation"; but the old emphasises the latter, the new the former. The old always tried to be very definite on Revelation, Inspiration, etc.; the new is somewhat hesitating in its remarks on these topics. The old accepts a revealed fact even if no earthly analogy can be found; the new is somewhat suspicious of such unless analogies are available. The old always tried to attach itself to some well defined doctrinal type; the new tends to be eclectic. The new welcomes the "well established truths of science" often accepting as facts what



scientists themselves merely take as helping concepts and provisional hypotheses; the old was somewhat more cautious and preferred to build up from Scripture itself. However, these contrasts are offered not so much as criticism but, to borrow the phrase of Augustine, in order that "the spice of disagreement may season the monotony of consent". Dr. Snowden's book makes no claim to belong to any theological system; but with all its suggestiveness the thought comes whether the Reformed Theology cannot develop organically its own method and its own principles without having recourse to systems with which historically it is not connected, or if it must use such systems why not assimilate them to its own genius and not vice versa? The missionary and social uplift work of the present church are in great measure the historical outcome of the Calvinistic side of the Protestant Reformation. The theology which will help us to get a grip on this work and carry it through to a successful issue ought to be an equally legitimate descendant of the same Reformation.

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GEORGE JOHNSON.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL, A Criticism of the Augustinian Point of View.

By MARION LEROY BURTON, B.D., Ph.D. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1909. Pp. x, 234.

"This book is not intended for the popular reader." It devotes 175 pages to a detailed exposition of Augustine's treatment of the problem of evil and the concluding 44 pages to an equally detailed criticism. The expository part is carried out with great completeness, every statement made being accompanied with a wealth of citation which leaves little to be desired. As is well known, Augustine's doctrine of sin contains two elements; the one philosophical, the other religious. Dr. Burton considers only the former and makes no effort to examine the scripture basis, since this would be required only by an exposition of the latter aspect. Throughout his book Dr. Burton finds that Augustine is chargeable with many errors and not a few fundamental fallacies. Indeed, after the sifting process is over very little is left apparently that is worth saving.

The careful reading of the expository portion of the volume suggests several reflections. In all exposition of an ancient author a prime requisite is as exact an understanding of the terminology he employs as possible and, further, where of several possible meanings of a term one saves the thought from inconsistency, it is not asking too much to request that that meaning should be employed. One of the key words in Augustine is the term "Good", and if it is defined in terms of function, many otherwise obscure places will be cleared up. Thus in Augustine's system the universe is in relation to God and its function both as a whole and in part is determined by God and his will for it. This means that its function or good consists in movement towards God whereby His purpose is realized. The same thought is in Plato and still more in Plotinus, but Augustine Christianized it so to speak. It does not appear that Dr. Burton emphasizes sufficiently this aspect of Augustine's

system. He thinks that "what Augustine meant by 'bonum' is simply that the object so described has existence", and he fails to see that the Platonism of Augustine comes through Plotinus and so has in it that dynamic element or movement towards the "One" which marks the chief change which Plotinus made in the system of Plato and which is normative for his view of Good and of Evil. We think that if this had been kept in mind many of the difficulties which Dr. Burton finds in Augustine would have disappeared. In proof of our statement let us cite the following examples: When Augustine calls sin *privatio boni*, *negatio*, *non esse*, *defectus*, etc., he does not mean, as Dr. Burton seems to think, that sin is a non-existent but that it is a reversal of function and as such a most terrible reality, as his own experience had taught him. It also renders consistent his statements concerning freedom. Dr. Burton's idea of freedom is derived from Prof. G. H. Palmer and is "the ability to reduce a dual or multiple future possibility to a single actual result". But if this is freedom, it is difficult to see why the humble cow in the pasture who at every munch reduces to one the multiple possibilities afforded by the grassy areas at her disposal is not as much free as her owner. But for Augustine freedom is "*animi motus cogente nullo*" or what was later called "*causa sui*", and it is only true while man fulfils his function; this lost, then the Platonic figure of the lost wings is true, he can do evil but not good, he can no longer determine himself with a view to an ideal. This is what Dr. Burton seemingly fails to understand. Once more it clears up the two terms "*causa efficiens*" and "*causa deficiens*". To translate the latter "deficient cause" as Dr. Burton does and to explain it as a barren negation is to render unintelligent a phrase which in Augustine is not at all difficult to understand in the light of what has already been said. It does not mean that the cause of evil is lacking, incomplete, or inadequate: but since *causa efficiens* is the cause which brings it about that the organized thing fulfils its function, the *causa deficiens* is that which produces just the opposite; revolt, falling away, defection from the highest.

In the critical portion of the volume Dr. Burton assumes as true an "evolutionary theory of sin" and then by the law of contradiction rejects everything in Augustine which is not in accord with such a theory. In outline the theory seems to be that man lived through countless generations of mere brute existence, emerging finally with the burden of a sensuous nature. At first his state was non-moral, but when the higher nature began to dawn man was confronted with the task of subordinating the non-moralized elements of his nature to a developing conscience. Evil arose when man deliberately failed to do so. How is such a theory to be compared with that of Augustine? One possible way is to treat each as symbolic and then compare them according to their expressiveness of that reality which both agree in assuming as existing. Which is more expressive, the evolutionary "primitive man", (indispensable being that he is), non-moral, with his sensuous load, finding his end with no knowledge of God in some adjustment to physical and social environment, or the Augustinian Adam, a moral being



able to determine himself in view of an end and this end God? Which again is more expressive, the evolutionary "gradual ascent" or the Augustinian "catastrophic fall"? There are some things, for example, the coming into being of a house, which, as Aristotle tells us, cannot be anything else than catastrophic. Is not the first evil necessarily a catastrophic event? Again, is Augustine's *massa perditionis* and *propagatio* any less expressive than the evolutionary phylogeny and ontogeny? We do not say that evolutionary ethics is impossible but until it gives up its alliance with biology its view of life will be too narrow and the tools with which it works inadequate to the task.

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GEORGE JOHNSON,

### PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE PRAYER BEFORE THE PASSION, or Our Lord's Intercession for His People. A study exegetical and practical in the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, by the Rev. JAMES S. STONE, D.D., Rector of St. James' Church, Chicago. Longmans, Green & Co. 1911. Pp. xiv, 263.

There is nothing in this volume to suggest the strenuous life out of which it has come. Its tone is so elevated that one would suppose it came out of the cloister instead of from the study of the rector of one of the largest and most influential churches in the country. St. James' represents the extremes of social conditions and adapts its work to the needs of all classes under its care. Its rector is at the head of all this good work, giving himself without stint to his laborious duties and, besides, filling well his place in the larger life of the community. His book is an incentive to others in like laborious positions of the ministerial office that, even in the din and roar of the city, and with incessant demands upon time and sympathy, they may produce literature of high value.

Dr. Stone's purpose is "not so much to make an intellectual or a scholastic contribution to the literature on the Gospel according to St. John, as to afford more directly a help to the spiritual and religious life". He has succeeded. No Christian man can read these pages without experiencing a more ardent devotion to his Lord and a deeper insight into His relation to us. In this particular, the book will take rank with the best devotional writings. Among Anglicans it suggests Dean Goulburn and the present Bishop of Durham. While the spiritual has been his purpose, he has not overlooked the questions of scholarship which meet him on the way. He has weighed all these and has reached his own conclusions, and, with fine self-restraint, has used these conclusions merely to carry him forward surely and steadily to the end he has in view. The difficulties of the study arise, in his judgment, not so much from historical or textual criticism as "from lack of spiritual insight". Recognizing the place of criticism, he holds that criticism itself is subject to the same method of examination and revision to which it has put the Bible. He finds that the Gospel of John

thus far has "held its own". "No one has given it up; not even its opponents." The tradition of John's authorship has been vigorously assailed, but "it has never been successfully refuted". The Apostle may have used an amanuensis, and this amanuensis may have been John the Elder, who, however, is "one of the most shadowy individuals in history". The whole controversy suggests "that it is not so much the author, as it is the doctrine, that is objectionable; and the readiest way to dispute the doctrine is to question the authorship."

The plan of the author carries him verse by verse, and sometimes phrase by phrase, through the whole of the chapter. He expounds it without chapters of his own, and even without an index, as if he would fix the attention of the reader first upon the words of the Divine Speaker; yet when one has finished the volume he becomes aware that there is scarcely a question of vital interest in our modern religious life on which the author has not brought this Wondrous Prayer to bear. He finds that the chapter divides itself into three sections, vss. 1-5 concern our Lord Himself, vss. 6-10 concern the disciples, vss. 20-26 concern all believers. It must suffice us to indicate very briefly the conclusions of the author in the line of Christian doctrine, the Christian Church and certain features of the Christian life.

Naturally, the author finds, in this Prayer, Christian doctrine in some of its highest and holiest forms. The approach of the Divine Son to His Divine Father reveals, at a glance, the divine relation between them, and to the reverent reader makes an end of much current theological disputation. The word "Father" expressed "the relationship, love, and confidence which had existed between the Father and the Son from all eternity, and never more so than during these years of the Humiliation." In this lay the mystery of the divine sacrifice "the Love of God and the Wrath of God meet in the Cross of Christ. 'Wrath' is a severe word; but when applied to God it does not mean unreasonable anger, fury, or passion. It is rather an impulse or energy expressing the antipathy of the Divine Nature to all that is evil." Our Lord's assumption of Deity "is unmistakable. Deity, indeed, from its very nature, could not be imparted; there never was a moment when the Lord Jesus was not God: co-equal with the Father, in eternity, power, majesty, and life." No one can understand why the innocent should suffer for the guilty and we are prone to wonder why it must needs be that our Lord should suffer and yet "we have no right to assume that God did not select the very best means possible for averting evil and securing good." Our author recognizes in this Prayer the high mystery of Predestination, but thinks that the Scripture does not clearly teach whether God from all eternity chose men irrespective of anything in them or whether He chose them because of His foreknowledge of the use they would make of His grace. The devout believer reviewing his experiences finds it impossible "to attribute these things to chance or even to fate. He will fall back upon the truth, even though he may not understand it, of God's election and predestination." He finds that the godly consideration of this theme is "full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort". If Dr. Stone's volume will recall



the Christian thought of our day to these fundamental verities, it will serve a great purpose.

Not less significant are the teachings of this Prayer concerning the Christian Church. The author's treatment of vss. 20-23 is a contribution to the cause of Christian unity none the less valuable because, among recent Anglicans, it is almost unique. To go no farther than Dr. Stone's own diocese, the contrast between his views and those of his Bishop is very marked. The Bishop, the Right-Reverend C. P. Anderson, D.D., delivered the opening address at the Layman's Missionary Convention on May 3rd, 1910, in which, amid loud applause, he proclaimed the unity of believers and demanded that this unity should proceed on the basis not of "minimums" but of "maximums"; and yet in the charge delivered on May 24, 1910, to his Diocesan Convention, he divides Christians into two classes, Catholic and Protestant, and divides Catholics into three groups, the Roman, Eastern and Anglican, while "Protestants are divided into a large number of separated organizations, representing various shades of belief and opinion, embracing many who approximate Catholic doctrines and practice at one end, and at the other end many who are doubtfully called either Protestant or Christian." Between "Roman imperialism and Protestant federation" he finds that "the Anglican communion may be very tightly squeezed". On the one side, Rome has closed up all avenues of approach, and "we must row in the same boat with Protestants, and if so, we must keep a hand on the steering oar. A well organized catholicised Protestantism, with a Pope of its own, if you like, with Catholic schools, with all Rome's power, plus Protestant piety, would give the world a Catholic church greater than Rome, for it would have her power consecrated by an evangelical fervor." It is apparent that we must understand far more about the proposals coming from the school of Bishop Anderson before we acquiesce in a movement for unity, which is to "catholicize Protestantism". In Dr. Stone's volume there is no trace of this. His view of the Church is distinctly Anglican like that of Dr. Downer in his recent volume on "The Mission and Ministration of the Holy Spirit". Neither of these authors apparently recognizes the findings of modern Anglican scholars, such as Hatch, as to the identity of the Bishop and the Presbyterian in the Apostolic Church. Dr. Stone contents himself with saying that the function of government came to the apostles "so that, speaking generally, to the Apostolate was added the office and work of the Bishop", and he traces, in the typical Anglican way, the development of the Priesthood and the Diaconate. But, while this is true, there is not in all his volume a word which jars upon the Christian who is not of his communion. On the other hand, there is a recognition of the Disciples of our Lord of every name, which, if it could prevail in his communion, would do far more to promote the cause of unity than seems possible from the utterances of some who are conspicuous in the movement at this time. Amid the applause and enthusiasm which the subject always evokes, it will be found that thoughtful men will call for particulars before assenting to comprehensive schemes, especially when these schemes are to include

not only the Anglican but also the Roman communion. The application of this to our missionary movement is obvious.

Dr. Stone declares boldly that "the opinion that communion with the Bishop of Rome, as such, or perhaps to be more exact as the Vicar of Christ, is necessary to membership in the Church of God, has no warrant in the writings of the New Testament or the ancient fathers." He holds that if history teaches anything it is the failure to show that the oneness of which our Lord spoke "meant what is known as ecclesiastical unity, either in the Papacy or the Episcopacy. Probably the Papacy has done more to disturb Christendom than any other single agency; nor has Episcopacy, judging from the growth of denominationalism in England and the United States, proved itself to be a unifying element. . . . Ecclesiastical unity has done nothing towards convincing the world that the Father sent the Son", which is the purpose for which our Saviour prayed that His people might be one. "A Christian community errs grievously when it assumes to sit in judgment on another Christian community." Dr. Stone believes that the Anglican Churchman has one of the most glorious heritages in Christendom and may well rejoice in the history, the polity and the literature of his Church. This, of course, is no more than the Presbyterian Churchman does, and, as Dr. Stone says, "It will be a sorry day for Christendom when this privilege is denied, or is no longer exercised." Holiness, in his judgment, is the true and real bond of union, and this appears "in the satisfaction which one believer has in another believer, when each discerns in the other the fact of consecration. . . . The world which does not appreciate the meaning of ecclesiastical barriers discerns the oneness of life of people who oftentimes know nothing of it themselves. Then the world rejoices, too: for as many a man loves truth for which he has neither sought nor labored, so holiness can touch with joy even those who do not possess it."

The author is not disturbed by the cry that "Christendom is in fragments, the Church is divided". Because Christians are parted it does not follow that the Church is divided. With great force he asks:

"Is there division in the Church of God, which is the Holy Catholic Church, spoken of in the Creed, for which Christ died, and into which the children of God are baptized? Is there such separation among its members in any essential particular that the unity of the whole is broken? If so, then, throughout and after these eighteen hundred years, the Prayer of Christ that believers may be one is not only unanswered, but apparently is without hope of answer."

These quotations must suffice. If they direct attention to Dr. Stone's view on the subject of Christian unity, they will have served their purpose. And if the type of Anglican thought represented by Dr. Stone could be introduced more fully into the current discussions, and could, in the language of Bishop Anderson "keep a hand on the steering oar", the prospects for substantial results would be very much brighter than they are now.

This review had been prepared before the notable Portsmouth address of Canon Henson was published. It appears in the new volume



entitled "The Road to Unity", by Rev. H. Hensley Henson, D.D., Canon of Westminster, (London; Hodder and Stoughton). The address was delivered before the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in March of this year and deals directly with the broad question of Christian unity in its ecclesiastical aspects. Differing as the two writers do in the subjects before them, their agreement on the principles at stake is significant. Canon Henson lays bare the real question in the pending negotiations and meets it squarely. Speaking of the Evangelical Free Churches and the Church of England, he says:

"There is no fundamental division between them, if they both express, though with characteristic differences, the Evangelical conception of Christianity, but if it be the case, as is very persistently asserted in some quarters, that the Church of England is essentially Sacerdotal, then I can see no prospect even remote of any approximation towards the Free Churches. For the distinction between the Evangelical and Sacerdotal conceptions of Christianity is a distinction which goes down to the very roots of conviction and determines necessarily all ecclesiastical policy."

With Dr. Stone in America and Canon Henson in England, we are surely nearer the day of the answer to the Master's prayer "that they all may be one."

So much space has been given to this theme of Christian unity that none remains to set forth Dr. Stone's views on the Christian life, and we must content ourselves with saying that he looks for the final triumph of Christendom, that he sees no substitute for it even in modern philanthropy, the tendency of which "is to exclude religion and to hold that benevolence is the equivalent of worship". Dr. Stone has placed the Christian Church as a whole under deep obligations by his timely volume.

Chicago.

W. S. PLUMBER BRYAN.

THE BIBLE FOR THE HOME AND SCHOOL. COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY, by W. G. JORDAN, B.A., D.D. THE BOOK OF THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH, by JOHN EDGAR MCFADYEN, D.D. COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW, by A. T. ROBERTSON, A.M., D.D. New York: Macmillan Co. Cloth, pp. 263, 423, 294. Price 60 cents each.

Like the previous volumes of this series, these books claim to embody "the *assured results* of historical investigation and criticism". It is therefore a question whether it is morally right to print, under such a caption, the false assumptions and unproved hypotheses which these books contain. To those familiar with modern radical criticism nothing will be found which is original or interesting, yet to many readers in our "homes and schools" such a dogmatic presentation of destructive theories could hardly fail to be subversive of faith in the inspiration and authority of the Bible.

In this particular series one might expect to find, as we do, that Deuteronomy is set forth in "introduction" and "notes" as a forgery perpetrated in the days of Josiah, and containing among its component documents material which is even exilic in date; but one is surprised to find that the text of Deuteronomy is boldly divided into sections, by

large marginal letters, "J", "JE", "P", "H", "D", "D'", "D\*", "D\*\*", "D\*\*\*", indicating the documentary sources of the book, according to the "assured results of historical investigation". These critical assumptions, and the consequent denial of the historical statements of the book, might be more easily overlooked if the commentary contained notes which were specially illuminating or valuable, but careful search reveals little which could be so characterized.

The first part of the commentary on Isaiah, entitled "The Book of the Prophet Isaiah" is of a far higher order, and contains many helpful suggestions; but the discussion of "The Exiles' Book of Consolation" by the "Deutero-Isaiah" (chapters 40-55), and of the work of the "Trito-Isaiah" (chapters 56-66), is rendered of little value because of imaginary historical settings and mythical "sources".

The least objectionable of these commentaries is the volume on Matthew; yet in presenting "assured results" it is rather remarkable to find one so confident of the solution of the "Synoptic Problem" that he will venture to divide the actual text of the Gospel by the obtrusive capitals "M", "Q", "R", and "V", placed on the margin of the pages.

It might be safe to quote from one who recently reviewed this volume, and to state of each of these three, that "it is simply one of the crowd of nearly worthless 'commentaries' which follow one another into oblivion."

Princeton.

CHAS. R. ERDMAN.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

*American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, Worcester, July: F. T. MAYER-OAKES; Authority of Jesus and its Meaning for the Modern Mind; EDWARD CARPENTER, On Connection between Homosexuality and Divination and the Importance of the Intermediate Sexes Generally in Early Civilizations; JOSIAH MORSE, Religion and Immorality; ARTHUR E. WHATHAM, Sign of the Mother-Goddess.

*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, July: BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, The "Two Natures" and Recent Christological Speculation. 1. Christology of the New Testament Writings; DOUGLAS C. MACINTOSH, Is Belief in the Historicity of Jesus Indispensable to Christian Faith?; BENJAMIN W. BACON, The Resurrection in Primitive Tradition and Observance; KAUFMANN KOHLER, Dositheus, The Samaritan Heresiarch, and his Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects; JOHN A. FAULKNER, A Word of Protest; Must Christians Abandon their Historic Faith?; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Text of the Toronto Gospels; M. SPRENGLING, Bardesanes and Odes of Solomon; ED. KÖNIG, Concerning Paton's Review of KÖNIG's Dictionary.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, July: RAYMOND L. BRIDGMAN, The World Person; HERMAN BAVINCK, Christological Movements in the Nineteenth Century; HENRY M. WHITNEY, The Latest Translation of the Bible; E. S. BUCHANAN, The Golden Gospels in the Library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan; WILLIAM H. WARD, The "Zadokite" Document; G. E. WHITE, The Waxing and the New Phase of the Turkish Crescent;



AUSTIN RLCE, Historical Facts and Religious Faith; HAROLD M. WIENER, The "King" of Deuteronomy 17:14-20; HAROLD M. WIENER, The Higher Critical Quandry: A Correspondence with Drs. Briggs and Driver.

*Church Quarterly Review*, London, July: HERBERT KELLY, Community Work and the Church of England; W. R. MATTHEWS, Morals of Immoralism; Glimpses of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century; W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, Reincarnation; HILDA D. OAKELEY, Poetry and Freedom; Oxford Five Hundred Years Ago.

*East & West*, London, July: EUGENE STOCK, Future of Native Churches; W. H. T. GAIRDNER, El-Azhar University at Cairo; BISHOP MONTGOMERY, China; HOANI PARATA, The Maori of New Zealand today; WALTER MILLER, Ought Christian Missions be allowed in Moslem Lands?; A. LLOYD, The Prince of Parthia; DR. SMYTH, Discipline on a Mission Station; S. M. ZWEMER, Movements in Islam; DR. PALMER, Impressions in Western India.

*Expositor*, London, September: JAMES MOFFATT, The Problem of Ephesians; HAROLD M. WIENER, Samaritan Septuagint Massoretic Text; JAMES DENNEY, Criticism and the Parables; A. BÜCHLER, Private Sacrifices before the Jewish Day of Atonement; B. W. BACON, The Odes of Solomon: Christian Elements; W. M. RAMSAY, Iconium and Antioch.

*Expository Times*, Edinburgh, September: Notes of Recent Exposition; JAMES IVERACH, Truthing it in Love; A. R. S. KENNEDY, Codex Edinburgensis; R. MARTIN POPE, Studies in Pauline Vocabulary; A. H. SAYCE, Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, July: WILLIAM M. SALTER, Schopenhauer's Contact with Theology; HENRY W. CLARK, Rational Mysticism and New Testament Christianity; GEORGE F. MOORE, The Convenanters of Damascus; a Hitherto Unknown Jewish Sect; WARREN S. ARCHIBALD, God in All and Over All; VERGIL V. PHELPS, The Pastor and Teacher in New England.

*Hibbert Journal*, Boston and London, July: OLIVER LODGE, Christian Idea of God; J. W. MARRIOTT, The Kingdom of the Little Child; B. W. BACON, Mythical Collapse of Historical Christianity; P. H. WICKSTEED, "Magic"—A Contribution to the Study of Goethe's Faust; JOHN DEWEY, Maeterlinck's Philosophy of Life; JAMES DEVON, The Criminal, the Criminologist, and the Public; CHARLES F. THWING, The American Family; Religion in Jerusalem at the Present Hour; OTTO J. BIERBAUM, Dostoyeffsky and Nietzsche; R. H. COATS, Lancelot Andrewes and John Bunyan; W. WOODING, the Pre-Christian Jesus; S. UDNY, Dante and the New Theology.

*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Dublin and New York, July: H. POPE, The Scholastic View of Inspiration; P. DAHMEN, Buddhism, Past and Present; D. BARRY, Validating Marriage without New Consent; E. ROCKLIFF, Parables; H. BEWERUNGE, Metrical Cursus in the Antiphonal Chants of the Mass; J. MACCAFFREY, Forms of the Creed in the Irish Church.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, July: J. D. WYNKOOP, A Peculiar Kind of Paronomasia in the Talmud and Midrash; A. B. RHINE,

Secular Hebrew Poetry of Italy; V. APTOWITZER, Controversy over the Syro-Roman Code; HENRY MALTER, A Talmudic Problem and Proposed Solutions; FELIX PERLES, A Miscellany of Lexical and Textual Notes on the Bible; M. H. SEGAL, Notes on Fragments of a Zadokite Work; ALEXANDER MARX, Strack's "Aboda Zara"; JACOB HOSCHANDER, Betty's "Old Testament among Semitic Religions"; H. BRODY, Some Notes to "Davidson's Poetic Fragments from the Genizah II".

*Jewish Review*, London, September: HERMANN ADLER, The Zionist Congress; ISRAEL LEVI, I. ELBOGEN and S. H. MARGULIES, The Late Chief Rabbi; A. WOLF, The Philosophy of Bergson; J. SNOWMAN, The Arrest in the Development of the Jewish Law; DR. ELIAS, Work of the "Alliance Israelite Universelle"; NORMAN BENTWICH, Jewish Schools in Palestine.

*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, July: E. S. BUCHANAN, An Old-Latin Text of the Catholic Epistles; MARTIN RULE, The So-Called Missale Francorum, II; M. R. JAMES, A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter; A. SOUTER, The Type or Types of Gospel Text used by St. Jerome as the Basis of his revision, with especial reference to St. Luke's Gospel and Codex Vercellensis; O. WARDROP, Georgian Manuscripts at the Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos; E. NESTLE, 'He Said' in the Latin Gospels; I. ABRAHAM, 'How did the Jews Baptize?'; J. MEARN, 'Nothing either great or small'.

*London Quarterly Review*, London, July: W. T. DAVISON, The Resurrection and the Modern Mind; W. H. S. AUBREY, Survival of the Unfit; ANNE E. KEELING, Antonio Fogazzaro; and the Difficulties of Allegiance to Rome; R. MARTIN POPE, The New Paganism; CHARLES BONE, China under the Empress Dowager; THOMAS F. LOCKYER, John Wesley at Aldersgate Street; THOMAS NICOL, Recovery of Memphis; DORA M. JONES, The Sensitiveness of Thackeray.

*Lutheran Church Review*, Philadelphia, July: HUGO HOFFMAN, Adjusting the Faith; J. M. HANTZ, St. Paul's Sense of Duty; J. E. WHYTEKER, Address to the General Synod at Washington; F. W. KLINGENSMITH, The Mind of Christ and the Old Testament; J. A. W. HAAS, Christianity and Modern Trends of Thought; EDWARD T. HORN, An Historical and Theological Criticism of the Oxford Movement; PETER ALTPETER, Chemnitz's Examination of the Second Part of the Decrees of the Tridentine Council; J. FRY, Impediments to Sermons; C. M. JACOBS, The Augsburg Confession. IV. The Doctrine of the Sacraments—The Chief Point of Conflict; E. P. H. PFATTEICHER, Men for the Ministry; J. C. F. RUPP, Efficient Methods of Lutheran Evangelization; J. W. HORNE, Methods of Catechisation; GEORGE DRACH and C. F. KUDER, Beginning of Foreign Mission Work in the Lutheran Church in America; T. W. KRETSCHMANN, Biblical Conception of Sin.

*Lutheran Quarterly*, Gettysburg, July: L. B. WOLF, Original Sin; V. G. A. TRESSLER, Unification of Higher Lutheran Education; G. U. WENNER, The Bible; W. H. FELDMANN, Method in Catechisation; JOHN A. FAULKNER, Luther and Economic Questions; JOHN R. BRAEUER, Pedagogic Value of Bloody Sacrifice; C. W. SIFFERD, Lutheran Church



in Southern Illinois; W. C. SEIDEL, Faithful Catechisation and its Results.

*Methodist Review*, New York and Cincinnati: F. M. NORTH, Preparation of Ministers for Social Work; G. C. SELL, Luther's Lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Romans; H. C. STUNTZ, An Hour with Kiplin; FRANK CRANE, Psychology and Salvation; E. S. TIPPLE, Whitefield's Divine Gift; A. W. CRAWFORD, Caliban's Theology; S. O. MAST, The Purpose of Science; C. C. WOODS, A Study of Sorrow and the Soul; W. M. BALCH, What is Social Service?

*Methodist Review Quarterly*, Nashville, July: WM. HARRISON, The Prince of Modern Preachers—Alexander Maclaren; O. P. FITZGERALD, Credentials of the Preacher; JOHN C. GRANBERY, Nietzsche; GEORGE H. CLARKE, The Ring and the Book: an Exposition; H. G. ENELOW, Ethical Element in the Talmud; REMBERT G. SMITH, A Vital Factor in College Life; CLAUDE OREAR, Significance of Channing's Unitarianism; C. J. NUGENT, Methodist Episcopacy According to the Methodist Fathers; JAMES CANNON, The Duty of the Church to Own, Control, and Support Her Colleges.

*Monist*, Chicago, July: EUGENIO RIGNANO, On the Mnemonic Origin and Nature of Affective Tendencies; CHARLES C. PETERS, Friedrich Nietzsche and His Doctrine of Will to Power; PAUL CARUS, Max Stirner, the Predecessor of Nietzsche, A. KAMPMEIER, The Christ Myth of Drews; PAUL CARUS, Rignano's Theory of Acquired Characteristics; EDMUND NOBLE, The Fetish of Originality.

*Philosophical Review*, Lancaster and New York, September: HAROLD H. JOACHIM, Plato's Distinction between 'True' and 'False' Pleasures and Pains; W. B. PILLSBURY, The Role of the Type in Simple Mental Processes; ANDRÉ LALANDE, Philosophy in France, 1910.

*Reformed Church Review*, Lancaster, July; BRANDER MATHEWS, The American Language; W. F. HEIL, Necessity and Function of Suffering in a Minister's Life; WILLIAM C. SCHAEFFER, Johannine Interpretation of the Work of Christ; J. FRANK BUCHER, The Task of Christianity in China; F. W. HOFFMAN, Place and Significance of Prayer in the Christian System and World-View; EDWIN B. NIVER, The Episcopal Church and Unity; WILLIAM B. OWEN, Value of Discipline; A. V. HIESTER, Contemporary Sociology.

*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, July: JOHN CLIFFORD, Attitude of Baptists to Catholicism—Roman and Greek; E. Y. MULLINS, Baptists in the Modern World; HENRY C. MABIE, Attitude of Baptists to the Non-Christian World; A. H. NEWMAN, History of Baptists Organization; W. J. MCGLOTHLIN, The Struggle for Religious Liberty; W. W. LANDRUM, Some Types and Tendencies among American Baptists; JOHN HORSCH, Origin and Principles of the Anabaptists; R. E. NEIGHBOR, Moral Significance of Baptism.

*Theological Quarterly*, St. Louis, July: Walther the Lutheran; Dr. Martin Luther's Treatise of Confession, Whether the Pope Have Power to Enjoin the Same; Status of English Work in the German Missouri Synod.

*Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Paris, Jul-

let: HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, Les martyrs d'Interamna; JEAN RIVIÈRE, La doctrine de saint Irénée sur le rôle du démon dans Rédemption; JACQUES ZEILLER, Les Monuments chrétiens du patais de Diocétien à Spalato; Le proconsul d'Archaïe; PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE, Une Esquisse de l'histoire du mot "Papa".

*Deutsche-Amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Berea, September-Oktober: H. GREUTER, Die Gemeinde Jesu Christi im Lichte des Neuen Testaments; WM. HESSKAMP, Das Millenium in Verbindung mit anderen biblischen Ereignissen; Ist unsere ewige Existenz Realität oder ein Gebilde der Phantasie?

*Lehre und Wehre*, St. Louis, September: Die Assyriologie und das Alte Testament; Taten und Schicksale des erhöhten Joseph in Agypten; *Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*.

*Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Paris, Septembre-Octobre: ALBERT CONDAMIN, Les caractères de la traduction de la Bible par saint Jérôme; LOUIS DE MONDADON, Bible et Tradition dans saint Augustin. Second art.: La controverse donatiste.

*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Louvain, Juillet: J. LEBON, La version philoxénienne de la Bible; J. FLAMION, Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre. B. Les Actes de Pierre en Orient (suite et fin); PAUL FORNIER, Le Décret de Bucharde de Worms. Ses caractères, son influence (à suivre); G. CONSTANT, La transformation du culte anglican sous Edouard VI. II. Tendances zwingliennes et calvinistes (suite et fin).

*Revue de Theologie et des Questions Religieuses*, Montauban, Mai: J. A. PORRET, Un coup de sonde dans une grande question; J. SEGUIN, A propos d'une étude psycho-physiologique sur conversion de saint Paul; L. KREYTS, A propos de la conversion de saint Paul; CH. BRUSTON, La prétendue primauté de l'apôtre Pierre et le martyre de Pierre et Paul à Rome; George Tyrrell et le Catholicisme; A. WABNITZ, Les Religions; G. DUMONS, Henri de Mirmand et les réfugiés de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes; F. PILLON, Le caractère personnel de la vie chrétienne; F. PILLON, La Course chrétienne. Un seul esprit.

*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, Kain (Belgique), Juillet: A. GARDEIL, La "Certitude Probable"; P. DONCOEUR, La Religion et les Maîtres de l'Averroïsme, Ibn Rochd.; J. B. FREY, L'état originel et la chute de l'homme d'après les conceptions juives au temps Jesus-Christ; H. D. NOBLE, L'Individulité affective d'après E. Thomas, M. S. GILLET, Bulletin de Philosophie; A. LEMONNYER et B. ALLO, Bulletin de Science des Religions; M. JACQUIN, Bulletin d'Histoire des Institutions ecclésiastiques.

*Theologische Studiën*, Utrecht, XXIX Jaarg. Afl. V: G. VELLENGA, De dood des Heeren; TH. L. W. VAN RAVESTEYN, Jahve's Gericht in Jesaja 1-35; W. L. SLOT, JR., Een verzoek.

*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Insbruck, XXXV Band, 3 Heft: E. DORSCH, St. Augustinus und Hieronymus über die Wahrheit der biblischen Geschichte; H. WIESMANN, Der zweite Teil des Buches der Weisheit (2 Art.); H. BRUDERS, Mt. 16: 19; 18: 18 und John 20: 22-23 in frühchristlicher Auslegung. Afrika bis 312; A. BUKOWSKI, Die Missdeutungen und Entstellungen der römisch-katholischen Glaubenslehre in den russisch-orthodoxen Handbüchern der Theologie.

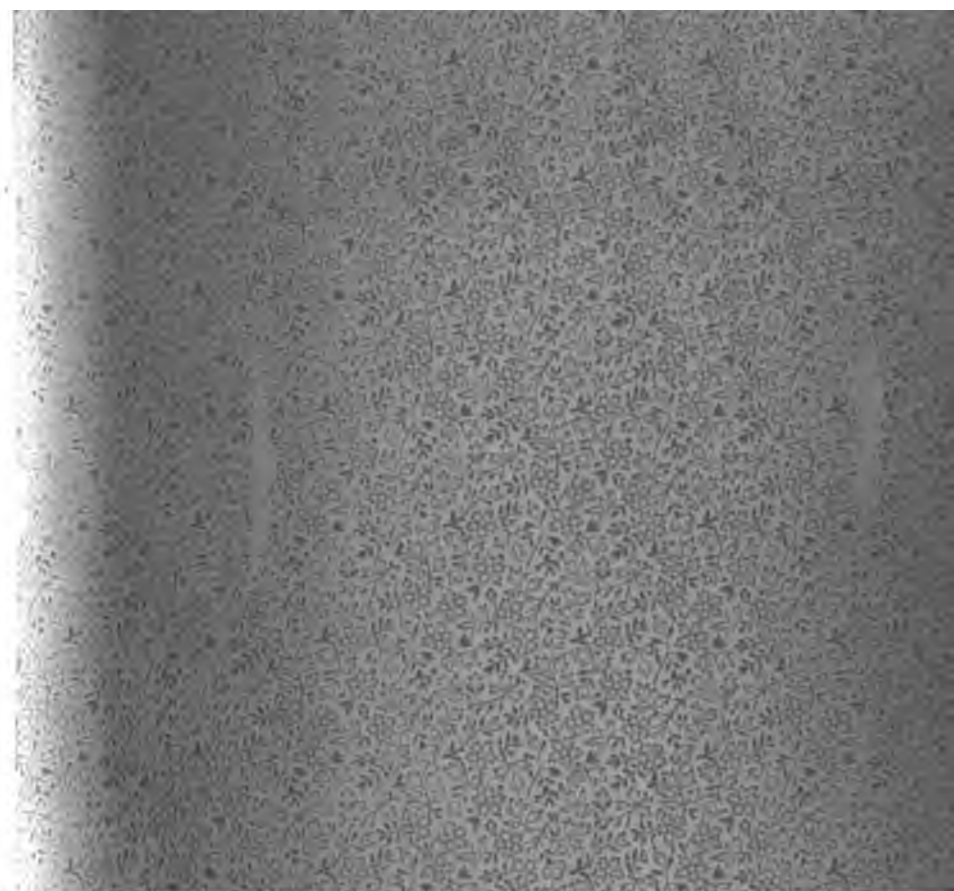














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